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***VOLUME XVI***





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**BRITISH SERIES**

**VOLUME III**

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**TRADE AND POLITICS**  
**1767-1769**



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VOLUME XVI

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BRITISH SERIES, VOLUME III

# TRADE AND POLITICS 1767-1769

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY  
CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD  
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ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY  
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## PREFACE

The third volume of the British series is edited, like its predecessors in the series, by Messrs. Alvord and Carter. It is believed that at least three more volumes will be required to complete the presentation of this body of material. The interval of six years that has elapsed since the second volume of the series appeared is accounted for by the fact that in the interim the six volumes of the *Centennial History of Illinois*, edited by Mr. Alvord, and the four volumes of the *History of the 33rd Division* had to pass through the office.

Previous volumes of the series have met with criticism because no chronological table of documents has been included. As was indicated in the preface to the first volume, a table for the whole series will be published in the final volume, thus providing a document calendar for the whole body of material in itself of value to the historical student.

Miss Nellie C. Armstrong has supervised all editorial details for the volume. Miss Merle Turner, Urbana, Illinois, made the translations from the French.

THEODORE CALVIN PEASE

URBANA, ILLINOIS  
August 21, 1921





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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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A.A.,Q.	==Archiepiscopal Archives, Quebec
A.A.S.	==American Antiquarian Society
A.C.	==Attested Copy
A.D.S.	==Autograph Document Signed
A.L.	==Autograph Letter
A.L.S.	==Autograph Letter Signed
A.N.,C.	==Archives Nationales, Ministère des Colonies
A.P.S.	==American Philosophical Society
A.S.,Q.	==Archives du Séminaire de Quebec
Add.MSS.	==Additional Manuscripts
B.M.	==British Museum
C.	==Copy
C.H.S.	==Chicago Historical Society
C.O.	==Colonial Office
C.P.L.	==Champaign Public Library
C.S.	==Copy Signed
D.H.N.Y.	==Documentary History of New York
D.S.	==Document Signed
E.	==Extract
f.	==Folio
H.C.L.	==Harvard College Library
I.H.C.	==Illinois Historical Collections
K.MSS.	==Kaskaskia Manuscripts
L.B.C.	==Letter Book Copy
L.S.	==Letter Signed
M.H.S.	==Massachusetts Historical Society
N.Y.S.L.	==New York State Library
P.C.R.	==Pennsylvania Colonial Records
P.D.P.R.	==Pennsylvania Division of Public Records
P.H.S.	==Historical Society of Pennsylvania
P.R.O.	==Public Record Office
S.P.,Dom.	==State Papers, Domestic
V.S.L.	==Virginia State Library
[ ]	==With italics: Editorial explanations within documents or translations
[ ]	==With roman: Words supplied by editor in documents or translations; letters supplied, the omission of which in the original was indicated by a tilde



# **TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY**

**SPECIAL INTRODUCTION**





## SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

The title to this volume is determined by the character of the documents that chance has thrown together, for from almost every page either trade or politics shout at the reader, and on many pages will be heard the union of the two voices. The story that these documents tell is typical of the course of Illinois history and for that matter, of the course of western American history in general. Men have sought this region while still in the wilderness stage, and later when it was becoming the center of a new population, for the purpose of bettering their economic conditions; and closely connected with this desire for the betterment of economic conditions has been politics, whether played in Westminster or in Washington.

Throughout the volume the name of one man stands out most prominently. It is that of George Morgan, who has made his appearance in the previous volume of the series, "The New Régime." But it is during the years covered by these pages that we obtain the closest view of the activities of this early builder of the west. As representative of the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan in the Illinois country, he used every opportunity of informing his partners of his goings and comings; and since the senior partner was his father-in-law, there are in the correspondence many intimate touches. Besides these business letters search has brought to light letters of a more personal character, and the reader will find of particular interest those written by Morgan to his wife. The mass of the material is so great that the picture of Morgan is more clear-cut than that of almost any other figure connected with early Illinois history save that of George Rogers Clark.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After this volume has gone to press I learn of the discovery of many pages of correspondence, particularly that of Mr. Baynton. Many of these should have been included in this and earlier volumes of the series. It is hoped that in course of time they may be printed.

The Philadelphia firm expected great results from their enterprise in the Illinois country, profits from supplying the British troops with rations, from trading with the French citizens of the Illinois villages and with the Indians for furs. Preparations for the business were made on a large scale. A flotilla of many boats was maintained by the firm; these were built by their own carpenters at Pittsburg and were regularly sent down loaded with merchandise for the western trade. The picture of Morgan in selling these goods, whether negro slaves or shoes, is presented in the minutest detail in letters, and it is possible to follow in full his success and his failures.

The game of politics in this trading enterprise was played not only in the east where the firm was on good terms with General Gage and hoped from relations with him and the commissary general to secure privileges, but also was conducted by Morgan with the successive officers in command of the British troops at Fort de Chartres. On the whole the firm was disappointed in the outcome of their enterprise. Morgan's relations with Colonel Reed, the first commandant with whom he had dealings, were anything but friendly. Reed had his own ideas of how the business of rationing the troops should be conducted, and it seems very evident that he was hoping by establishing relations with a French firm to secure some profits for himself. After Reed's departure, Morgan was able to congratulate his partners on the friendly relations existing between them and Reed's successor, Captain Forbes, and later Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins. Wilkins and Morgan entered into an understanding by which both would receive profits from trade and land speculation.

This condition of friendship and partnership between Morgan and Wilkins was not of long duration. In order to gain his own end and to strengthen his position, Morgan built up a party among the English and French for the purpose of influencing the commandant of the troops. His success was great and for a time Morgan's position in the

Illinois was one of great authority. Most readers will turn with much interest to the record of the Court of Judicature which was established by Wilkins while still on friendly terms with George Morgan, who was appointed the president of the court. It is not necessary to follow in detail the growing antagonism between the two men, for the court record contains all the facts and to this the reader should turn. At the end it becomes evident that the commandant and the merchant are the leaders of two antagonistic parties in this far-distant land. The sequel of this antagonism will be more fully illustrated by the succeeding volume.

In the beginning of the period covered by the documents in this volume, the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan was the only important business house conducting trade in the Illinois, but on the last pages there appears the figure of another very interesting man who represents a rival firm. This is William Murray; and the men back of him are two well known Pennsylvania merchants, Gratz and Simons. As Morgan stands out as the most interesting and most prominent figure of this volume, William Murray will appear in the pages of the succeeding volume, for he made himself the leader of all enterprises, trade, and land speculating during the period after the departure of Morgan from Kaskaskia.

The documents frequently lead away from Kaskaskia the ancient, for often the explanations of events in the Illinois country must be sought in Westminster. A series of records which is as conspicuous as that concerned with the trade of the Philadelphia firm follows the changing character of British policy. In "The New Régime" there were printed the sources of information concerning the development of a plan for the establishment of a colony in the Illinois country, an enterprise that was represented in London by Benjamin Franklin, and which was supported in America by Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan and their friends. The plan fitted in with the imperial policy of the

secretary of state for the southern department, Lord Shelburne. In the opening pages of this volume the conclusion of Shelburne's activities may be followed. His policy was accepted by the British cabinet in September, 1767, and through the closing months of that year it seemed quite possible that the British Empire would found colonies all along the line of the Mississippi river. This was not to be. British politics in England led to the changes that eliminated Lord Shelburne as the minister in charge of America, and brought to the front as secretary of state to the colonies, a new position created in January, 1768, the sinister form of Lord Hillsborough. There are printed for the first time in this volume many letters of this minister to his subordinates in America, and from them may be derived his ideas of what he thought should be done with the west. The letters exchanged between the secretary of state and General Gage form on the whole an important contribution to the knowledge of western American history during this period, although the sequel of the policy that was finally to prevail will be exhibited in the pages of a succeeding volume.

It is evident from these letters that the problem of the Illinois country was a most important one and was so considered by the cabinet itself. Again and again Lord Hillsborough returns to the subject, and General Gage is constantly collecting information from his subordinates concerning this distant land and forwarding it to his superior. Several of the letters of General Gage to the Illinois commandants have an interesting history; they were discovered a few years ago in the Virginia State Library at Richmond, their final repository after they were captured by George Rogers Clark.

Broadly speaking the British ministry and General Gage slowly came to the conclusion that the expense of maintaining in the Illinois country a military force and representatives of the Indian department did not pay. It was concerning the latter that the decision was reached

first. Colonel Edward Cole, Commissioner of the Indian Department, found it necessary in order to keep the Indians at peace to expend very large amounts of money, which disturbed General Gage seriously and the secretary of state even more, so that it is not surprising that the imperial administration determined to cut off this expense and to place under the control of the colonies the administration of the Indian fur trade. This determination was actually reached under Lord Shelburne, but it was put into execution by Lord Hillsborough.

The expense of maintaining troops in a territory so far from the settled portions of America as was the Illinois country was very considerable, and there was a lively exchange of letters concerning the value of continuing this expense. It will be seen that General Gage, always sensitive to the influence of his superiors, was easily convinced that the expenditure was not justified. Although the final decision of vacating Fort de Chartres was reached in the year succeeding those covered by the documents in this volume, such a policy can be anticipated from a careful reading of the documents here printed.

There is a third subject which is illuminated by the letters, namely, that of the Indians. There was a standing fear of an Indian uprising during these years, an uprising that would be similar in character and scope to that led by Chief Pontiac in 1763. It did not materialize, but many white men were actually put to death by Indians, and the serious signs of discontent were duly reported to Gage.

This is the period in which tradition relates at length a story of a severe punishment of the Illinois by other tribes of Indians for the death of Pontiac, which occurred at Cahokia. All the documents bearing upon the death of Pontiac that could be found are here printed, and it will be seen that there is no evidence of any such catastrophe.

The attention of those historians who are interested in the ante-Boone exploration of Kentucky is called to the information about hitherto unknown expeditions to the

**“Dark and Bloody Country.”** From letters of George Morgan and others a knowledge of hunting trips from Kaskaskia in the years before Boone’s great exploration may be gleaned. Also the same sources describe two expeditions from Virginia of which the historians of Kentucky appear to have found no record. Both of these last were attacked by the Indians and suffered losses.

# **DOCUMENTS**

**AUGUST 28, 1767—DECEMBER 29, 1769**





## CHAPTER I

### LORD SHELburnE ANNOUNCES HIS POLICY AUGUST 28, 1767—OCTOBER 5, 1767

FRANKLIN'S REPORT OF PROGRESS ON THE ILLINOIS PLAN—THE DETROIT TRADERS PROTEST—THE REPLY OF HAY—NEGOTIATIONS OF BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN WITH THEIR CREDITORS—LORD SHELburnE'S RECOMMENDATIONS TO HIS COLLEAGUES—CABINET ACTION—PHYN'S MISSION TO THE WEST—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S REPORT ON INDIAN AFFAIRS—MORGAN'S JOURNAL—WHARTON'S VIEWS ON INDIAN BOUNDARIES—CROGHAN'S VIEWS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS—SHELburnE'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF WESTERN POLICY.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, August 28, 1767

[Franklin, *Works* (Smyth ed.), 5:45 *et seq.*]

LONDON, August 28, 1767.

DEAR SON,

I have no letter of yours since my last, in which I answered all preceding ones.

Last week I dined at Lord Shelburne's, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Conway (there being no other company) on the subject of reducing American expense. They have it in contemplation to return the management of Indian affairs into the hands of the several provinces on which the nations border, that the colonies may bear the charge of treaties, &c., which they think will then be managed more frugally, the treasury being tired with the immense drafts of the superintendants, &c.<sup>1</sup> I took the opportunity of urging it as one means of saving expense in supporting the outposts, that a settlement should be made in the Illinois country; expatiated on the various advantages, viz. furnishing provisions cheaper to the garri-sons, securing the country, retaining the trade, raising a strength there which on occasion of a future war, might easily be poured down the

<sup>1</sup> See Lord Shelburne's statement, *post*, 12.

Mississippi upon the lower country, and into the Bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba or Mexico itself. I mentioned your plan, its being approved by Sir William Johnson, the readiness and ability of the gentlemen concerned to carry the settlement into execution, with very little expense to the crown, &c. The secretaries appeared finally to be fully convinced, and there remained no obstacle but the Board of Trade, which was to be brought over privately, before the matter should be referred to them officially. In case of laying aside the superintendants, a provision was thought of for Sir William Johnson.

We had a good deal of farther discourse on American affairs, particularly on paper money: Lord Shelburne declared himself fully convinced of the utility of taking off the restraint, by my answer to the Report of the Board of Trade. General Conway had not seen it, and desired me to send it to him, which I did next morning. They gave me expectation of a repeal next session, Lord Clare being come over: but they said there was some difficulty with others at the Board, who had signed that Report; for there was a good deal in what Soame Jenyns had laughingly said, when asked to concur in some measure, *I have no kind of objection to it, provided we have heretofore signed nothing to the contrary.*

In this conversation I did not forget our main Pennsylvania business, and I think made some farther progress, though but little. The two secretaries seemed intent upon preparing business for next Parliament, which makes me think, that the late projects of changes are now quite over, and that they expect to continue in place. But whether they will do much or little, I cannot say.

Du Guerchy, the French ambassador, is gone home, and Monsieur Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the abilities shown in my examination; has desired to have all my political writings, invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on occasion, and blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity.

I write this in a great hurry, being setting out in an hour on another journey with my steady, good friend, Sir John Pringle. We propose to visit Paris. Durand has given me letters of recommendation to the Lord knows who. I am told I shall meet with great respect there; but winds change, and perhaps it will be full as well if I do not. We shall be gone six weeks. I have a little private commission to transact, of which more another time.

Communicate nothing of this letter but privately to our friend Galloway. I am your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

VAN SCHAAK AND OTHER TRADERS TO HAY,<sup>1</sup> September 4, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15:57—C.]

DETROIT 4<sup>th</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> 1767.

SIR.

As we are greatly enteristed in the Indian Trade at this place, we cannot with indiffirence behold its present deplorable and ruinous condition, without delivering our Sentiments on a Subject, that not only threatens ruin and Bankrupcy to ourselves but to a multitude of Others whose well being depends on this very Trade.

First we beg leave to observe, in regard to ourselves that for the last two years past our credit at home and abroad has Suffered greatly for want of the usual remittances which we attribute to the Trade being confin'd to the Fort. this restriction has put it out of our power to Vend our goods to people of property who Send to winter among the Indians; and while we were thus limited the Tradeing people from the Neighbouring Posts have had permission to go out among the very Indians that we have Depended for Trade.

Secondly the annual Remittances of Peltrie from this place, are greatly Lessened by our being confined and restructed here, which will appear very evident if we consider that the French traders from the South side of the Mississipe bring goods all the way up to S<sup>t</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jehu Hay was commissary of Indians at Detroit, having been appointed in March, 1766, by Sir William Johnson. For his instructions, see Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I. H. C., 11), 529. For a biographical notice of Hay, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I. H. C., 5), 105. For a discussion of the appointment of commissaries, consult Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 1: 290.

Vincent, the Highlands,<sup>1</sup> Vermillion, Ouya,<sup>2</sup> river languille,<sup>3</sup> Le Cour de Serf, & the Miamie, by this means they get into their hands a valuable branch of the Fur, trade, to the great hurt and Detriment of the Traders here, and which furs are carried to the new Orleans, from thence they are Shipped to France and in return get foreign manufactories, whereas if the Traders from this were permitted to go among those nations of Indians they could afford to undersell the french from the Mississipe (which of course would discourage these adventurers from comeing again) and thereby Engross that Trade into the hands of the British Subjects Only. Hence it appears that the restriction of Confining the Trade here, is not only hurtful to individuals, but very Detrimental to the publick.

Thirdly we cannot forbear Obeserving that the trade being confin'd to the posts is the cause of many complaints from the Indians; for in all there meetings or Councils they make it there first Case to request leave for traders to reside among them to Supply them and their families with necessarys otherwise they are frequently under necessity of leaving their hunting and going perhapes two or three hundred miles for a little Powder and Ball or Some other trifles of les Value, but to them absolutly Necessary; by this means the Season for hunting is losst, consequently the Trade lessened, we therefore think that the liberty of wintering among the Indians has a tendency of quieting the minds of those people; of encreasing our commerce, and render the Trade more Benefical to the Publick as well as to individuals.

Fourthly that this Setlement of Detroit from its Situation, number of its Inhabitants, and its great Extent makes it extremly difficult, if not impracticable, to Confine the Trade to the Fort, If this is admitted, it follows that men of Credit and reputation are restrained from going among the Indians, whilst the worst and lowest kind of People have it in their power to go off clandestinely with Goods & reside Among them where it is well known they keep up a

<sup>1</sup> Probably the region around the modern city of Terre Haute.

<sup>2</sup> Vermillion and Ouya refer to the country around the present city of Lafayette.

<sup>3</sup> One of the headwaters of the Wabash River.

spirit of jealousy and Discontent, extremly hurtful to the publick Tranquility.

Fifthly that if people of property and Character were permitted to go among the Indians, it would be their Intrest as well as inclination to cultivate a good understanding among them, Conciliate their Affections, and instill in their minds Principals of friendship and Dependance on us, Moreover people this [*sic*] qualify'd might probaby obtain an influence over the Savages to remove from them a Set of runegates and Vagabonds, that have for Some years past Occationed great uneasiness and Discontent in the Indian Countries where they Screen themselves from paying their Debts.

Sixthly that a number of people have Been trusted here with goods before the Restriction of confining the Trade to the Fort took place, and on that account avoid coming here for fear of being prevented from returning: this leads them to the Illinois where they get goods for their Peltrie that Should come here and get permission of returning among the Indians and keep their Creditors here, out of there just Debts.

Seventhly that the importance of this place to great Britain, the number of Inhabitants and its Situation may Justly intitle it to be Reckuned the Metropoles of all his Majestys possessions in the Indian Countries. Yet we find the trade here particularly limited and restricted, while the traders from Michilimackinac & the Illinois have Permission of wintering round us and thereby engross the Principall part of the Trade on which we cheifly depend for Remittances, these facts are So well known to you Sir that it is unnecessary to urge them any farther.

Lastly we beg that you will take the above Reasons into consideration and grant us a permission of going out this Fall, that we may be enabled to pay our Debts in the Spring, this we flatter ourselves you will not refuse as we only request to be upon a footing with the tradeing People at the Other Posts, Furthermore

We will enter into any Bonds, you Shall think Necessary for the Behaviour of Ourselves or Such people as we may Send Out, your complying with a request so just and reasonable as what we have

made we cannot Doubt but it will meet (not only) with Sir William Johnsons approbation but that of the Board of Trade also,

We are Very Respectfully Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servants

H. V. SCHAACK	FLEURIMONT
THO <sup>S</sup> WILLIAMS	D. BABY
W <sup>M</sup> EDGAR	B. CHAPOTON
RICH <sup>D</sup> MCNEALL	ISAAC TODD
SAM <sup>LL</sup> TYMS	PHI: DEJEAN

To JEHU HAY Esq<sup>r</sup> Commissary of Indian Affairs at Detroit  
True Copy

HAY TO THE TRADERS, September 4, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15:56—L.S.]

DETROIT Sept<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1767

GENTLEMEN

I have read your Sentiments<sup>1</sup> which you were pleased to lay before me to day, with regard to the trade at this place & am very Sensible that you and many Others are much Interested in it.

In answer to your first Observation please to give me leave to remark, that if your Credit has fail'd at home the last two years for want of usual Remittances, that it can not be from the Trades being Confin'd to the posts. First because it has been Confin'd but One Year, & secondly the Remittances in Peltry for that one year, I believe is much greater than has been for many years past.

I Dare Say the French Traders that live on the West Side of the Mississippi will try to get as much of our Trade as they Posibly can, But the Commissary at the Illinois who ought to know whether any Considerable part of our Trade is taken away by them, Has never mentioned to me that they have been Tradeing at any of the places, you mention, tho I believe he is Sensible they come into the Illinois river and I must Confess the Distance between this and the Illinois is So great that it would be Better if there was a place of trade between this and that, as to Complaints or requests from the Indians with regard to the Traders being Confin'd to the posts, I have never heard any But from the Miamies and the people on the Wabache

<sup>1</sup> See preceding letter.

who I believe only Spoke what those Runigates as you So justly Call them put in their mouths, for as they are a Sett of People who lives without Law or Religion, apparently through Choice, they cannot Subsist long, without Succour and therefore do what they can to bring goods amongst them and Since our Traders with the Protection of Small Garrisons at S<sup>t</sup> Joseph's, Labay, Ouiattanon, Miamie &ca, could not Dislodge them it will be much more Difficult at present, it is True the Extent of this place is Such that it is imposible to provent Peoples Trading Contrary to His Majestys Proclamation and the Regulations Since made for Trade but its my Opinion if the Trading People of this place would joyn Heartily not only in Executing the present Plan for Trade but be Aiding in bringing to Justice all those who Act in Contempt thereof to their prejudice they would Soon find their Account in their Remittances would not only be Great, but with Less Expence and much Less Risque, and the Indians would be more Convinced of their Dependence upon us.

The Trade at this place is no more Confin'd than at any Other post, in the Department excepecting Michilimack<sup>a1</sup> which you Saw by the Rules & Instructions I had the pleasure of Laying befor you this day and by which you See its not in my power to Give Passes to any one to winter or Trade among the tribes but on the Contrary am Order'd to Ask assistance from the Commanding Officer to Bring away any that I find Trading Contrary to those Rules; I must beg leave to mention that I think Such a proceeding in me Cannot meet with Aprobatons, Since in my Presence Sir William Johnson, was at Some pains in Explaining the Present Regulations for the Indian Trade To A Number of Nations last Year at Oswego at a publick Congress.

I Dare Say that in Case of Such permission every one Indulg'd with them would make a point of Conducting themselves in the best manner.

I Shall Conclude by assuring you that I shall always be ready to do any and every thing in my Power for the good of Commerce in General, or any One of you as far as is Consistant with my Orders and

<sup>f</sup> On the representation of the Canadian merchants, Lord Shelburne removed the restrictions confining the Indian trade to Mackinac and to the northward.

Instructions and am Gentlemen Your most Obedient Most Hum<sup>o</sup>  
Serv<sup>t</sup>

JEHU HAY<sup>1</sup>

TO THE TRADING PEOPLE OF DETROIT

GALLOWAY TO W. FRANKLIN, September 6, 1767

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 48:134—A.L.S.]

[September 6, 1767]

DEAR SIR,

What I feared and intimated to you on Wednesday last, respecting our Friends B. W. & M, is come to pass. They are reduced to the Necessity of calling their Creditors together, and laying before them a State of their Affairs. At first, this Incident gave me inexpressible Shagrene and Affliction, under the Apprehension that their Circumstances would prove unfavourable to their Honour and future Credit, That their Friends would be, Sufferers, and their Enemies, triumphant. But it is with the Highest Pleasure, I assure you, that this gloomy Aspect is now entirely vanished, and that on a minute examination of their Debts Credits and Effects, it appears that they will be able to discharge all their Contracts in a Short Time, and retain to themselves an amazing Sum, beyond the Expectation of all their Friends, at least in my Opinion, £30,000 and if no unforeseen Accident happens double that sum so that this stoppage will be so far from reflecting Dishonour on them, that it will do them great Credit, and be the effectual Means of Recovering a Reputation in Trade which has been fading for Sum Years. They propose to conduct their extensive Affairs, under the Directions of Trustees to be appointed by the Creditors who are to meet to Morrow Evening, When, It is not only my Opinion but that of M<sup>r</sup> James, who understands Matters of this Kind much better, that their Enemies will say nothing worse of them, than that they have Stretched the Cord too tight.

<sup>1</sup> No endorsement. This is a copy, not in Hay's hand but signed by him and forwarded to Sir William Johnson with the letter of September 25 (15:85).



Our Friend S. W,<sup>1</sup> apprehends, and I think with good Reason, that Some Pains will be taken to Send him to the Illinois (some of the Company must be there), to transact their Affairs. The Impropriety of which will, I am certain, strike you on the first Mention of it. You will know of how much Importance M<sup>r</sup> W's Presence and Attention will be in obtaining a Retribution for the Indian Losses,<sup>2</sup> and that no other Person, for many Reasons can he [*sic*] negotiate that Matter with Sir W. J. & M<sup>r</sup> C.<sup>3</sup> but himself: Indeed, it appears to M<sup>r</sup> James & myself, that this important Affair must drop, should it be determined, that he sh<sup>d</sup> go to the Indian Country.

M<sup>r</sup> Wh. thinks, that a Letter from you to M<sup>r</sup> James Signifying the Necessity of M<sup>r</sup> Whartons Staying to transact this Affair with Sir W., to be shewn to the Creditors, will have the Wished for Effect.<sup>4</sup>

Since I wrote the above, from several Things I have heard, I do think it absolutely necessary that you should come down, by which means alone M<sup>r</sup> Whartons Journey to the Illinois can be prevented, and thereby your great Object obtained. It is now so near a Conclusion that I should be extremely Sorry you and our Friends sh<sup>d</sup> meet with a disappointment which must be the Case, if M<sup>r</sup> W. Presence should be wanting. I am D<sup>r</sup> Friend

Yours most Affectionately

J. GALLOWAY.

[*Addressed:*] To His Excell<sup>y</sup> William Franklin Esq<sup>r</sup> Burlington  
 @post

[*Endorsed:*] J. Galloway to W. F. Sept<sup>r</sup> 6, 1767.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Wharton.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the claim of merchants for losses at the outbreak of the conspiracy of Pontiac. It resulted in a cession, known as Indiana, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Consult index "Indiana," in Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*.

<sup>3</sup> George Croghan.

<sup>4</sup> The efforts to prevent Samuel Wharton from being sent to the Illinois were successful and George Morgan went instead. See his journal, *post*, 67.

GAGE TO HALDIMAND, September 6, 1767

[Add. MSS. 21.663 f. 112—C.]

NEW YORK Sep<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1767

SIR,

I am to acknowledge Your Letters of 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> June together with a Return of the Pay of the Staff, and a List of Patents granted for Lands about the Natchés and other Places on the Mississippi.

If our Posts on the lower parts of the Mississippi are to be maintained, perhaps there is no better method to do it, than what you propose. But after all what Commodities can Settlers raise, that will pay for the great Expence of European Merchandize with which they must be Supplied, and the Supplys Sent to them as precarious, as those Now Sent to Support the small Posts erected on that River. What advantage either ourselves or the Spaniards can reap from West Florida or Louisiana is more than I can foresee, and as for the Grants of Lands, of which you send me a List; I prophecy neither you or I, shall ever see the Conditions complied with. I laid down one general Rule from the Beginning of our taking Possession of West-Florida; take no Posts which you can't Support. How has this been obeyed? Tombecbé taken possession of in a hurry against every body's advice, abandoned in as great Hurry, and now possessed again. Afterwards the Posts at the Ibbeville and Natchés possessed tho' said at the time they could not be supported in case of a rupture with the Spaniards. And the only Reason given for sending Troops thither was, that it was necessary in order to figure with the Indian Nations. All this Time nothing done effectually either at Mobile or Pensacola, surely they were our first objects; and it was time to extend ourselves further, when we had seen more into our affairs, and had gained a proper knowledge of the Country. I told you in my former Letter that there had been neither Plan nor Method in our Proceedings. Everything has been done without consideration, often to satisfy private Resentment and to counteract each other. In this Situation you have found Affairs, and I am certain will do the best you can to draw them out of Confusion.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Gordon saw little of the Ibbeville; and if that is not and cannot be rendered navigable at all Times, we shall have a hard Task to communicate with our Posts.

It has turned out with Lieu<sup>t</sup> Ritchie and the Indian Commissary as those matters generally do, viz<sup>t</sup> both in the wrong, and am glad Colonel Tayler was satisfied concerning M<sup>r</sup> Steuart's Conduct towards him.

I think you judge rightly about Tombecbé and putting the Orders and Regulations about the Trade strictly in force.

The Return of the Staff was just what was wanted.

I can give you no certain Accounts as yet about the Proceedings of the Court Martial upon Ensign Thompson. I hope what you tell me concerning Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Walsh is not true.

Your Project about a Military Colony at the Natchés is sent home; it may be long perhaps before I get an answer to it.

You will now certify for the Barrack-Master Lieu<sup>t</sup> Downman from the time of his appointment, that he may get his Pay at the War Office as well as the rest of the Staff.

I shall now acknowledge in this Letter, your Favor of 30<sup>th</sup> June inclosing an Extract of a Letter to you from Major Farmar, I say so much of the Major in another Letter that I need add nothing concerning him in this.

I have the honor to be with great Regard,

Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.

BRIGAD<sup>R</sup> GEN<sup>L</sup> HALDIMAND or Off<sup>r</sup> Commd<sup>g</sup> s<sup>o</sup> District Pensacola.

[*Endorsed*] 1767 Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage 6<sup>th</sup> Sept. r. 19<sup>th</sup> Novemb<sup>r</sup>

SHELBURNE EXPOUNDS HIS WESTERN POLICY TO THE CABINET  
September 11, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:185]

Minutes submitted to the Cabinet in the beginning of Summer 1767—relative to the System of Indian Traffick.

N. B. This Business remain'd under consideration till Oct<sup>r</sup> 1767 & then the Reference which goes before was made to the Board of Trade, where the Business rested till the Change of the Department took place.

Exclusive of what—to particular provinces there remains to be decided a Point of great Importance both to Great Britain and America that is, a System for the Trade and Management of the Indians.

Several Representations have been received from the Superintendants & other Officers for Indian Affairs setting forth the Impossibility of things going on upon their present Footing, and that without some alteration they cannot long be answerable for the publick Quiet.

The Merchants both in America and at home have presented Memorials setting forth the Grievances which they have suffered by the want of some fixed plan, as well as their apprehensions from those which they heard had been proposed.

Nothing but the disturbed state in which the Colonies have been for the 2 or 3 years last past could have prevented these representations from having been taken into consideration.

Besides the Inconveniencies arising from the present System, the Expence attending the Management of Indian Affairs which has been little diminished since the Peace, continues so considerable that either

<sup>1</sup> The date is somewhat baffling. The paper contains a recommendation for the establishment of western colonies, a resolution which Franklin says Lord Shelburne reached after the middle of August. (Franklin, *Works* [Bigelow ed.], 4:309.) Later, in November, Shelburne told Franklin that he had drawn up a paper justifying such colonies. (*Ibid.*, 332.) The reference was evidently to this paper. There are two explanations possible. The endorsement on this paper may be a mistake or else Shelburne did not permit Franklin, in August, to learn how far he had already gone in the matter of western colonies. If the indorsement is a mistake, it probably arose from the fact that there was a similar paper, without the recommendation concerning colonies, that was read to the cabinet in the beginning of summer.

a Reduction or a certain provision for defraying it is become an indispensable object of consideration for Government. The actual Pay of the Superintendants and the charges attending the civil Establishments at the several Posts are not the only Burthens to be placed to this Account. For the Extraordinaries of the Army as well as the keeping up of the Forts form also a part of it; the present Situation of the Army being so much dependent on Indian Affairs that it is impossible to consider one without the other.

To provide for those Services was the purpose of the Stamp Act; a Measure too unpopular and unconstitutional to prove effectual. Since that time several Regulations of Duties have taken place, which however well they may answer cannot be expected to prove effectual for defraying the ordinary Expence of North America, much less contribute to lessen that occasioned to this Country by the Army Extraordinaries.

Since the Repeal of the Stamp Act, this matter has afforded grounds for Serious Complaint in the House of Commons, and has been only answered on the part of Administration by Assurances that it was actually under Consideration, and that before the approaching Winter some plan should take place which would lessen the Burthen to Great Britain.

About four years ago the Board of Trade prepared a plan for this very purpose,<sup>1</sup> which as far as it has been tried has not succeeded. —The plan itself with the particular objections which have occurred to those who have been consulted upon it and who are perfectly acquainted with the Situation of the Colonies is annexed to this Paper, stated Article by Article. In general it may be said that this plan tends by a Variety of minute Regulations to restrain commerce (which can scarcely admit of any Regulations which do not naturally flow from itself) and to bind People from their Tempers and Habits of living the least disposed to Submit to any Regulation whatever and this by means of Superintend<sup>ts</sup> or rather an Indian Staff appointed by the Crown independent both of Civil and Military authority to a most extraordinary degree and to be supported only

<sup>1</sup> This is printed in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I. H. C., 10), 273ff.

by a very heavy and complicated Expence particularly in military contingencies which have been so much complained of already as to render it necessary for the future to provide for them *particularly* by Acts of Parliament here.—Add to this, that a principal part of this plan is a Repeal of all the Laws for regulating Indian Affairs and Commerce now in force in the several Colonies; a very serious Measure whether viewed in a Legal or political Light.—Again it tends to lessen the power and impair the Discipline of the American Army by scattering and breaking the Regiments into very small Bodies.

A plan has likewise been proposed by the Secretary at War for a new Distribution of the Troops with a view to preserve the Discipline by keeping them in two or more large Bodies and to reduce some of the Forts and make over others into the hands of the provinces in order to lessen the Amount of the present enormous Expence.<sup>1</sup>

The different principles upon which these two plans are formed and the material points wherein they clash deserve the utmost Attention.

If the Indian Plan upon the whole should be found improper and at the same time productive of a very heavy Expence it requires to be considered what plan can be substituted in its place capable of remedying as well the inconveniences complained of by the Superintendants and Merchants as those National ones just mentioned.

The better to accomplish this it will be necessary to look back to the origin of the Establishment at the time when the present Officers were first appointed by the Crown and to observe the Cause of the Change from the former system which left the Management of these Affairs entirely under the Colonies themselves to that adopted at the Commencement of the late War and to enquire whether the Causes have not been removed which at that time rendered a change necessary.

From the first Settlement of America till the year 1754 there never was any appointment for Indian Affairs. The different Colonies (in the order of their Settlement) lived some in a state of

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Lord Barrington's plan, printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I. H. C., 11), 234ff.

War others in a state of Amity with the Indians around them managing their own matters as well as they could. The provinces increased in Strength, and the Indians traded with them for such Articles as their Intercourse had rendered necessary, and induced either by fear of their power or won by their presents they were at last brought into a very peaceable Disposition. The Province of Pennsylvania in particular bought all their Lands from the Indians for a Trifle, carried on a very considerable Trade and never had a Dispute with any of their Tribes, untill the French beginning their encroachments at the back of our Settlements spirited up the Western Indians to fall upon the Frontiers of the Provinces particularly the Shawanese and Delawares who laid waste the Borders of Virginia & Pennsylvania. Upon these Encroachments and Intrigues of the French the Colonies found their former Method of managing the Indians insufficient and therefore they proposed a plan of Union amongst themselves for erecting a chain of Forts at the common Expence and a Congress of Deputies met at Albany who transmitted this plan of Union to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. For some years before this Event the Province of New York had taken the lead in the Management of Indian Affairs; they made such Regulations and provided such presents for the Indians as their Assembly approved of, appointing Commissioners for the purpose. But things growing more serious on the French Encroachments, and the Plan of Union being transmitted to the Board of Trade the New York Commission was thought by Government inadequate to the Exigency of the times and Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson & M<sup>r</sup> Atkins came to be appointed the first Superintendants for Indian Affairs in consequence of a Plan prepared by the Board of Trade with a view to the general Defence of the Colonies, as appears from the annexed Copies of the Plan of Union offered by the Colonies<sup>1</sup> and the Representation made at the time by the Board of Trade.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is evident that the Encroachments of the French and not the General State of Indian Affairs first occasioned this appointment. If then it is found that the Cause is removed, the Necessity of continuing the appointment ceases

<sup>1</sup> The Albany plan.

<sup>2</sup> This plan of the Board of Trade is printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 6:903.

of course, and if things were allowed to glide naturally into their former Channel, and the Management of the Indian Trade was once more left to the Provinces, they certainly would very willingly undertake the Expence, settling such Duties upon the Trade as might serve to defray it. Being upon the Spot they would judge with Propriety what Congresses ought to be held and what Presents made to the Indians and the Peace of the Frontiers depending absolutely on their good Management there can be no Reason to fear that the publick Utility would not be more zealously consulted and the publick Peace more effectually preserved than they can be by Superintendants and Commissaries who are eternally complaining that they are officers without power, and indeed they must ever remain such from that original and essential fault in their Institution of being in a manner independent & deriving no Authority from either the Civil or military Power consequently depending altogether for the due Execution of their Orders upon the personal Influence they can obtain over the Minds of the Savages and Traders.

With regard to the Repeal of the provincial Laws many of those Laws are the Result of long Experience, made by the people on the Spot interested in their Consequences, some of them are also particularly fitted to the Condition & Situation of the several Colonies; and although they may not have been absolutely effectual in removing many Evils complained of, yet it does not follow that those Evils are in their Nature remediable, or that any Plan formed here and to be executed by officers who carry on a distant Correspondence would do better; To repeal therefore those Laws without Distinction appears a Measure highly dangerous and, unadviseable as has already been observed. Instead therefore of repealing those Laws, would it not be better to restore to each Colony the Management of their respective Trade with the Indians and recommend to them to make such Amendments in their acts or subject them to such Regulations as the Board of Trade shall judge necessary, and by this means give a certain Degree of Uniformity to the Design. This would raise an Emulation in the different Provinces, would save this Country much Expence, would please the legislative Bodies of all the Colonies, who being immediate Gainers or Sufferers by good or bad Management



must necessarily be better Judges of Occurrences on the Spot than we who are at a Distance and who cannot so immediately nor so nearly feel the Consequences.—No lasting inconvenience can arise to the Mother Country from this Measure, as all Laws of the Colonies are liable to a Negative at home and would undoubtedly be maturely considered before assented to.

The strongest Objections likely to occur to the restoring of the Trade to the Provinces and withdrawing of the Troops from several of the Forts are the want of a proper Barrier between the Indians and the Inhabitants of the settled Provinces and the Risque and Difficulty of supplying the Forts on the Illinois and Mississippi (should it be thought proper to keep those Forts) with Provisions and Necessaries in case of any general Discontent which the bad Policy of the Provinces might raise among the Indians.—But if the Bounds prescribed by the Proclamation of 1763 is to be understood a System of bounding not particular Provinces but our American Settlements in general, it seems founded on a contracted Policy amounting to little less than an Attempt to set Limits to the Encrease of our People and the Extension of our Dominions; besides that, it is impracticable to prevent along such a Frontier, the taking Possession of unoccupied Lands and resisting a general Inclination of Settlement by means of any Force whatever, much less that of 15 Battalions though ever so properly disposed for that purpose.—If anything can tend to keep up the Dependency & prevent a separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country, it must be a Facility for the rising Generation to extend themselves still further into the unsettled Continent whereby they must long stand in need of the friendly support of Great Britain, as long as the Erection of new Governments to the Westward and Southward affords an easy Settlements to the needy and adventurous of the other Provinces, the Migration from the Northern Colonies will continue, and while it continues the price of Labour will remain high and consequently leave us nothing to dread in point of American Manufactures or Independency; on the contrary the Encrease of population will insure a Market for British Manufactures when every European Market shall have failed us.—But were it either intended or possible to accomplish the setting Bounds to the Exten-

sion of the Colonies, the undoubted Consequence must be an Increase of Inhabitants in the settled provinces, the Lands must come to be thoroughly cultivated, and Manufactures at length must take place, untill in the end the Colonies finding themselves able to subsist by their interior Resources may be induced to shake off all Dependency and swerve from their Allegiance. And certainly the present Extent of the American Provinces (larger than all Europe) is considerable enough if thoroughly peopled to form many very powerful Nations.

Upon these Grounds Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson and Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage in their Letters upon this Subject, have strongly recommended the Establishment of several new Governments, specifying their Reasons. Different proposals likewise have been offered upon Examination of which it does not appear that such Governments would be attended with much Expence to Great Britain, for the Quit Rents would in a few years, not only defray the Expence but form a Fund for other purposes, expecially if the Grants of Lands were put under proper Checks. Besides at Detroit, one of the Plans proposed there is a Revenue already established by the French which His Majesty has as good a Right to collect, as he has to receive that paid in Canada by His new Subjects.

Thus a very simple System which would answer every intention of Government, and cut off every unnecessary Expence, might be formed by the Erection of two new Governments, the Establishment of a few principal Posts, and the leaving the Indian Affairs to the Provinces, subject to such general Regulations as the Board of Trade should think expedient for the Interest of Great Britain.—By a Government established at Detroit and another at the Illinois, Provisions would be raised upon the spot sufficient to supply not only the Inhabitants and the Garrisons, but also the Posts depending upon them. These Governments would give security to the interior Provinces at the same time that they would drain them of their superfluous hands, and would render almost all the present Barrier Forts useless; for these Forts being necessary only for keeping up the Chain of Communication, & securing the Convoys of Provisions and Military Stores, the Frontiers being extended, and provisions raised upon the spot, they would then become interior instead of Barrier

Forts, and consequently a Burthen rather than a Defence.—It is well known that Indians do not like to be surrounded by Europeans, and that whenever this happens to them they become enervated by their Intercourse with their new Neighbours, and lose their Turn for War; Therefore the Establishment of these Governments would in process of time, either induce the few Tribes who might frequent any Track of Country Eastward of them to retire Westward, or they would become what the Americans term *Domestick*, and consequently dependent.

The posts which it would be most necessary to keep up, are Crown Point, Fort Frontenac, Niagara, Michillimakinack, Pittsburg, and three upon the Mississippi—Viz<sup>t</sup> one near the junction of the Mississippi, one at the Natches, and the 3<sup>d</sup> at the Mouth of the River Ibberville, to secure the Communication with the Sea by Lake Portchartrain.

Crown Point commands the Communication between Canada and New York, & therefore is of very great Consequence in case it should be necessary to march Troops from either of those Provinces into the other.—Fort Frontenac commands the North West, as Niagara does the South East End of Lake Ontario, the first securing the Communication with the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence, & the 2<sup>d</sup> the Communication with Lakes Erie & Huron with Pittsburg & the Ohio. Michillimakinack preserves the Communication between Lake Superior, Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. Pittsburg defends the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and preserves an easy *Intercourse* with the Mississippi, and the Illinois Country by the Ohio. The Forts near the Missouri [Mississippi?], and at the Natches are necessary to secure the Trade of the South Western Indians from falling into the hands of the Spaniards, while the Vicinity of New Orleans renders a Post necessary at the Ibberville as well to protect our own Traders, as to prevent an illicit Commerce, the Spaniards having already attempted some Encroachments on Lake Portchartrain. These are in reality all the Posts absolutely necessary to protect that vast extent of Country, between the Mouths of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. And the North American Continent East of the great Lakes, might be securely garrisoned by four Battalions: of which one half might be spared, as soon as the Governments

of Detroit and the Illinois should be fairly established. By this means eleven Battalions, if not 13, might be disposed of in whatever manner Government should think most eligible; the entire Indian Expence, and extraordinary Contingencies of the Army might be cut off and the Barrier extended by forming such South Western Governments as would enable us to abandon the interior Posts which would become useless as the country should be settled inwards.

One objection made to this Arrangement is, that Establishments made at the different places proposed might give offence to the Indians as being Encroachments on their Boundaries but this objection may at any time in Case of a new Settlement be got over by calling a Congress of the Indians & purchasing the Lands under the Pretext of supplying them better with such Necessaries as they may want. Indeed the Indians have never been averse to sell their Lands on very reasonable Terms when they have been properly applied to and when they have not suspected an Intention to defraud them; But besides this, there were considerable Settlements as well at the Illinois as the Detroit in the Time of the French, which the Indians rather encouraged than discountenanced and of whom many hundred Families yet remain who must either receive some Form of Government from hence or remain altogether without any preserving their old Attachments dangerous to us and what we cannot be too careful to guard against.

Another objection has been started to forming settlements so far to the westwards; It is said that these Governments being so remote can have little Communication with the Mother Country and consequently in time must be obliged to manufacture for themselves, but this is altogether founded upon an erroneous Notion of the Country. The great Rivers, the Lakes, the lesser Rivers & navigable Creeks, with which it is everywhere intersected, afford the greatest Means both of interior Communication and foreign Intercourse, yet discover'd in the known World. The Inhabitants of these Settlements, will have everywhere the Choice of sending their commodities to Market by the Northern or the Southern Seas, by the S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence or the Mississippi; or even to the Eastward, by means of the vast Rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the Apalachean Moun-

tains, to the western Foot of which, their own Rivers conduct them on the other side.

[*Endorsed:*] Minutes of American Business.

CABINET MINUTE, September 11, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS. 85:89]

“Resolv’d that it be submitted to His Majesty as the opinion of the Lords present, that it be referr’d to the Board of Trade to consider the present State of the Indian Trade, together with the Expences attending the same, and how far they may safely and properly be reduc’d, likewise to report their opinion upon the Utility of the Forts at present subsisting, and the Inconveniences or advantages arising from keeping the same still under His Majesty’s Troops or giving them into the hands of the Provinces. The Lords are also of opinion if it’s agreeable to His Majesty that it should also be referr’d to the Lords of Trade to consider the Several applications made for New Governments or Settlements at the Detroit and the Illinois, and whether the Establishment of such Government or Settlement will not in time render the greatest part of the present Indian Expence unnecessary.”

PHYN<sup>1</sup> TO JOHNSON, September 19, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15:70—A.L.S.]

FORT PITT 19<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1767

SIR

Since I had the Honor of bidding you Adieu at Johnson Hall, I have been kept pretty closely employed, in order to make up for the Idle time I spent at Johnson Hall & Schenectady; after very sudden Orders to march from New York, a long tedious & disagreeable Rout to this place, I was hardly settled here & put the affairs of 114 men of 21<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> under my Command in some kind of Order, when I received Orders from the General to be in readiness to set off with a sufficient number of my men in boats in order to convoey 20,000 W<sup>t</sup> of Port a Quantity of Engeneer Stores & a Chest of Dollers amounting to £1000 Ste<sup>r</sup> which would be delivered me by Cap<sup>t</sup> Edmonstone

<sup>1</sup> George Phyn was at this time a lieutenant in the Twenty-first Regiment of Foot.

then on his way to command here, all which I am to deliver at Fort Chartres, and leave the boats I carry there, for Colonel Reed, who is ordered with five Companys of the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to this place: I am there to be furnished with other boats to carry me down the Mississippi to the Iberville, *which Post is occupied by our Reg<sup>t</sup>*, here I leave the Mississippi & has a carrying place of nine or ten Miles into the River Iberville but should the river be low the carrying place is 18 Miles, over this carrying place I am to find smaller boats to carry me into Lake Mauripas, where the General says I will find a Schooner or some large Craft to transport me from thence through Mauripas Lake Ponchartrain & up the Bay of Mobile untill I arrive at that Fort, which is to Compleate my Rout *of, as I am informed* three thousand miles. This Rout is, from Head Quarters laid down to me as easy to be accomplished, and for myself I never raise difficulties, altho' by the bye, I will be the first who ever went from the Iberville through the Lakes to Mobile with any body of Troops. I wish I knew where I am to Eat my Christmass Dinner. I take with me from here Eleven boats and Ninty men, without an Officer or noncomsn<sup>d</sup> off<sup>r</sup> with the Detachment but myself.

The Senica Indian Kaashuta who lives at the Mingo town below this, goes to Fort Chartres as my Conductor & Councillor, for which he gets 100 Dollers I have also an Interpreter one Nicolson, who I believe you once employed in that way.

Mr McGee<sup>1</sup> tells me he writes you by this Express & gives you a particular Account of the news we have here, for which reason I will not trouble you with a Repatition of them, they don't startle me a bit, nor do I emagine I will meet with any difficulty or opposition from Indians, and the only thing that prevents my departure is the lowness of the Ohio, the rising of which I waite with much impatience. I am affraid I have tired your Patience with so long a detail, & of so little consequence to you: But from the Friendship & Countenance you have been always pleased to Honor me with, I emagined, some account of my intended Destination would not be disagreeable.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander McKee was a native Pennsylvanian who engaged early in the Indian trade on the Ohio. In 1772 he was made a deputy agent under Sir William Johnson. In the Revolutionary War McKee aided the loyalist cause. For a fuller notice, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 74.

At the same time I must beg leave to assure you Sir, that to what ever corner of the Globe it may be my lot to be ordered to, I can never be forgetfull of the favors & Services I have received from you, And of the many happy hours I have had the Honor to spend at Johnson Hall. Gratitude then, as well as the strongest Inclination, induces me to make an offer of the poor abilities of a weak head and a good Heart entirely devoted to your Service and Interest, And happy shall I be,—if it's ever in my power to contribute in the smallest degree, in any thing, either for your satisfaction or amusement.

Please present my Compliments to Captain Claus, Guy & their Ladies, and assure them they have my best & warmest wishes for the success & prosperity of their Families. Should Sir John be arrived I very heartily give you Joey, and must beg to be most Respectfully mentioned to him. I have the Honor to be with much Esteem & Respect Sir

Your much Obliged & very Obed<sup>t</sup> Humb<sup>e</sup> Servant

GEO PHYN

TO THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Pitt Sept<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1767—From L<sup>t</sup> Geo. Phyn.

T. WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN, September 21, 1767

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 2:94—A.L.S.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1767

DEAR FRIEND

I wrote thee on the 8<sup>th</sup> Inst. since which have none of thy favours, as I in my last inform'd thee, relative to the Affairs of Baynton Wharton & Morgan. I have now the satisfaction of saying, that, in a few Days after, they call'd their Creditors together, and laid before them, a state, whereby it clearly appeared they had a Capital of £28.000 and Upwards, after paying all their Creditors their full demands and deducting very largely for Doubtfull and Bad Debts, And Reckoning their great Adventure to the Illinois, at only the prime Cost with Charges; this state so satisfied them that they with the greatest Chearfullness came into a Letter of Licence for 3 Years, the business to be transacted by the House, under the Council of Eight of their Creditors, and distribution to be Made Rateable among them, as fast as a Sum is Receivd, on which it would be worth

While; the distribution to be on the same proportion to B & W<sup>e</sup> Creditors as those of B. W. & M.; thus they are now happily at Work, and their George Morgan setts off this Week for the Illinois, in order to finish their great Adventure in that Country; should the Profitts continue at the rate they have hitherto sold, its not doubted, their Ballance on Winding Up, (which they hope will be before the termination of the 3 years) will be much larger. I dont find they can have it in their Power to write to R<sup>d</sup> Neave & Son or David Barclay & Sons by this opportunity, so that, should it be convenient, thou can communicate the Contents to them.

Our Election is near at hand, [*MS. torn*] we have little Reason to fear a Change in our Ticket; except [*MS. torn*] of Our friend John Potts, who is so Ill, that his [*MS. torn*] Expected. There has lately been a Change in the [*MS. torn*]; A Stedman left out, and John Lawrence placed in his stead, and Thomas Willing Made the fourth Supream Judge; Cap' James Young & Charles Jolly Judges of the Pleas &c We are inform the Order for these Creations came from Your Side; and Its expected We shall have a Number of New Common Councill Men elected shortly; These Appointments a good deal sower the New Allies as some of them expected to have been Exalted.

There is some Reason to believe that W. A.—will lose his Election in Cumberland County.

I remain thy Real & Affec<sup>t</sup> Friend

THO WHARTON

[*Addressed:*] For Benjamin Franklin Esq<sup>r</sup> Deputy post Master General of N<sup>o</sup> America In Craven Street London. 39 favour of Cap Jefferies

REVIEW OF THE TRADE AND AFFAIRS IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT  
OF AMERICA [September 22, 1767]<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5:68ff., 351-423]

A REVIEW of the progressive State of the Trade, Politicks and Proceedings of the Indians in the Northern District with some Hints humbly offered towards Establishing such regulations as may be

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:953 et seq.



enforced for the preventing Abuses, and securing Tranquility to the Colonies.<sup>1</sup>

BEFORE the War commenced in 1744 and until that which ended in the reduction of Canada &ca, the Trade of the Northern District tho' Limited and under many disadvantages was not inconsiderable; Indeed the circumstances of Situation and other disadvantages prevented more than *Two* of the Colonies within that District, from enjoying much of it.—These two Colonies were *New York* and *Pensilvania*; if *Virginia* is admitted into the Northern District it must likewise be admitted to have had a large Share of Trade particularly in Deer Skins &ca.—but Excepting it out of this review we shall consider the Trade as principally possessed by the Two before mentioned Colonies, and of these, two, *New York* had the greatest Advantage from its occupying a Post on the *Lake Ontario*, to which there was a good Water communication with very little interruption, which enabled them to get the most Valuable Furs.

The Traders of *Pensilvania* penetrated to Sundry places on the *Ohio*, and many of them to the Country of the *Twightwees*, &ca but their purchases being chiefly in deers Leather, transported by pack Horses and having Tedious Journeys to make, their returns could not be equally beneficial;—The Traders in both Colonies were Chiefly Composed of the frontier Inhabitants who having some Acquaintance with the Indian Languages and being necessitous were the easier induced to such undertakings in a Country where Credit was easily had for Goods.—*New York* bade the fairest for being the principal if not the only *Barcadier* for the most Valuable part of the Furr Trade and certainly enjoyed a good deal of it but to improve its advantages other Measures and other Men should have been made use of than the ordinary Traders.

Those who Traded to *Oswego* were for the most part Inhabitants of *Albany Schenectady*, and the *Mohawk River*, the posterity

<sup>1</sup> Shelburne wrote to Johnson for information relative to Indian affairs in the northern district with the view of formulating a plan for presentation to the ministry. He presented his plan, however, in September, 1767, before Johnson's report reached him. The report, which was inclosed in Johnson's letter of September 22, 1767, was presented to the board of trade, December 21, 1767. See board of trade journal of that date, *post*, 151. Shelburne's plan is printed *ante*, 12; Johnson letter is in *New York Colonial Documents*. 7:951 *et seq.*

State of the  
Trade before  
1744

Character  
of the  
Traders in  
General

Of those  
Trading to  
Oswego

of the Low Dutch who being very ignorant, and accustomed to the Strictest parsimony, in diet, Clothing, and all other Expences, had no Idea of Extending the Trade or bringing large Cargoes but contented themselves with a certain profit arising from a small Quantity of Goods which they took care to Trade off within the Compass of 3 or 4 Months, the Issues of which Maintained them in idleness for the remainder of the Year.

**Of the Indians  
before that  
period**

Formerly, the Indians in our Alliance were not Alienated from our Interests; 'tho' Wronged and Imposed upon from the beginning we had a Majority disposed towards us, for it required many Years dealings with us to enable them to form any Judgment of Lands,—of their own Peltry, or of our Weights and Measures, Add to this, that the French (tho' few in Number) Convinced them by their Actions that they were a more Military enterprizing people, and altho' they loaded all those Nations who were in their Alliance with favors, yet that enterprizing disposition alarmed the Indians with regard to themselves, and probably induced them to Look with pleasure on any Checks they might receive, for from us they dreaded nothing at that period, having considered us as a Selfish, Trading people whose only pursuit was gain, and who were unwilling and incapable of doing them any Material Injury, and Indeed our Conduct but too much Justified the greatest part of their Sentiments.

**their Political  
Ideas**

**Gradual  
Extension of  
the French  
Influence**

During all this period the French had been gradually extending their Interests by *Posts* begun under the Name of Trading Houses, and Supported at an immense Expense of presents, as the only way to prevent a general Confederacy against them; At these posts

**How Conducted**

resided Men of Zeal and Abilities for acquiring the Esteem of the Indians who together with the Jesuits, availed themselves of every occasion of Magnifying their Nation and depreciating the English, a Task which our Misconduct daily rendered less difficult—The French did not alarm them much on the Score of Lands, (the Occupancy of the Forts only Excepted) and these they were well paid for, And as to any frauds committed by them in Trade, if complained of, the Trader was with (at least an appearance of) great resentment put in Irons and sent away (as they were told) to suffer death,

however care was taken that such Offender no more appeared amongst them, and Satisfaction was made to the Indians.

Canada might still be said to be only in its Infancy and its returns were very inconsiderable; a few Men made fortunes, and some embezzled the public Money, but all being interested in gratifying the Indians the latter were well pleased and altho' the Revenues might Suffer, the French Interest encreased

State of  
Canada

Altho' the French had acquired an Extensive Alliance to the Westward, and amongst those Nations who have the greatest quantity of Furr, yet their principal Advantage arose from the cheapness of labour their Batteauxmen being engaged at the Lowest prices. And their provisions only some Bears grease and corn. Strowds and Wampum in particular were Articles of great Estimation amongst the Indians, and these could only be had from us, our Shipping distressed them beyond Measure during each war, and but for the goods they bought from us their Trade and interest with the Indians must have met with one and the same fate, of this they were truly Sensible, it became an object of public Concern; Their Government did not Trust to Traders to Support it but Exerted themselves to effect Supplies in which they met with sufficient Assistance from the Avarice of many Amongst us, Some of whom were then Actually Commissioners of Indian Affairs.

Advantages  
and  
disadvantages  
attending  
their Trade

It will be needless here to enlarge upon the great Neglect of our Governments, and the Misconduct of many in Office as the same will appear on Inspecting the several reports transmitted from time to time to the Plantation Office &c, and the different Orders received in consequence thereof by the American Governors will Abundantly shew the Sense of Government thereon, It will be here Sufficient to Shew how this Misconduct descended to the Lowest of the people with their final consequences on Indian Affairs.

Our Neglect  
Admitted  
by the Crown

The Governors, Councils &c were from the remoteness of their Scituation, and the latter from their Avocations of a different nature total Strangers to these Matters, and for several reasons that could easily be given unable to apply a remedy, had they been acquainted with one; When a Scurvy pittance was applied for on the most urgent occasions, a session was Spent in debating about the hands to whom it should be intrusted, which if at Length granted was too

Their Cause

Considered  
under the  
Several Heads

often committed to Men who made a Jobb of it, and had interest enough in the Colony to protect them and Support their conduct.

The French made inroads; none were to be had either to penetrate into their Country, or oppose their Invasions, few, or none of the least rank or Capacity would Venture Westward of Albany, their Intelligences were generally received from the most Low, and Ignorant of the Traders, or resident Blacksmiths, who to their profession Joined that of Trading in the Indian Country, these persons often themselves imposed on, did much oftener impose on the Govr<sup>r</sup> here as it Suited best with their interest. The Cries of injured Indians against the Lesser Traders could not reach the Capitals the abuses and Misconduct of the rest could neither be prevented or punished from their Provincial Interest, Whenever disturbances arose they were at their Wits end, but could neither prevent or oppose them, Oaths of Exculpation were administered in Vain to the Commissioners a Curious equivocation having been invented to elude them.

The Commissioners held Annual Meetings with such Indians as happened to be in Albany, and were sure to have a Feast on the occasion which put an end to the Allowance and Expences of the Year.—The English Strowds &c<sup>a</sup> were publicly bought by the French Agents, and frequently from the *Commissioners* at a Considerable price, for all which the Indians publicly upbraided us in Vain as the Indian Records will Shew.

The Frontier Traders Sensible they had little to apprehend from their Conduct went Still greater and more dangerous Lengths than their Superiors. From a Variety of unheard of frauds I shall select a Very few instances which will tend to shew to What lengths some of that Character will go when Subject to no Controul, and because two of these Instances were the occasion of our Losing the Trade and Affections of some powerfull Tribes of the Ottawaes who were persuaded to come the Length of Oswego to Trade with us, and the last Instances caused the defection of the most powerfull tribes of the Senecas.

Severall of the Ottawaes having traded for a Considerable time at Oswegoe where they got some Articles which they could not procure from the French, an Ottawa Chief of great Influence with his

he Effects  
on the  
traders

simplified  
Several  
stances

family brought his packs to a Trader there in order to try the Market—The Trader after the usual practice of deceiving him in the Weight hurried the peltry into a private room telling the Indian that all Merchandise was very dear, owing to the Severity of dutys (a Stale, but dangerous Artifice still practised) desired him to choose out what goods he wanted, the Indian having made a Choice was astonished to find that his Skins produced not one third of what he had been Accustomed to receive for the like Quantity (for the Trader has besides his Extortion on the goods reckoned the peltry at only one Third of its real weight) went away discontented but returning Said he was Ashamed to go back with Such Small returns begged for a small Keg of rum which the Trader gave him as he said as a high favor but on opening the Keg soon after his departure it proved to be Water.—Another Trader for some Valuable furs which he received from an Ottawa Chief of great Influence who came likewise to try the Market and desired to have His returns in rum for a General feast gave the Ind<sup>n</sup> 30 small Kegs with directions not to open them by the Way otherwise he, he the Trader would be punished for letting them have so much, but the Indian before his return to Niagara being desirous of some Liquor opened them and found them all Water. This has been often acknowledged by these Traders, and on its coming to the knowledge of the French, they made so good a Use of it, that these People and all their friends were ever after our most implacable enemys.—The next Instance is that of a Seneca Warrior whose influence and abilities were so well known that I found it a very hard task to bring him over, which however I at length effected in 1756 when he came to me with a large party of Warriors who were to set out on public Service in a few days, but having some Furs to dispose of I gave them at their desire a passport to *Schenectady*, wherein I recommended it to a Merchant and Trader there to use them very kindly and do them the Strictest Justice notwithstanding which, this Enemy to the Interests of his Country imposed upon them in the grossest manner, it appearing from their Account and his own Confession since, that as they were Strangers he had doubled the prices of his goods and allowed them but half the Weight of their peltry, this was resented accordingly, the Indians

took another rout back, and the Chief sent me a Belt of Wampum with a Message informing me of the imposition (the particulars of each Article being marked on the handle of an Axe) and Assuring me that he should always continue to have a personal regard for me, but not the least for the English who had served him so often, but that the last instance was of such a nature that he had accepted of an Invitation from the French who knew how to treat them, and their Services—he made his Words good; in a few days, cut off a large Settlement, and continued our most Violent Enemy ever Since, particularly at Niagara in 1759, whilst it was not in my power to have the Unworthy Author punished—To this I must Subjoin an Instance in the case of the Chief of all the Senecas a Warrior whose influence and Capacity were, and are well known here, whom I had steadily preserved in the British Interest, when, we were almost totally abandoned, this Man at the eve of the late War was thro' the means of Liquor Seduced by some *Agents* at *Albany* to Subscribe his Name to an Indian Deed for a Tract within the bounds of *Pensilvania*, but Claimed by the *Connecticut* people in Virtue of their Absolute [*sic*] Charter which Extended their Western Limits to the *South Seas*.—This being a most iniquitous proceeding highly resented by the 6 Nations, the few who subscribed to it became Obnoxious to the rest, particularly the Chief beforementioned, so that he was obliged to fly to the french for protection, who so far won upon him that he with a powerfull party who followed his fortunes took up Arms shortly after, Attacked a Body of Provincials at Lake George whom they totally defeated and killed 45. Since which he was concerned in the most important Services against us, Cut off some of our Settlements, and occasioned the deaths of more than 400 of our People. These it is presumed will Suffice to shew the Effects of the resentment of a few Indian Individuals.

Thus whilst the Traders on the frontiers were disgusting and Defrauding the Indians, the Inhabitants were over-reaching them and Availing themselves of their Ignorance and passion for Liquor, daily *Stealing away their Land* as the Indians emphatically Express it, So that at the breaking out of the War in 1755, It was not at all Surprising that we should have so few of them our Friends or that

the continuance of that friendship should be attended with much Expence to the Crown, when to the powerfull temptations they had for becoming our Enemys, was Joined, all that Artifice could Suggest or favors purchase on the part of the French.—The Affairs of the War, the Conduct and Services of the Indians employed by us, what they might farther have done in our behalf or what that Number might have performed against us, are Subjects forreign to this. If they are not fully known, they can soon be made to appear at Large—From the Commencement of this War I had the Royal Appointment, before, I had been occasionally appointed by the Province of New York in times of Extremity when their Commissioners and every body else failed them to which I have been earnestly Sollicitted, on that Account as will appear from the *Minutes of Council, Votes of Assembly &c*; and as I had Experienced that their funds were inadiquate to the Smallest Services, and found I could not meet with Sufficient Countenance to Support my own Character, or do the public Effectual Service I constantly resigned my Office, so soon as I had effected such measures as freed them from their present Apprehensions.—for these Services the Province still remains in my debt a Considerable Sum advanced out of my private fortune.

The War with France *here*, having terminated by the reduction of Canada &c in 1760; a New System of politicks was adopted by the Indians, and a new System evidently pointed itself out for our Adoption, on which I then took the Liberty to Offer my Sentiments. —An Extensive Alliance with Nations to Whom We were almost Strangers Now Presented to our View, and as our first Steps must have a great and lasting effect upon Indian Affairs in general, it may not be amiss here to Shew the State of our Affairs and that of the several Indian Nations of that period.

New System  
of Politicks  
occasioned  
by the re-  
duction of  
Canada

The Indians with whom We had any Intercourse or Trade previous to the War, were principally the *Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawares, Twightwees*, and *Indians of Ohio*, and *Susquehana*, the latter Emigrants from some of the rest; I take no Notice of those of *New England*, or of any small domesticated Tribes, as being of little importance in War or Trade at that period Neither do I take any Notice of the Mississaga Alliance, which Existed only on the Books

State of our  
Connections  
that Period



of the Commissioners of Indian affairs from a few of them having (in the Year 1723) been at a Treaty of Alliance at Albany, which was never afterwards regarded, or Cultivated by either party. 'Tis true several of them, and of the *Ottawas* &c had been accustomed to Trade with us at *Oswego*, but this was Chiefly for such Articles as they could not get from the French and altho' it might have been made beneficial, and these people thereby Lead into our Interest, yet this had been totally Neglected, and the Misconduct already mentioned had Effectually Alienated them from us, as well as prejudiced all the distant Nations against us, which received no Small Addition from the Character given of us by the French, and the Neglects of the Repeated, and (as it afterwards appeared) Just Advices, and requests of Assistance of the rest who were more nearly connected with us, had produced almost the same Effects with the Majority of them; But from the reduction of Canada we were to become Acquainted not only with the several Tribes of Indians living about the *river St. Lawrence* and the Environs of their Capitals, but also with the powerfull Western Confederacys consisting of several Nations of which the *Chepeweighs* alone Amount to Several Thousands, By a prudent Management with whom, we might have corrected their prejudices, and Jealousys diverted their Attention to hunting, and Trade and thereby, secured our Frontiers and Outposts, and enjoyed the Whole of that Valuable branch of Com[m]erse Which always depends on their pacific disposition.

This leads me to Shew the State and Sentiments of these Nations at that period, as they will best Account for what has happened Since.

te of the  
veral Indian  
tions at that  
e and their  
orests

To begin with the 6 Nations, altho' they had Suffered but little in the different parts they took in the War, (the Mohocks Excepted whose fidelity to us had cost them above 100 Men Since 1755) Yet from their more Immediate connections with us and the French, they were a good deal reduced by Liquor, and diseases, as were the *Shawanese* and *Delawares*, and some of the 8 Nations of Canada; but these latter met with several recruits from the 6 Nations.

These 6 Nations who had Subdued all their Neighbours Still maintained their Ascendancy over them, which was the Sole fruits of their Conquests, as their War was chiefly carried on to bring them to



a Submission and Acknowledgement of being Vanquished, which obtained, they confirmed their possessions to them, and had lived with them for many Years in Terms of Strict Alliance; which their rencounters from the different parts they took in our War with France did not dissolve.

The Western Indians were very Sensible of their present Superiority in Numbers over their Conquerors, but they could not divest themselves of some Awe before them, and considered them as people of Superior Skill, there were other motives Sufficient to promote and Secure the Union between them, The *Hurons* who were the most polished and Sensible people to the Westward who had much influence over the rest were closely connected with the *Mohocks* and their Languages were nearly the Same, the Indian Nations of Canada, *i. e.* the *Coghnawagaes*, *Canaghsadagaes* &c living near *Montreal*, were greatly esteemed for their Abilities by the Western Indians, and these were Chiefly emigrants from the Mohocks and the other 5 Nations, for whom they always Manifested a Sincere respect, except when they met in the field in the Quarrel between *England* and *France*, and the Whole Western Indians considered the 6 Nations, as the door, (as they call it) to their Country, and the Channel by which they might receive the Surest intelligence concerning the designs of the White people, So that in Short, however Severely they treated one Another, as I know they did Sometimes during the War, Yet, no Sooner was it ended than they mutually renewed their Engagements, and carefully buried (according to Custom) all past objects of Grieveance.

This was their State at the reduction of Canada, a Circumstance of such importance to the Indians that it contributed to Strengthen their mutual Compacts and Alliances for they are in general not bad politicians, they early saw with concern the Active enterprizing Spirit of the French who pursued the Maxim *Divide et Impera*. Some of the Nations gave them several Checks, and had very nigh **Their** Annihilated the Colony, without any Assistance from us, they **Politicks** afterwards fell into their Interest thro' our Neglects, but they did not appear to have wished that the one power should Swallow up the other, they were desirous to preserve a kind of Equilibrium

Sentiments  
with regard  
to property

and  
Dependance

between us, and Inclined occasionally to throw their Weight into the Lightest Scale, but the hurry with which the French pushed on their projected Schemes and the Steps that were taken to bring over many leading Men to our Interests probably defeated the purposes of their politicians and decided the Quarrel, much sooner than it could have happened under different Circumstances.—Some, were I am persuaded hearty in each Cause but the Majority and the most Judicious amongst them certainly held these Sentiments, neither can they be blamed for a Way of thinking so exactly correspondent with that of the most Civilized Nations for, (as they often declared) they saw that the White people were for reducing them to Nothing, that the Views of both Nations tended to one and the same Object, they called themselves a free people who had an Independant Title to the Lands which were their Ancient possessions, that the French by ceding Canada, according to the Words of the Treaty granted what was not in their power to give, their Outposts and distant possessions being only held of them, not by conquest, but by favor, that if they admitted our Right to the posts we conquered, the Country was still theirs, and in fact it is most certain that the French never spoke to them in any other Stile, as Sensible I presume of the consequences it might have with regard to their Interests, So that whatever Words are usually made use of respecting their Expressing Submission, Subjection &c, are only to be understood as in Compliance w<sup>th</sup> Form and Custom the latter having no Just Idea of such Expressions, and calling themselves no more than our Friends and Allies, their Treatys, Submissions, Cessions &c literally implying no more and whoever should undertake to go farther on the Subject with them must have a good Army at his back to protect him from their resentment,—the Offers of protection so often mentioned to them are thought little on, they answering constantly that they are not in Want of it, that they have nothing to fear but from ourselves, and altho' they may on some occasions be brought to temporize, or use more respectfull terms they are Seldom Sincere in Such declarations.—All this I have Experienced, and I think I can say with great Certainty, that I have never yet met with any Man who has Said more

to them than myself, perhaps None have gone so far, or Said so much.

The best and only apology to be made for laying the Rude thoughts of an uncivilized people before the Crown, is, that they must necessarily be well understood to form a Just Estimate of the principles by which they are influenced in Order to Account for their Conduct, arising therefrom and thereby discover the True Means of Managing their Affairs so as in time to render them peaceable, and usefull Members of Society. Having therefore Stated their real Sentiments on the foregoing heads with Cando[u]r and Truth, to the utmost of my knowledge and experience I proceed to Shew the State of the Trade and other Affairs at the last mentioned period and Since.

The Short Interval between the Conclusion of the former War, and the renewal of hostilities here in 1754, afforded little time to breathe to the Colonies concerned. The Traders had scarcely established themselves, and the Surviving Inhabitants had not recovered from the ruin of their Settlements, when they were again Involved in Worse distresses which continued till the reduction of Canada, This last War fell Severely on both Traders and Inhabitants, Numbers of the former were Murdered, their familys ruined, Several fine Settlements were totally destroyed many of the people carried into Captivity amongst distant Nations A Still greater Number killed and of the few Survivors Several were discouraged, unable to prosecute their business and therefore retired to places of greater Security.—Of the Old Traders few had Survived, and some of these Survivors had fallen into other business,—A Great Number of the best Indian Hunters having (thro' their different Engagements in the Wars) long disused Hunting returned to it with reluctance, and their Successs was less than formerly, but a much more Material reason may be given Why they did not return to it in such Numbers as before; They were alarmed at our Power. Assured by all the French, particularly the partizans and Men of Influence still amongst them that we had formed a plan to destroy them, and some Circumstances in our Conduct then, and Since, confirmed them in their belief;—A Detachment was Ordered to proceed to and take possession of Detroit in consequence of the Capitulation for Canada,

Review of  
the Trade

on which I dispatched Expresses to my Deputy to prepare the Indians to receive them as Friends and to explain the matter to them, without which I am Confident and Can prove to a demonstration they would not have Succeeded, it however had the desired Effect and *Mons<sup>r</sup> Belletre* gave up the Garrison tho' with great reluctance.

But some errors in Judgment with regard to Grants and Priviledges soon Alarmed the Indians, people eagerly applied for Grants, of *Carrying places* &c &ca and this fell Severely upon those Nations who had been in our Alliance, with whom we had not been at War, and from whom we had conquered nothing, *Public Advertisements* appeared in all the papers concerning a Colony of several degrees of Longitude along the *Ohio* which was to be formed immediately, and the Settlers to march thither in Two divisions;<sup>1</sup> this was publicly talked of throughout the whole Country, and soon circulated amongst the Indians, 'Tis true that on my representations the Commander in Chief Judiciously put a stop to them, but the remedy was applyed too Late, and the Indians attributed it to our fears, It appeared more difficult to prevent some Acts of Indiscretions at the Posts Arising from our Troops &ca being Strangers to the Indians, and not making some Allowances for their Idle conduct, especially when in Liquor, Upon these Occasions it is Usual for the Indians to utter Many Absurdities, they will tell the persons they most Esteem *that they are Cowards, that they will put them to death, that they are Lords of the Ground they live upon* &ca, this should have been disregarded with contempt, but too often, they were not only treated, but answered with Severity told that they should soon be Extirpated &ca all which they propogated amongst one another, and it easily obtained Credit, I have often been witness to, and prevented the Effects of such imprudence.—One Instance of which happened on the Expedition in 1760.—A Gentleman imprudently Cursed an Indian who was passing by his Tent, Saying that *on our return from Canada we should soon Extirpate all of their Colour* (the Indian who understood English) soon communicated it to the rest in consequence of which they loaded their Arms to the Amount of 700, and prepared to leave us, Letting me know that *they did not*

<sup>1</sup> This refers evidently to the colony of New Wales, proposed in 1763. A description of the plan is found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 30:237.

*think they should have been insulted for Accompanying us, and that they found it was high time to provide for their familys Security;—* In short I found it a very difficult task to Satisfy them, and notwithstanding all my endeavors above *one hundred* returned back on that occasion,—the Gentlemen of the Army expressed much concern at it, and Justice must be done to their prudence, caution, and Zeal, in proportion as they become Acquainted with the importance of being on good terms with the Indians.

Traders from all Quarters now began to push to the Outposts with Goods, the Majority of whom for the reasons I have given, were as great Strangers to the Indians as they were to the nature of the Trade they engaged in, tho' they soon discovered and improved on the Modes of imposition; Their Passes were limited to the Posts at which they did not murmur. It was likewise earnestly desired by the Indians, who Justly observed to me that their bringing Goods into Indian Villages exposed them to the insults of their young Men particularly when inflamed with Liquor, that several of our people would doubtless act imprudently, that theirs would do the same and might be Led to Seize goods when they were in their power, and Sold very dear, All which they could not prevent having no Laws or power to act in such cases,—Spiritous Liquors were likewise prohibited by their desire as its pernicious Effects were well known, and the prohibition deprived them of a Material Excuse for Irregularities, but notwithstanding this was done by desire of the Indians approved of by the Traders of best character and never admitted by the French beyond Niagara; Yet so great is the profit resulting from that Article, and such oppertunitys were thereby furnished for Imposition, that a Great Number of the Traders used every Artifice to induce the Indians to Apply for a Toleration for that Article; on which head I often reproached them from [*sic*] their fickleness but they constantly answered "*that 'tho they still held to their first Opinion yet their Young Men were Variable and thoughtless, and had been urged so much on that Score that they did it to please them.*"

In 1761, Some dangerous *Belts* and *Messages* hav<sup>e</sup> been sent to the Indians about Detroit, I went to that place and for that time had the happiness to prevent their Effects and to calm the minds of the

Proceedings  
of the trade

Danger of a  
Quarrel then  
removed by  
the Congress  
at Detroit

**Tariff for Trade**

**Want of Officers for the Department**

**Necessity for them**

**Additional Traders arrive from Europe**

**Advantage of the French over the English Traders.**

**Ill Conduct of Factors**

**Proceedings of the Inhabitants concerning Lands**

Indians.—I then Settled a Tariff for Trade at all the posts proportioned to their distance, and the Expence attending the Transportation of Cargoes, which was done on such principles as rendered it Agreeable to the Traders, and Satisfactory to the Indians whilst adhered to; but there was as yet no Establishment for Officers to inspect the Trade and Affairs of the Indians, and whilst I must do Justice to the Characters of Sundry persons in Trade I am obliged to declare that the Majority absolutely required Inspectors Vested with proper Authority; for the profits made by a few induced such Numbers to embark in it, amongst Whom were the very Dregs of the people, such as discharged *Provincial Soldiers, Batteaumen &c* who all in this Country easily obtained Credit for Goods at an Advanced price, that Regularity, honesty or discretion could not with Propriety be Expected from them especially as it clashed with their private Interests.—About the same time Sundry persons from His Majesties European Dominions Induced by favorable Accounts, and agreeable prospects of Advantage Came to *Quebec* and *Montreal* and engaged in the Indian Trade which I believe the Majority have Experienced fell far Short of their Expectations; Unacquainted with the Difficulties and the knowledge requisite to conduct it, the French had greatly the Advantage, and the English were compelled to make use of Low, Selfish Agents, French, or English as Factors, who at the Expence of honesty, and Sound policy, took care of themselves whatever became of their employers.—*Belts of Wampum &c* were sent by Traders to Indian Villages Inviteing the Indians in the Name of Government to come to particular Traders, *and that all others were Cheats*; This Doctrine was and is preached by each Against his Neighbour, insomuch that the Indians at a Loss to determine who were honest, believed them all to be Rogues, and conceived a worse opinion of us than ever before.

Whilst the Indian Trade was in this State at the Posts and Frontiers, the Inhabitants were not Idle; The reduction of Canada raised the value of Lands, and those who thought they had not enough (who may be presumed to Amount to a very Large Number), now took every Step and employed every Low Agent who understood a little of the Indian Language to obtain Tracts for

them,—on this head I need not be particular, having so often Explained their Conduct and pointed out its consequences; however their Avidity in pursuit of Grants, and these in the most Alarming places, the irregular Steps which they took to Obtain them, the renewal of dormant Titles, and the Several Greater Strides which were taken as hereinbefore is mentioned, concerned the Indians so Nearly that a General Uneasiness took place and Spread itself throughout them all;—The french Agents and Several of their old partizans men of much Influence were Still amongst the Indians, were mostly engaged in Trade, and had resided with them for several Years, These, to a Man, Excited them to take Arms representing our designs in the most Alarming manner to these Lovers of Liberty, and giving them the Strongest Assurances of *French fleets* and *Armies* coming to their Assistance. They were related to, and connected with the Inhabitants of *Montreal &c* and some of the Principal people in that City and its environs were rendered more than Suspected from Apparent good intelligence received by *L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Gladwin*, and transmitted to the Commander in Chief and to myself, and which nearly corresponded with those I had received from other hands Whilst the Inhabitants of *Detroit*, &c many of whom have intermarried with the Indians were not idle on their parts.—In the Mean time, large Cargoes were daily going to the Frontiers and two Traders returning thro' the Country of the *Upper Seneca's* were robbed and murdered at *Kanestio*, a Village made up of several Nations, the Murderers retired to the *Ohio* and the Indians declared they could not find them; My *deputy* went to *Onondaga* upon that occasion, the Indians of which place as well as all the rest of the Six Nations, (a part of the Senecas excepted) expressed much concern at it, and even the Upper Senecas themselves declared it to be a private Act of Individuals much against the Inclination and without the privity of the Nation.—The threats made then in case the Murderers were not delivered up, were by the *Kanestios*, altered to threats against the whole Confederacy and so Circulated amongst them.—The *Shawanese*, and *Delawares* with the rest near the *Ohio* held meetings with the *Western Indians* &c of all which I gave notice, and of my Sentiments thereon, whilst these Matters were

Uneasiness  
 Amongst the  
 Indian Nation

Artifices of  
 the French.

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 Indians to a  
 War

Traders  
 Murdered

Satisfaction  
 Urged

Congresses  
 Amongst the  
 Indians



in Agitation the *Connecticut people* under pretence of their Absolute [*sic*] Charter as beforementioned were frequently with me, and notwithstanding all my Advice to the contrary very busy with the Indians to get a fresh deed to Strengthen their rights on the *Susquehana River*.—to which several of them removed, declaring they would maintain the possession of it, the Indians civilly warned them to remove, and in the beginning of 1763, I again remonstrated against their Settleing, and acquainted the Commander in Chief with my Expectations of a Speedy rupture,—In the Spring 1763, Deputys from the Six Nations were sent to me to request my Assistance on the Subject of these Settlements, who with one of my *Deputys*, went to *Hartford*, where they met with the Governor of *Connecticut*, in Assembly; the Governor having Just received orders from the Court, to Stop such proceedings, dismissed the Indians with Assurances that he would do all in his power (by proclamations &c) to bring back the Settlers and prevent the like again; but these Misguided Ignorant people, for the most part, disregarded all such proclamations, and 27 of them staid there till in the beginning of the War they were put to the Sword.—And now the War broke out in earnest. The *Ohio* Indians began on the Frontiers of *Pensilvania*, *Virginia*, and *Communications to the posts*, three of which *Presquisle*, *Venango*, and *Le Bouf*, they took immediately; whilst the Western Confederacy attacked *Detroit*, and soon made themselves Masters of *Sandousky*, *Miamis*, *Wawiaghtonon*, *La Baye*, and *Michilimackinac*, They defeated a Body of Regular Troops with Some Slaughter near *Detroit*, and killed *Capt<sup>n</sup> Dalyell* their Commanding Officer, A party sent to Recruit the Garrison shared the same fate, and they totally destroyed a Body of regulars and provincials of about 100 Men on the Carrying place of *Niagara*, but 2 escaping. On the Side of *Ohio* after laying waste all the Frontiers they invested *Fort Pitt*, and reduced the Garrison to Much danger Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet with 600 Men and a large Convoy marching to its relief was attacked by only 95 of them (for I have the best Authorities of *White Men* then with the Indians and of *several different Indians* who all Agree that that was the True number) who killed about 60 of his people and greatly obstructed his March—In short to pursue them thro' their different

Attempts made  
by Connecticut  
to Some  
Settlements  
on the  
Susquehana

Indian deputys  
sent thereon

Settlers  
continue

War breaks  
out

progress and  
Success of  
the Indians



Successfull Expeditions, and Depredations, would be entering into a tedious detail of facts well known, and Still Sensibly felt here, and therefore foreign to my present Subject.—It is sufficient to Observe that our most Valueable Frontiers were Depopulated, our Outposts with most of their Garrisons destroyed, and the Trade ruined, all the traders at the posts, and the much greater part of those who were on their way with Cargoes were plundered, and many of them Murdered by which the Indians acquired a considerable booty and Supplied themselves with Materials for the War before the Supplis brought them from the *Mississipi* could reach the distant Nations; but the Conduct of our New Subjects, the French is well worth observing on that occasion.—The principal of them at the *Detroit* assumed to himself the Command of the place, and was Saluted as such by the Indians, he presided at their Councils, and with Several others, after passing their faith for the Security of Capt<sup>n</sup> Campbell, Impudently catechised him, and the rest, and Advised that they should be put to death as was distinctly heard by some Traders well Versed in the Indian Language, who were then prisoners but made their Escape thereupon; and from their and other Intelligence, and the Accounts transmitted by L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Gladwin it appears that above 40 of the French, were not only Advising, but actually aiding, and Assisting to the Indians in their Attempts upon the *Fort* and *Vessels*, and taught them to prepare *rafts* for burning the latter, and that they likewise were aiding and Assisting in plundering several of the Traders, and not only received their Goods, but took from them their Watches, Cloaths and some *Notes of hand* which they had formerly Given these Traders for debts due to them, the Much greater part of which cannot yet be recovered—Whilst this was transacting at, and about the *Detroit*, their Countrymen at the *Miamis* and in other Quarters were as busy; Many of them were not only privy to, but Aiding and forming the plans for the attack of the other posts; and some of them actually inveigled Traders to come on shore to them for protection which they no sooner did than they were Seized, some of them killed, and all their Goods Confiscated; Yet several of these Men tho' well known have hitherto escaped punishment, and many more might be convicted by Intercepted Letters, (some of them

Conduct of  
Majesty's Ne  
Acquired  
Subjects

Their  
Treatment  
of the Trade

in my hands) which fully shew the good understanding, and politicks of a Great part of that Nation at that time throughout the whole Continent;—Such was the Conduct of our New acquired Subjects, and these were the first proofs they gave of their allegiance; Indeed many of them in the Capitals were doubtless Sensible of the folly of such a Conduct, and many more could not from Circumstances of Scituation &ca Join in it.—but the greater part of those who had the opportunity did not Let it Slip, to their great emolument, and were themselves foolishly Sanguine in the hopes of a Revolution of Government, as their Letters and Assurances to many of the Prisoners will fully shew.

Steps Taken  
by Sir Will<sup>m</sup>  
Johnson

Their Effects

War brought  
to a  
Conclusion

New System  
of Inhabitants  
Traders &  
Indians

Low Agents  
made use of  
to defraud  
the Indians  
of Lands

What Steps I took to secure the Majority of the *6 Nations and many others*, to our Interest, and in prevailing on *large partys* to go against the Enemy, with the Successes attending it are I hope known, as well as that it contributed a good deal to put an End to the War in the following Year, when the Indians Divided amongst themselves, and Alarmed at the Apprehensions of Quarrels between each other, Several having Withdrawn their Assistance previous to the Movement of the 2 Armys, the remainder were brought to terms of Submission, and peace, By which another opportunity was offered to us for continueing them in that State, but now a new System began to be adopted by both Inhabitants, Traders and Indians—the former whose knowledge of these Affairs are chiefly drawn from the publick prints, were induced to think from the Appearance which the Treatys made that the Indians might never more give them any trouble, depressed on the Slightest occasions, they are as easily, and causelessly elated, and inconsiderately reassumed their old Conduct with regard to lands;—Sundry Grants were projected and applyed for in places most alarming to, and tenderly affecting the Indians rights; the very Steps taken in Viewing these Lands caused the utmost uneasyness, the Great pattent of *Kayadarosseros* was about being Surveyed, and divided, which Sensibly affected the *Mohawks*, and in them the *whole Six Nations*, who publickly applyed to me that Justice might be done them;—Low Agents made use of to obtain Grants from the *Six Nations*, took upon them to call Meetings of Indians, and tho forbid by Royal Proclamation, and by the Express

interposition of Government here from intermeddling therein, continued, and Still continue to foment divisions in their Villages, And to keep them in a State of Continued drunkenness to the great annoyance of the Inhabitants, untill they had effected their purposes; and Numbers of the Frontier Inhabitants of *Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia, &c*a Animated with a Spirit of *Frenzy* under pretext of revenge for past Injuries tho' in Manifest Violation of *Brittish faith* and the Strength of the Late *Treatys* attacked, robbed, and Murdered Sundry Indians of Good Character, and Still continue to do so, Vowing Vengeance against all that come in their Way; Whilst others forcibly established themselves beyond even the Limits of their own Governments, in the Indian Country, threatening Vengeance against all Opposers disregarding the Orders of their *Governments*, or the Steps taken by the *Commander in Chief*, and Still Withhold their Illegal and unjust possessions all which produce Complaints, on Complaints, the latter still fraught with warmer Expressions than the former, and the Event appears obvious.

Let us Now take a View of the present State of the Trade and we shall Soon find the Instability of the present System.—So soon as a Civil Government was Established for Canada, under the Denomination of the Province of *Quebec*, the European Settlers for some time Established in the Country Some of whom had acquired Justiciary powers began to complain of some Colony affairs which it is not My business to Speak upon, they afterwards found some fault that their Agents were not permitted to go into any part of the Indian Country, and being Associated with the French Several of them Joyntly desired the Indulgence formerly allowed to the Traders of that Nation, and the Latter left no Stone Unturned to persuade the Indians to desire it, this they Effected with many of them, who nevertheless on being spoke to on the Subject, acknowledged the inconveniencys attending it, and the more peaceable Indians are much alarmed at what they apprehend may prove the Effects of such Indulgence, an Indulgence so contrary to the *Plan* which was drawn under the Sanction and with the *Approbation of Government*, which was effectually calculated to correct these and all other abuses, and which had it been enforced in the beginning would have prevented

III Conduct of the front Inhabitants

Still Contin

Complaints made there

Present State of the Trade

Traders Violate the Regulations

and go into the Indian Villages

all this Clamour about priviledges, which are now taken by force, and all *Bonds &c*a disregarded, neither is there any Means of preventing it altho' the Commander in Chief, and every person of Capacity and Disinterestedness is persuaded of its Necessity.—The Authority of Commissaries is nothing, and both the Commanding Officers of Garrisons, and they, are liable to a Civil prosecution for detaining a Trader on any pretence, and Should their Crime be sent to the Next Capital, there is no Law to punish them,—In short the Mixed Multitude of persons trading at the posts, and in the Indian Country, many of whom have Survived their Credit, and dare not come down the Country, act such a part by endeavoring to draw the Trade from one another, by selling some Articles below the first Cost, and Extorting upon others, that the Merchants who Supply the Goods must Suffer, Numbers of the Traders be ruined, and the Indians universally discontented.—The little Artifices usually practised by Low People in dealings with one another, are much more general and attended with infinitely greater circumstances of fraud in dealings with the Indians,—The Low character of the people, their Necessity, and the Extravagance in which many of them live set them on the practice of every fraud to Support themselves, and get Credit for fresh Supplys of Goods from the the Merchants to whom the Majority of Traders are so much in debt, that the former have no other hopes of being ever paid but by continueing to Supply them with Goods, and the latter not only Endeavor to force a Trade by Slandering each other, publishing and enlarging on the frauds committed by their Neighbours, but forge Stories dangerous to the publick to Account for their prices, the badness of Goods, or any other purposes of Gain, Whilst some Sell their Whole Cargoes at a good price to Agents from the *Mississipi*, or to French Traders in Connection with them, which if permitted to encrease as it probably will, must give the *Spaniards*, or their Agents the *French* an opportunity of Engrossing great part of the Trade with our Manufactories as their own cannot be afforded so cheap after bringing them up the *Mississipi* above the *Illinois*.

The *French* and *Spaniards* are now Trading on both Sides of the *Mississipi*, and in the very *Towns* of our Indians, where they bring

Slender  
Authority of  
The  
Commissaries  
the occasion  
of it

Slender  
Credit of  
Many Traders

Their frauds  
Artifices  
and the  
Slanders they  
Cast upon  
each other

Cargoes Sold  
the French

Conduct of  
them and the  
Spaniards

frequently Considerable Presents, which with *Belts*, and Messages, desiring them "to be upon their Guard against the English, and to hold themselves in readiness to fall upon them within a little time" they deliver in the Names of the *French*, and *Spanish*, Monarchs; Some of these persons are personally known and have great Interest with the Indians, they have likewise been Seen, and known, by many of our Traders; others appear in the Dress, and Character of *Officers*, on the same Errand, but they are chiefly those persons who have been formerly partizans, or Employed in Indians Affairs by the French and have lived for several Years in the Indian Country, or at *New Orleans*; they are all Men of Ability, and Influence; Some of them I have known by Name, and Character those 20 Years past, and some of their Belts, and Intercepted Letters are now in my Hands;—These practices Exactly correspond with those of the French before the breaking out of the late War, and whither they are publicly authorised for so doing, or not, Must it not appear evident that the prospects of Gain, and of Monopolizing the Whole Trade during a Rupture between us and the Indians will in itself prove always a most powerfull Incentive to them to Strengthen, and encrease the Indians dislike towards us, and to foment Quarrels; What then Can be Expected but Loss of *Trade, Robbery, Murder of Traders, and frequent General Ruptures*, whilst the only British traders with whom these distant Nations are acquainted, are for the most part Men of no Zeal, or Capacity; Men who often sacrafice the Credit of the Nation to the basest purposes? or Can it otherwise happen but that the Indians Prejudices must daily encrease and tend to the Worst purposes when they are on the one Side seduced by Men of Abilities, Influence, and Address, and on the other see such Low Specimens of British Abilities, honor, and honesty?

Dangerous  
belts and  
Messages so  
by them  
amongst the  
Indians

Able Agents  
made use of

Compared to  
the practice  
before the  
Late War.

Motives whi  
enduce them  
to such  
practices

Slender  
Abilities  
&c of our  
Traders to  
Counteract  
them

The last Consideration on this Subject is the State of the Indians at this time which tho' it may be deduced from the foregoing Circumstances will Still admit of some farther Elucidation.

The Nations contained under the several Confederacys have ever since the conclusion of the late Indian War in 1764, endeavored to draw together their Scattered Tribes and to reduce themselves to a

State of  
the Indians  
at present  
considered  
severally

bad treat-  
ment of the  
Tusaroras  
as by the  
people on  
the frontiers

French excite  
the Indians to  
attack  
Mr. Croghan

they Endeav-  
or to Ob-  
struct the  
Good Effects  
of the  
Congress  
at Ontario

little more order, which they do doubtless with an Eye to their future Severity, tho' in some instances it may be advantageous to the public, as these Scattered Tribes are guilty of much more irregularities than the Settled Nations; To this end the *Senecas* have been endeavoring to draw in their people Settled about the *Ohio &ca*, The *Onondagas* have brought away Several of theirs from *Oswegatchy*, The *Tuscaroras*, who were admitted into the Confederacy with the Original five Nations in the Reign of Queen Anne, having expressed a desire to bring the remainder of their people from *North Carolina*, sent deputys for that purpose who are returned with 160 of their people from thence, and as they had few fire Arms were robbed and had very nigh been Murdered by the *frontier Inhabitants*; notwithstanding they were furnished with Ample passes from the Governments for their safe conduct.—These people are Settled about the heads of *Susquehana* with the Rest of their Nation,—of the Mohocks several have thro' disgust retired to the Hurons on Account of the Tricks and practices concerning Lands. The *Shawanese* and *Delawares* tho' decreased in Numbers, are Increased in Interest and much more respected by the rest than formerly, their conduct during the late Wars having restored them to the rank of Men, and their influence is become very Extensive—The Illinois Confederacy Consisting of the *Piankashaws*, *Kickapoos*, *Kuskeiskees* &ca are on good terms with the rest having made up the breach with them concerning the Attack made by a party of one of these Nations at the Sole instigation of the French on M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, my deputy, and the Killing some of the *Shawanese* &ca, who accompanied him, but the French are Seducing So many of these people to remove to the Opposite Side of the *Mississippi*, and practising so many Artifices to obstruct our Interests in that Country, that it is Likely to become a very Expensive and troublesome Affair.—The *Western Indians* have more Intercourse with the rest than ever, *Pondiac* still maintains an extensive Influence, he has been (since the Treaty with me at *Ontario* last Year) much practised upon by the French Traders, and others, to disregard his Engagements, they Assuring him that the English are not at all Sincere, and that I have only deceived the Indians to Lull them into a State of Security and inattention to our designs, This is a fact which can be incontestably proved.

A peace has been lately patched up between the *Chipeweighs*, and the *Sioux* who are the only Nation capable of Checking the Insolence of the former, and who (in consequence of Belts I had sent thro' all the Nations to acquaint them with the cause of the late Indian War) sent Pipes to me with a Message that if it was agreeable they would March 5000 Men, against the Western Confederacy.

peace  
purchased  
between the  
Chipeweighs  
and Sioux

I cannot think it is good policy in us to interest ourselves much in the Quarrells of Distant Nations which do not affect our Forts, Settlements, or Communications.—It may indeed be interesting to A Dozen, or perhaps 20, Traders who in defiance of all Orders and Regulations go to the Indian Towns, where they cannot be in Security during such Quarrells, but as these Wars take off and Engage some of the Most dangerous and Violent, of the Indians who would otherwise be at Variance with us I think the Interests of a few such Traders cannot be placed in Competition with that of the public in General.

Judged  
Impolitick

and Why

The Sentiments of all these Nations with regard to us are nearly the same, They entertain a very Slender opinion of our faith and Sincerity, They are to the last degree Jealous of our designs—Those last connected with us, who had been early taught to entertain a Strong dislike for us, are farther confirmed in it, as well thro the representations of our Secret Enemys, as from our own Misconduct, Whilst those Long in our Alliance, and from their Vicinity more Liable to labour under many Grievances and impositions, grow more and more discontented thro' the want of redress, and Alarm the rest in the most Sensible manner.—This produces private Congresses the Effects of which I wish may turn out different from my Expectations.

Sentiments of  
the Indians  
with regard to  
the English

Occasioned  
thro' Mis-  
conduct and  
grievances  
remaining  
unredressed

private  
Congresses

Having in the Course of the foregoing Sheets given as Exact a State of the several Matters therein contained, as time would allow, from all which I flatter my Self that a better Judgment may be made of the Affairs of the Indian Department;—I am now to proceed to a Consideration of this Subject under the following General Heads.—

farther  
considerations  
on the sub-  
ject considered  
under  
several  
Heads

1<sup>st</sup> The Advantages to be derived from a fixed Establishment, Supported by Authority, for the Speedy redress of Grievances, the Improvement and due regulation of Trade, and the promoting the Interests of True Religion with their happy Effects.



2<sup>d</sup> The Impracticability of effecting this on any former System, from the Want of powers, the different Interests and other Circumstances attending his Majesties Colonies, and the Civil Government in America.

3<sup>dly</sup> and Lastly—The Intentions of Government in Establishing the Department with Humble proposals for rendering it more capable of promoting and Answering these Important Ends.

From a due Consideration of the facts contained in this Review it must naturally appear that the Indians, have some reasons for thinking themselves Aggrieved in Several instances, and that they are from Apparent Circumstances, Capable of being dangerous Enemies to the Growth, and Trade of the Colonies, or of becoming Strong friends, and great promoters of both, and Usefull Members of Society.

The first Step to effect this is the Redress of those Grievances with regard to Lands, which most Materially affect the Indians this they have oft times promised, they Expect it with eagerness and impatience, proportioned to the Satisfaction they will receive from it which will diffuse itself thro' all the Nations, tend to remove one of the principal causes of their disquiet, and Spread abroad a favorable Character of our uprightness and Integrity which it is certainly for the Interest and Credit of the Nation to Render universal, For altho' (as yet) the Circumstances of fraud Respecting Lands are only felt immediately by those Nations that are our Neighbours, yet the effect of their Complaints greatly alarms the Whole, and has induced them to expect the like Treatment in a few Years, whilst, in the Mean time they are by Custom obliged to make a Provision for those who are deprived of, or Straitened in their hunting Grounds,—I know every Argument that is, or can be made against this, the Sum of which are that the Laws cannot affect Pattents, That they are old Rights, and must hurt the present Claimants, that it is a dangerous precedent, and may make the Indians farther troublesome on that Score &ca,—but Surely a defect in the Laws, owing to the times in which they were made when provision could not be made for unforeseen concerns, cannot be produced as of Sufficient Weight

Necessity of  
some fixed  
Establishment  
for the Redress of  
Grievances

Arguments  
thereon and  
Obligations  
thereto  
Answered



against Reason, and Moral Equity, nor can the Abuse of his Majesties Name be Justly produced to Cover a fraudulent Grant.— Their Long Standing is very little in their favor, it is rather a reason for Vacating them, for tho' they Still Subsist, they have been Complained of, from the time they were first known, to the present, and the injury done to the present possessors, must be proportioned to the Quit rents, they have paid, with the Improvements; and Expences they have been at, but where it Shall appear that such Quit rents, are next to Nothing, The improvements and expences, none, what then will become of the Arguments, any more than that of the danger of the precedent, which is Literally this,—

That we should not give them a precedent of our Justice Least they should be induced to expect that from us, which we do not intend to afford them.—And what should make all impartial Men Still Easier on this Score, is, that their Complaints are only against Two or Three Notorious Impositions which affect their very Existence, and that they will not raise any Title against any other Old Grants whatsoever.—So that I think where two or three Instances shall appear of fraudulent Grants under the foregoing Circumstances, which have lain for many years, without Occupancy, Subject to Little, or no Quitrent, and where late Intruders have forcibly possessed themselves of Lands without So much as the Appearance of any title Whatsoever, that, in these Cases Justice, and Policy should conspire to point out the necessity for a Speedy and Seasonable Relief,—The Establishment of Trade on principles of the strictest Equity is another Object of the greatest importance, the Indians have been long accustomed to frauds, of which they daily become more perceptible, the Traders are the only British Subjects, with whom the Indians are acquainted (the Garrison excepted, and with them they have not much intercourse as they cannot understand each other) the Traders then become in a great measure the only people by whom they can form a Judgment of the English, and indeed the only White people seen by the Nations most distant, It is therefore certainly our Interest that those People thro' whom alone they can form any Conception of our Abilities or Integrity, and who are consequently capable of giving them, favorable, or disadvantageous

Necessity for proper establishment & powers for more Equitable Government of Trade

impressions of the Whole Nation, should either be Men of Strict probity, and Worth, or, if that cannot be Expected, that they Should be kept within such bounds, and under such Regulations as will prevent them at least from Prejudicing us, in the Eyes of these people at the very commencement of our Intercourse with them; Unless this is done, can we possibly Expect to improve our Trade, Settlements, or enjoy a peace of any duration?

It may be supposed and has been doubtless Artfully Suggested, That the Laws will afford relief against Offenders in these cases, but Experience has shewn the Contrary,—It is possible to Suppose that the Indians, to whom (according to the Account of the Traders) it is not at all convenient to Come even to the Outposts to Trade, should be able to go at least 5 or 600 Miles Still farther to the Capitals for Justice; and admitting that Some of them should know of this Method, and do so, How are they to obtain Justice?—The Courts of Law cannot admit of their Evidence, nor is there any reason to Expect it from many Jurys the prejudices against Indians being too Strong, and their regard for their friends too powerfull, if these insurmountable bars did not Exist.

In Short the Well Government of the Trade on the frontiers must Ever have so great an Influence on the Minds and Conduct of the Indians that it is an Object of the most Serious Attention, and can not be too Speedily entered upon So as they may have Men amongst them furnished with powers to hear and redress them.—This they have been promised, and this they Expect, and wish for more than they do for Traders in their Villages, and when soever they discover such an attention on our parts to prevent Impositions, they will not fail to apply themselves with more Assiduity, and Industry to their Hunting, and their Jealousy will in one essential point abate, the Advantages whereof will daily become More Visible, and a Saving will be Created to the Government, at present put to an imense Charge, which as it passes thro' the Channel of the Indian Accounts greatly inflames them tho' it has no connection with Indian Affairs; Thus the Expences incurred within a few Months at Michilimackinac contrary to orders Amounts to Several 1000 pounds, under pretext of preventing a War between the *Chipeweighs*,

Indians unable  
to Seek Justice  
procure[d] from  
the Traders  
own Account

the laws  
are likewise  
ineffective

and the *Sioux*, as beforementioned, but Apparently to serve the Interests of a few Traders in the manner already described, by purchasing a very uncertain peace at A Greater Expence to the Crown, than the profits will Amount to of those who are thereby enabled to Violate the most prudent, and politic Regulations, and the Indians Seeing it their interest will take advantage of the Precedent when ever they See occasion, and being of late Accustomed to receive the largest presents there on every Slight pretence, will at Last Challenge them as their due, and probably Quarrel for them, Whenever a more prudent management shall take place.—

From this Necessary Digression I proceed to Another Object of the highest importance the Effects of which may be easily conceived, and which it is our duty to Promote to the Utmost, Namely, that of Religion, I believe I need not Add here that it has been hitherto greatly neglected, and as yet makes Little or no progress,—The Missionaries who are all Established at, or near the Sea Coast, can only take care of the Small flocks, the remains of a few Tribes who are daily dwindling away, and who have little or no intercourse with or influence over the other Nations, on the contrary their Example is rather discouraging to them, for when ever they happen to Meet, they Generally appear So poor, So unlike the Character which is only estimable by the rest, and make so many Complaints about the Loss of their Lands, that the Rest despise them, hate us, as the cause of their Misfortunes, and not being capable of perceiving that they have made any Material Acquisition to compensate for what they have lost, entertain a prejudice against Religion itsself—The best Channel by which we can convey Instruction to the Numerous Nations of the *North*, and *West*, is through the Six Nations but amongst them we have as yet no *Missionary*. The Mission established between Albany and the Lower Mohocks Village on Account of the residence of the Missionary being latterly entirely at Albany Occasiones their receiving only a few Sermons Annually, from which they can derive little benefit, And had not many of them been able to read, and furnished by me with some Books in their Language they might be now almost Strangers to the Christian Religion.—The Societys formed by the Dissenters have taken some pains to Send a few Young persons, Some

of them in Orders, to the *Oneidas*, to *Onoghquagey*, and one of them to the *Senecas*.—Some Still remain at *Onoghquagey*, the people of which Villages, are much accustomed to the White Inhabitants, but the rest for the most part soon grew tired, or being alarmed at every rumour of War, or threat of a Drunken Indian, Abandoned them, and Indeed, few of these Young people were esteemed, or calculated to gain the Esteem of the Indians, Wanting Spirit to go thro' their Undertaking, and Abilities to guide them into the true Method of obtaining a reputation and Interest amongst them; The Distinctions made in Religion Surprised and abated the Ardour of those who had been formerly instructed in the principles of the Church of England; Arguments which Savor more of Zeal than prudence defeat themselves in their Object; a few such have been used, and some have been more than suspected of Land Schemes by the Indians, or of diverting them from hunting which is an alarming doctrine, but the Majority generally fail thro' the Want of those Abilities, by which the French Missionarys made so many proselytes, as well to their Government, as to their Religion.—The Indians are fond of pomp and Ceremonys and that Religion in which they most abound is most likely to Succeed amongst them, but the French to that advantage Gained a Still more Material one in the Choice they Generally made of Men of Spirit, Abilities, and a knowledge of the World, who lived amongst them, became Masters of their Language, acquired a thorough knowledge of their Manners, and disposition, and at length obtained a vast Influence which they improved to such Advantage (without attempting to alter established forms of no ill consequence, or to Wean them from hunting, in which they are usefully employed for the public) as to convince us from a View of Some Tribes under their peculiar care, that the Dutys of Religion are not incompatible with those of a Warrior, or Hunter, and that they need not cease to be the Latter in order to become to all appearance better Christians, than Numbers of their White Neighbours—Whilst the Steps taken by many probably well meaning but Gloomy people amongst us, to abolish at once their most innocent *Customs, Dances, Rejoycings* at Marriages &ca and their premature proposals for bringing familys amongst them to instruct them in Agriculture &ca as well as their

Arguments against Hunting alarm all Indians who hear of them with the Apprehension that it is done with design to wean them from their way of Living purely that they may be the readier induced to part with their Lands to the White people, Which they expect will reduce them to the Distresses, Poverty and Rags, that are constant Attendants on Almost all the Domesticated Tribes of whom they have the least knowledge.—A hint of such a Nature to many Indians concerning their Lands Which we cannot be in the least Want of and which have been Expressly Secured to them by Solemn Treatys would effectually destroy our hopes of Gradually establishing Christianity Amongst them, and might occasion us much more domestic trouble than we are aware of, So that too great caution cannot be used in the Choice of those Gentlemen, who are sent amongst the Indians, as well as in that of good Interpreters, till the Missionaries become themselves well Versed in the Indian Language, thro' the Want of which many Mistakes have been, and may be made, A Specimen of which I cannot help giving having been present on the Occasion.

Errors committed by the present Missionarys

A Gentlemen [*sic*] newly sent from some of the Societys of Boston having expressed a desire to preach to the Indians then Assembled delivered as his Text "For God is no Respector of persons," and desired it to be Explained to them, the Interpreter (tho' the best in that Country) told the Indians that "God had no Love for such people as them" on which I immediately Stopped him and Explained the Text, as I did the rest of his discourse to prevent farther Mistakes; had I not been present the Error must have passed and many more might have been Committed in the Course of the Sermon.

The Venerable Society for propagating the Gospel (of which I have the honor a [*sic*] being a Member) are desirous to make some Establishments for the advancement of Christianity amongst the Indians on which occasion they must Stand in great Need of the the Support of the Crown, which I am persuaded they will meet with from the Importance of the Cause.—I should not have enlarged so much upon it but from a persuasion that if duely attended to and properly conducted it will be productive of the most Salutary Effects, whither Considered in a political, or Religious light.

Designs of the Society Humbly recommended

I come Now to what I proposed on the Second head on which I mean to be as brief as possible.

It is I beleive generally admitted to be the Interest of the American Colonies to live in peace and friendship with the Several Indian Nations, but this Opinion is either Adopted or Discarded in proportion as particular Colonies, and principal Men of Interest, are affected by it, or as Pride, prejudice or party may dictate.—All the Colonies may more or Less feel the Effects of a War, Yet all are not in the same proportion persuaded of the benefits of peace, or inclined to cooperate for that End.

It has been generally charged upon them by most Authors, and several Reports that they Neglected to Cultivate a Good understanding with the Indians and a Gentleman whose very long residence here and acquaintance with these affairs rendered him a pretty good Judge After attributing the French Success in a great measure to their Committing the particular care of Indian Affairs to Principal Officers of the greatest *knowledge* and *Authority*, Says,<sup>1</sup> “Whereas those “Affairs in *New York* are chiefly left to the Management of a *few* “*Traders with the Indians* who have no care for, or Skill in public “Affairs, and only Mind their private Interest.” Indeed it could not well be otherwise, for no proper people could be found, and the Scituation of *Governors*, their Want of Leisure, personal Influence, and knowledge, rendered them unfit for the purpose.—There are Likewise many other particular Causes to which it must be attributed, and which I fear are Likely Long to Exist As First, to the ignorance of all those of any Consequence with regard to the interior Country and to the Genius and power of its Inhabitants—2<sup>dly</sup> to the Ideas they had of their own Numbers, and power, which made them despise and Neglect the Indians, 3<sup>dly</sup> to the Impolitick parsimony and ill timed disputes in the Houses of Assembly, who were unwilling to raise Money for such purposes and being distrustfull about the Application, of it, either Granted an incompetent Sum, or nothing at all, 4thly to the particular Interest of Individuals concerned in Lands, Trade &c whose Scituations were too distant to be affected by an Indian War 5thly to the total want of Men of Spirit, Capac-

<sup>1</sup> The following reference is given in a footnote in the original: “Vide Colden Hist: 5 Nat<sup>s</sup>.”

ity, and Interest on the frontiers, or in the Indian Country capable of doing any Material Service, of Gaining any Influence or obtaining any Just or necessary Information, these were particular Circumstances Under which most of the Colonies severally Laboured, Whilst their Very different forms of Government, Interests, politicks, Disputes between the branches of the Legislature &c<sup>a</sup> defeated the hopes of a Cordial Union, and rendered all hopes derived from Scattered Numbers very precarious, if not totally abortive whilst a Single party of Indians can in one Night cut off a Large Settlement which never fails to Spread such a Pannick, as at once Gives courage And opportunity to the Enemy; This has been the Sense of the Wisest, and most disinterested persons, and cannot be better explained than in the Words of a Gentleman of Experience and Capacity who Speaking on this Subject, Says, that,<sup>1</sup> "Several of these Governments pretending to or enjoying some Extraordinary priviledges, which the favor of the Crown has formerly Granted them, Exclusive of others, if their Assistance is demanded or implored by any of their Distressed Neighbours, attacked by Enemies, perhaps in the very heart of their Settlements, they either by Affected *Delays* insisting *Punctilios*, and Nicetys, Starting unreasonable *Objections*, and making extravagant *Demands*, or frivolous *Pretences*, purposely Elude their Just and reasonable *Expectations*; and by an Inactive Stupidity or *Indolence*, seem insensible of their particular and most deplorable *Circumstances*, as well as regardless of the *Generall*, or *Common Danger*, because they feel not the *Immediate Effects* of it;"—This has of Course produced Different Opinions, whereby Affairs have been Misrepresented, to the Crown, which prevented its early attaining, the true, necessary knowledge for applying Effectual Remedies, or establishing a proper plan for the General Good of the Whole, add to this that for many years past, but particularly of Late, Most persons Who go from hence to Europe Whither to Gratify Pride, Serve themselves, or promote the Interests of party, affect to be well acquainted with Indian Affairs. Some of Whom are guilty of Gross Misrepresentations and under the Sanction of an Occasional residence on the frontiers, tho' the greater part have not even that to boast of are

<sup>1</sup> The following reference is given in a footnote in the original: "V. Pref. to Coxe. Hist: Carolana."



nevertheless desirous of being thought to know what can only be acquired by a Long residence, a Sole Attention, and the most Sedulous application, Supported by no small degree of patience and a sacrifice of every other pursuit, as well as that of Ease and Satisfaction.

Another material defect, from which Indian Affairs have met with great Obstruction arrives from the Laws, which tho' happily devised for our use, are of little or none to the Indians, and in many cases prove a bar to their getting Justice.—These Laws were most of them existing before the discovery of America, and Since, there have been none made which are either Effectual or Salutary for the purpose; Admitting their Case to have all the Appearance of Equity, yet the difficulties in which proceedings are involved, the particular proofs required, their Sole want of Written, and Incapacity to give verbal Evidence, and above all the not admitting any thing to Affect the Title of a Patent, prove insuperable bars.—without taking Notice of the Long duration, and Great Expences of a Suit, and their want of knowledge, with many other Wants, which prove as so many advantages to their Adversaries; So that they have nothing left when Aggrieved but to complain, and when their complaints prove ineffectual, they are driven to redress themselves,—There are Likewise Some different Interpretations Given of the British Laws, As well as different practices of Courts and Usages of the different Colonies, Which are often felt by more than the Indians.

On this Subject I have had my Opinion often Strengthened by the corresponding Sentiments of several Men of the first Reputation in the Laws, one Instance of which I shall Select in the Words of the *Attorney General* of this province who in the close of a late Letter wherein he Expresses his readiness to take every Step in his power to do the Indians Justice whenever they are injured, adds “As I fear they too often are, and I sincerely wish Some Method of Redressing them was established more Suited to the Relation between them and us, than the Rules of our Law at present admits of, which not being founded with a View to such a connection will very often be defective.”—I flatter myself that these Sentiments do not Require much farther Enlargement, and therefore I shall Conclude my Observations upon this head by Remarking that the present State of

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the Colonies Interests, and their Ideas, are in many Cases Less favorable than ever to Indian Affairs, and Less calculated to promote the General Interest with them.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> place, our Ignorance of them, their powers, and the Colonys Advantages Still remain; 2<sup>dly</sup> our Ideas of our own power here are Less Calculated than greatly enlarged, and the Conduct towards the Indians proportionably ever to disregarded; 3<sup>dly</sup> Strict parsimony, Doubts, Disputes, &ca amongst effect the the Legislature cannot by any means be Said to be at an End; 4<sup>thly</sup> desired ends. The Conduct of Individuals respecting Lands, and the Schemes of Trade are daily encreasing; 5<sup>thly</sup> The provinces are as deficient as formerly in Men possessed of any Influence capable of conducting Affairs, or Obtaining Necessary Information, and Such must always be wanting untill an adequate provision is made, to encourage Men of Worth, and promote interests of General utility; So that If the Friendship of the Indians is worth Cultivating or at all Essential to the Trade and Settlements, It can only be promoted by the vigorous Efforts, and Support of the Crown, which will have for its Object the general Good of the Whole, and being uninfluenced by prejudices or party Views is alone able to effect this important end, Under whose friendly Auspices the Indians will be reduced to a better way of thinking, and no longer viewing us in the Light of Invaders, will afford us an Opportunity of improving our Trade, and Extending our Settlements, with a small Expence, and Less Risque to the Subject, and with a great Saving to the Crown.

After what has been already observed I have only to Say as an Review of the Introduction to this head, that the Government from a Just Sense Cause of of the Importance of Indian Affairs under a due Management, and the Establishment from a thorough Conviction of the Neglects attending a provincial of the department direction, which it was not possible to correct, established a Department for Indian Affairs under a Superintendant, who being an Affairs Officer of, and Acting Solely by the Direction of the Crown was Judged best calculated for executing those of Government on a more enlarged plan for the general Interest and Advantage of all his Majestys Subjects, within the Limits of his Influence;—The effects Its good of which wise Establishment will best appear, from the Low Ebb to Effects which our Indian Interest was reduced at that time, the different

appearance it Shortly after made, and the Services which were afterwards performed, before we had Sufficient force, or Success, to which we might Attribute the Change; As well as in preventing Sundry Quarrels Since, and Supporting an Interest with many Nations.

We have Seen, (and the Opinion of Government is in Support of it) That the Colonies cannot in this case contribute to the General and Laudable purposes of the Crown.

That where the Motives for deception, and fraud are Great, and the difficultys Small, Those who have Views on Lands, or Concerns in Trade, will not Sacrifice their present interest to the publick.

That the Laws cannot afford redress in any of these Cases.—

That the Consequences have been, and may be the Cause of Ruin to the frontiers, outposts, and Trade, & a Considerable Charge to the Crown in Support of its Rights to bring things to order.

That the peace *then* cannot long Subsist without removing the Causes of the War, the Indians being capable of doing us infinite damage, whilst for the same reasons we can distress them very little.—

That the powers of the Department of Indian Affairs tho' Calculated with the best intention, prove ineffectual to Answer the purposes which may be Expected from it.

That Regulations have been drawn under the Sanction of an Approved by the Crown, for providing a remedy; but that they are not Enforced, and that the delay attending the Same has produced gradual Demands of *Wanton* and *dangerous priviledges*, which however allowable in dealings with one another, or with Nations Governed by Laws, are not in their present Lattitude, and Extent, from the Nature of the Case and the reasons before given, by any Means Admissible, without the utmost danger to his Majesties Subjects, and American Interests, a danger which the Crown, only can, and is bound to prevent.

It therefore only remains for me in pursuance of my Original Design, with all Humility to Offer a few Hints towards such present Regulations, as Whiist they are consistent with our Ideas of National Liberty, may in a great measure check the present Abuses, and prevent those in future.

Want of  
powers in the  
Department to  
check the  
growing  
abuses or do  
effectual  
service

In the first place I shall Observe that our not having reestablished all the Posts which were intended by the Plan sent to me by the Board of Trade, may have contributed to occasion the Wants of the dangerous Indulgences in the Indian Country aforementioned.—Eleven posts were Intended, throughout the Northern District, viz *La Baye* west of *Lake Michigan*, *Michilimackinac*, *Detroit*, *Illinois*, *Wawiaghtonon*, *Miamis*, *Niagara*, *Oswego*, *Checoutimi*, *Fort Frederick*, and *Fort Halifax*, these Last in *Nova Scotia*, do not materially relate to the matter at present in dispute and *Chicoutimi* being a Considerable way up the *Saguenay River*, which emptys into the *S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence* above 100 Miles below *Quebec* may Likewise be Excepted in the present, few Traders going that Way, altho' it is a post of some Consequence.—But on the other Side we have now no post beyond *Detroit*, Except *Michilmackinac*, which tho' a place of much Trade and Advantagiously Situated, is far from Answering the Conveniencys of the Indians to the Westward.—The post at *La Baye* on the West Side of the *Lake Michigan*, the Indians have desired to be reestablished, and it is so well Situated by reason of the Water Cummunication, with very little interruption to the *Mississippi*, and so well Calculated for all the Indians West of the *Lake Michigan*, that it deserves to be taken much notice of.—At present affairs there are Likely to be very troublesome on account of a Claim Laid to that post and a Considerable district around it by a Gentleman of the Name of *Grant* in Virtue of a purchase said to be made of *M<sup>r</sup> Rigaud de Vadreuille* whose Title if any he hd was of little Weight, and the whole of the Transaction as Laid before me by the *Merchants* of Canada Appears to have been a peice of Artifice huddled up about the time of the Surrender of Canada (or rather much later, as the Commander in Chief is of opinion,) Some Steps were ordered to be taken to render the Claim invalid, and unless it is soon done, it will greatly affect the Indian Affairs, and Trade of that Quarter.

Certain posts  
wanting

Importance  
of reestab-  
lishing  
*La Baye*  
&c.

Before the Late Indian War, a post had been Established at the falls at *S<sup>t</sup> Marys*, which was much more convenient for the Indians on the Southern parts of *Lake Superior* than *Michilimackinac* (this post was however not mentioned in the plan)—*Sandousky* which has

not been reestablished is not a place of much Consequence for Trade. it was Chiefly a port at which Several Pensilvania Traders embarked for *Detroit*—*S<sup>t</sup> Josephs* and the *Miamis* have neither of them been yet reestablished, the former is of Less consequence for Trade than the Latter, which is a place of some importance. *Wawiaghtonon* is Conveniently Scituated in the Neighbourhood of Several Tribes, but has not been reestablished—*Fort Chartres* at the *Illinois*, is indeed occupied, but a post at, or near, the *Mouth* of the *Illinois River* would possess many more Advantages, and prove a much Greater Check upon the *Spaniards*, or their busy Agents the *French*.—The Objections to the reestablishing of these posts, appear to me to be Chiefly, Their remoteness from Succours in case of a Rupture, and the Charge of keeping them up at such a distance, both of which I think may be easily removed, for as to the first, if (as I presume) it is deemed necessary to Cultivate the Esteem of the Indians by Justice and Good management and if these posts are composed of only a few Soldiers, for the Maintainance of the Police (as was the French Custom) there will be Little to apprehend from the Indians, and this will in a great measure Answer the other Objection with regard to the Charge of Transporting Provisions &ca, for the Indians would readily allow of the Cultivation of Grain for the use of the Garrison, and in the Countrys I speak of, from the plenty of Venison, Fish, and fowl, would on Moderate Terms Supply a much larger Garrison than there is any Occasion for.—At the distance I write it is impossible to foresee all the Objections that may be Started against this, or any other proposal The only Material one I can see at present, is, That these Garrisons are thereby Left at the Discretion of the Indians for Supplis,—I grant it, and I am in no wise apprehensive they will fail them, If Affairs are Conducted properly, and the Indians are once satisfied of our Integrity, and disinterested Intentions, upon this the peace of the Whole Interior Country, and Trade depends, and without it I am persuaded that we can neither Enjoy the one or the other for any Length of time without Sustaining the most Severe Shocks from an Enemy whom we have never yet been able to injure materially, unless in public prints, and interested relations.—If things are once placed on a proper foot-

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ing the Indians will Cherish these Garrisons, and consider them as their protectors against fraud and Oppression in a Country where no Justice can be had.—But all these Garrisons will not be alike exposed to that dependance *La Baye*, the most important of any I have mentioned, Can receive all its Supplys in the Kings Ships which go to *Michilimackinac* without additional Expence, or Risque, and at the *Miamis* there may be always a Sufficiency of Provisions from its vicinity to *Lake Erie*, and its easiness of Access by the River of that name at the proper Season, to protect which the Fort there can at a small Expence be rendered tenable against any Coup da Mains.

If these places I have mentioned were reestablished on the principles which I have taken the Liberty to propose it would greatly contribute to overcome the present Excuse, which draws the Traders to rove at Will, and thereby Exposes us to the utmost danger.—The next Expedient I would humbly offer is founded on the inefficacy of the Laws in General in the case of Indians and the Total Want, and impossibility of establishing Civil Authority at the Places of Trade, as well as on a Presumption that his Majesty has an undoubted and indisputable Authority in a Country not Comprized within the bounds of any Colony, to make such a Provision for the due Administration of Justice, as the Nature and Circumstances of our Connection with Indian Nations appears to require, and the Safety and protection of his Majestys Subjects renders absolutely necessary.—In which If I shall appear to Err in any point it is certainly with the best and most disinterested Intention.

Under these (to me) reasonable Suppositions I would humbly propose, That some Explanation be given of the Powers Intended by the Commission as Superintendant, and that such farther powers be Given as may be deemed necessary to the due Execution of his Office. as well as that the Several Colony Laws respecting Ind<sup>ns</sup> be repealed.

That the Deputy Agents who have each of them at present a Division of the District may have the powers of a Justice of the Peace in Indian Matters throughout the Division allotted them, at Least within those parts which lye beyond the Limits of a Colony Jurisdiction, that the Establishment for the Augmentation of their

Proposals  
for a System  
of Regulation

Powers as-  
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the Super-  
intendent

Deputys

Sallarys for the reasons formerly mentioned be made and their Office so Ascertained by Royal Commission or otherwise as to remove their present precarious Situation.

Commissaries

That the Commissaries at the Several posts be furnished with the Like powers within the Limits of Trade Allotted around the posts of their Residence, to enable them to hear and determine Causes within a Certain Sum, and to Summon Jurys for that purpose &c.—That they be enabled to permit certain Traders under Certain restrictions to Leave the Established posts, on the Terms herein after mentioned,—That their powers be fully ascertained to prevent all interfering with those necessarily appertaining to the Commanding Officers, and to prevent the Latter from obstructing their Jursidiction and Authority in Indian Affairs, And that the Commanding Officer be directed to give them Assistance, in Support of their Authority. That orders be Transmitted respecting the Establishment of the boundary Line.

Orders necessary to be sent to the Governors &c.

That the Governors of the several Colonies be more particularly directed to give public Notice Annually of the Time when passes shall be issued, and that such passes be given only to such persons as shall enter into a recognizance in a Sum, not less then the Whole, or One Half of their Cargoe for the due observance of the Words of their passes in which passes they shall be directed to proceed directly, and without breaking bulk to some certain post to be therein Expressly mentioned, there to have their Goods Viewed by the Commissary in the presence of the Traders, and Compared with the Invoice which is to be inserted in some convenient place on their pass for the prevention of breaking bulk and thereby injuring the fair Trader.

And in as much as the desire to go into the Indian Country is only pretended to arise from the Wants of Certain Nations to the Northward who are so circumstanced by reason of the depth of the Snow as Absolutely to require Traders amongst them during the Winter, under which pretext Numbers go whither they please, and often proceed to the *Mississipi*, and far to the Southward, where they Sell their peltry, and often their European Goods to the *Spaniards* or *French*, and thereby not only Injure the fair Trader, but furnish

the people beforementioned with the Means of Alienating the Indians from our Interest and Trade.—That therefore the Commissary be enabled Whenever Traders shall be deemed necessary to carry Goods to the Northward of the *Ottawa river*, or *Lake Superior*, at the request of the Indians in public Meeting, to Summon, Such Traders as are Sole Proprietors of Goods, (but not Factors or Servants to persons in Trade) and to Cause such Traders to Ballot in publick for the persons who are to go according to the Number which shall from the Nature of the Country, and State of the Indians be deemed necessary by the Commissary and the Majority of the Traders; and that such Traders so permitted shall then give Security to the Commissary in a sum not Less than the half of their Cargo, for their good Conduct during the Time of their Stay amongst the Indians, which shall be Limited in a pass to be then delivered them for that purpose.

Under what Restrictions Traders may be permitted to go to the Northward &c.

That the Indians be then assured that in case of any Violence offered to the persons, or propertys of any such Traders, there shall be a Stop put to such indulgence untill they Shall have made Adequate Satisfaction, and That any Trader offending contrary to the engagements he shall enter into, Shall over and besides the forfeiture of his recognizance, be prohibited from ever Trading again with any Indians of that Nation whom he has injured.

That such Indians as have embraced the Christian faith, and are known, and Reputed followers of that Religion under any Denomination, be admitted as Evidences in all Civil Actions, whatsoever, relative to them throughout the Colonies. that the Evidences of such Indians be Likewise taken in all Criminal Cases to which their Testimony shall Appear necessary Submitting the same Nevertheless to the breasts of Members of Gen<sup>l</sup> Courts Martial, or Jurys, whether they will Admit such *as full Evidence*, or not.

Terms on which certain Indians may be admitted as Evidences

That all Indians who are not known, and professed Christians, as aforesaid, be admitted in Civil Actions in Lieu of Testimony to have their Information taken in Writing, and read in aid to the Courts Martial, or Jurys, who shall be at Liberty to Judge of them as they shall think proper from the Circumstances of the Case.

That where Indians are proposed as Jurors, and are not known



to be Christians by the President or any of the Members of Gen<sup>l</sup> Courts Martial, or by any Members of a Jury—In such Case the Certificate of a Missionary (where such reside) in favor of such Indians, or the Testimony of any reputable person, be the *Test* by which they are to be Admitted.

That any Crime, or Misdemeanour committed by any Trader not cognizable before the Commissary, or any of his Superiors in the Department of Indian Affairs, be forthwith reported to the Governor who issued his pass, that he may be proceeded against as the Case shall require; That all Evidences be Sent down the Country at the Expence of the Crown, and that in all Cases which areailable Such Trader be permitted to depart from the post, or place at which he Traded on giving Bond to the Commissary in the Sum of [*blank in MS.*] that he will return home forthwith, and not go to any Indian Town, or Hunting Village, but wait the Award of the Court where the Cause is to be tried.

That all persons not duly Authorised who shall be convicted of having held Meetings with, or sent Belts, or Strings of Wampum with Messages to any Indians, or endeavored to Seduce or Treat with them for any Tract of Land, Dwelling place &ca, or for any Priviledge, Immunity, or Advantage, Whatsoever, be com[m]itted to the Next Goal (to be tried for the Offence) by Warrant from the Superintendant, or any of his deputys, or Commissaries, having Justiciary powers.—And that the Governors of each Colony be Severally Ordered to direct his Majesties Attorney General forthwith to proceed against all Criminal Offenders by the Shortest and most Efficacious Course of Justice, and that Such Governors shall also Cause Process to be issued forthwith in all Civil Actions, arising from any of the Cases aforementioned for the forfeiture of Recognizances, or any other purposes herein Contained,—Which Fines, forfeitures &ca to be at the disposal of the Crown.—Lastly That Missionaries will be established as intended.

These are a few Heads upon the Subject which if approved may be Methodized, and so established, as in a great measure to remove the principal Cause of the Indians Just Complaints and to check the

Governors  
Immediately  
to cause  
Rec[o]gniz-  
ances to be  
forfeited

The Attorney  
General  
Immediately  
to proceed  
against  
Criminals.

Conclusion



encrease of those Abuses which if permitted must in a Short time throw every thing into Confusion.—

The Expedients herein proposed with regard to the Trade in the Indian Country are Such as no Honest Men can Justly have any Exception to. Altho' founded on Necessity, it is calculated with that tender regard for the Liberties of the Subject which can possibly be wished for Under the Circumstances of the Case, and therefore we have Just cause to Suspect the Integrity, as well as Veracity, of those who would wish for more on a Consideration of the foregoing Subject.

To Satisfy all people particularly those of a profession where Gain is the Sole Object, is a thing impossible;—and if we duly consider the Low character of so many persons concerned in this Trade, with their Selfish Views, and their consequences, We need not to be Surprised should they endeavour through Misrepresentations to Interest respectable bodys of Merchants therein, who being themselves abused, may attempt to abuse others, and Obstruct the most Judicious, and Wisest Regulations, and it is not impossible that Men, otherwise, of fair Character Viewing a Supposed Interest in the Countenance of the present Irregularities may endeavour Warmly to protect it;—Of this there have been instances enough to Justify my apprehensions, one in particular which happened here in 1724 under the Administration of *Governor Burnet* a Gentleman of Universal Good Character, knowledge, and Abilities, who from a thorough Conviction of its importance, by a Salutary Law he obtained here, for a time severely Checked the Abuses in Trade, and put it on a much more respectable footing than he found it.—but such is the Spirit of opposition to all Measures of that Nature, That a Memorial was addressed to the King in Council wherein they did not Scruple the Abuse the ears of Majesty, with a Train of falsities almost incredible, as was afterwards fully, and Circumstantially proved; the particulars whereof doubtless remain in the Office for Trade and Plantations.—I flatter myself that the present case will not admit of any thing of that Nature, being calculated according to the Very Sentiments of Sundry eminent Traders and must be approved of and wished for by all those who are capable of Looking

farther than present Gain.—Whilst the powers proposed to the Officers of the Department are much Less than were intended by the plan which received the Sanction of the Royal Approbation and no more than has been of Late Given to Common Traders Who Exercise at *Detroit &c* a Judicial Authority in Affairs amongst themselves.

I know not how far it may be deemed my Duty to have drawn up so tedious a Detail, or offered such proposals; But sensible of the purity and disinterestedness of my own Intentions If I have in Any place erred, it is not with design, The Apparent necessity which I am thoroughly convinced there is for falling immediately upon some Expedient for relief in these Cases being my Sole motive; And Whilst it can be made to appear that I have not, neither can I have, the Least View, advantage, or concern in these proposals, but for his Majestys Interests, and those of the Publick My Integrity I hope will appear unimpeachable, and these Sheets meet with the reception due to the honesty of my Intentions.

The hurry in which I have been, since the rest of Your Lordships Letter, may expose this peice to the disadvantage of Want of Method and Correctness, errors which would be very Excusable if the Circumstances under which I write were Generally known as my principal design was to State facts, and make faithfull representation of matters, which the urgency of affairs immediately required, I considered Method much Less than I did Truth, Whatever disadvantages it may appear with, this is the only Sanction under which it is now most humbly, and with all imaginable Duty Submitted to Consideration.

[*Endorsed:*] State of the Trade, Politicks & Proceedings of the Indians in the Northern District In Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's N<sup>o</sup> 5 (without Date) Rec[eiv]ed 16 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1767.

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, September 25, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15:83—A.L.S.]

PHILL. Sep<sup>tr</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1767

DEAR SIR

While I was in New York Some of the Proprietors Cayaderusos paten Came to Me and asked Me if I had herd you say any thing of

Setleing the Diference between them & the Mohocks about the paten they Say they Made an ofer to you on that Acount & Desierd I wold Inclose you A Leter I find they are very Earnest to Setle itt & wold Do I Blive any thing you wold Desier in itt.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton Wharton & Morgan has Stopt payment oweing to thire want of Remittance from the Ilinioes Butt on Examining thire affairs its found they will have £30,000 besides paying Every body So they have gotten 3 years to Setle thire affairs in and is now going on with thire busness.

Plese to present My Compl<sup>ts</sup> to Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson & the Ladys & Blive Me Dear Sir with Great Respect y<sup>r</sup> honours

Most obeident and Most Humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN

TO THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Barr<sup>t</sup>

MORGAN'S JOURNAL, September 30, 1767–November 1, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

1767

On Wednesday the 30th of September I set out from Philadelphia & overtook M<sup>r</sup> John Campbell & Jos. Hollingshead Esq that night about 33 miles from the City—We proceeded in Company the next Day—On Friday Night about 8 OClock we reach'd Harris's Ferry Where I heard of Maisonvilles having pass'd Place on his Way to Philadelphia the Wednesday before with an Acc<sup>t</sup> Of two of our Boats being plunder'd on their Way down the Ohio by a Party of Indians Who had murdered all our People—This induced me to proceed that Night to M<sup>r</sup> Callenders which is 6 or 7 Miles over the Ferry to enquire more particularly into this News—On Saturday I proceeded no further than to Carlisle where I tarry'd for my Company to come up—I here paid Joseph Dobson forty five pounds to defray suit Expenses as it might be necessary he should be at on our Acc<sup>ts</sup>. On Sunday We left Carlisle & reachd Bedford on Monday Night Here I left Mr. Hollingshead & Mr. Campbell to engage a few Hunters for our Buffalo Adventure & as it rain'd I came no further than the Shawna Cabbins On Tuesday night—On Wednesday Night I reach'd Ligonier—And came to Fort Pitt the next, being

Thursday Night the Eighth of October Where I was most politely & kindly wellcom'd by Captain Edmondstone the Commanding Officer & the other Gentlemen of the Garrison.

At Bedford I gave Mr Campbell fifteen pounds to Advance to Hunters.

At the Shawnese Cabbins I met with a six Nation Indian who called himself John—Thirty six Days before that he had cut his Knee with a Tom Hawk which glanced from a Joint of Venison that he was chopping—He had been unable to walk ever since & had no One to hunt or procure Sustenance for him but his Wife who had also two young Children to take Care of & was great with Child.

I gave One Thomas Hay who liv'd near this Indian Hut, twenty five shillings to supply him with necessarys & ordered as much more to be given him on my Acct if Mr. Croghan should not come up before that was expended—I also desired him to purchase 100<sup>lb</sup> of Flour & give to him.

The 9<sup>th</sup> of October & the 10<sup>th</sup> I wrote to B & W informing them in Part with the Situation of our Affairs here.

The 11th I proceeded to inquire into John Irwins Conduct—I found that notwithstanding his Ability & Profession of Honour & Fidelity, there was too much Truth in the Relation given Us of him by Kennedy—To what Amount he has wrong'd Us, We shall not be able to find out The Charges alledged against him by Mathew Kennedy & John Elliot are as follow.

That about the middle of November 1766, Elizabeth Guthry arrived at Fort Pitt from Bedford by Desire of the said John Irwin who wrote for her & Who has maintain'd her here at a very great Expense—That He has constantly supply'd her with Wine, Shrub, Jamaica Spirits & Rum—Callico's, Chintzs, Scarlet Cloath for a Cloak, with Shoes, Stockings, black Callimanco for Petticoats With Tea, Coffee, Chocolate & divers other Things Which he has never charged himself for accounted any other Way for the same.

That the said Irwin has also cloathed the Brother of the said Elizabeth Guthry with a suit of blue Stroud in particular.

That the said John Irwin did in the Month of May last open One Trunk of Callico & Chintz design'd for the Illinois & took thereout

several Pieces of Chintz & Callico for the aforesaid Elizabeth Guthry Alias Mrs. Turner.

That the said John Irwin has, at the Expence of his Employers Baynton Wharton & Morgan built a House for the Use of William M<sup>c</sup>Monomie with whom Elizabeth Guthry boards & to whom the said Irwin pays—P Month & likewise furnishes him with Provisions for his Family under Pretence of his being in our Service Whereas his Business is principally to wait on Madam Guthry.

That the said John Irwin has ever since the Month of May last untill my Arrival here kept & maintained at our Expence his Uncle Robert Irwin without the said Roberts being in the least employ'd in work for Us during that Space of Five Months.

That the said John Irwin has in many Instances shamefully neglected his Duty & that he has suffered common Batteau Men to keep the Keys of our Stores & has frequently left the Doors all open & gone out when no trusty Person has been in the House.

Wherefore, taking into Consideration the dangerous Consequences of keeping the said Irwin longer in Our Service, should all of these Charges be really true As some of them Undoubtedly are, I have, as we agreed at Philadelphia, appointed Mr. John Campbell to succeed him as our Agent at this Place on the 26<sup>th</sup> Day of October 1767 ad.

Having settled our Affairs at Fort Pitt & put them in a proper Channel I loaded my own Boat & the Charlotte for Mr. Bacon with which We departed on Tuesday the 27<sup>th</sup> Day of October—but notwithstanding the River had risen full twelve Inches We grounded at Shirties Island & the Charlotte was obliged to be lightened before she could be got off which We could not accomplish untill 8 OClock in the Evening.

Embarked early in the Morning—But at M<sup>c</sup>Kees Rift which is about 7 Miles below Fort Pitt We struck on the Rocks—I was obliged to heave overboard 42 Casks of Wine to get off—We were under the Necessity of unloading the Charlotte & carrying a Considerable Part of her Cargo through the Rift in Cannoes—Two of them struck on the Rocks & filled with Water by which I [*MS. illegible*] very wet & damaged I dried them by the Fire in the Evening as well

1767  
October  
27<sup>th</sup>  
Rained  
most of  
the Day  
& all  
Night

Wednesday  
28<sup>th</sup> Rained  
most Part  
the Day

as I could, but it was impossible to preserve the Sugar—We encamp'd on McKees Island & the next Morning I employ'd the Cannoes to proceed down the River with Us to Log [*MS. illegible*] as then we should be over the most difficult Places.

Thursday October 29th

29th

Embark'd about 8 oClock but our Boats grounding very often & we having several difficult Passages to go through, we got no further than Montours opposite to which we encamp'd—My Boat this Day received so much Damage that at Night We were obliged to hawl her ashore to prevent her sinking—A Canoe in passing One of the Rifts w<sup>th</sup> Part of Mr Bacons Cargo overset & filld with water by which the Goods again got wet.

Friday October 30th

30th

We turned my Boat up & repaired her—About two Oclock we reached Logstown—where I found Mr. Hollingsheads Boats—We tarryd the Remainder of the Day to arrange Our-Selves properly—From this Place I wrote to Fort Pitt & Philedelphia by One of the Cannoes I had hired to lighten M<sup>r</sup> Bacons Boat.

Saturday October 31st

Set out from Logs Town (wich is 20 Miles below Fort Pitt) in Co with Mr. Hollingsheads Boats & the Charlotte Capt. Bacon It being very Foggy & my Boat rowing much better than theirs I soon lost Sight of them. Mons Viviate<sup>1</sup> whom I expected would embark with me chose to set off in his own Canoe intending to come on board of me at Breakfast Time but could not keep Up with Us. At 12 OClock I pass'd big Beaver Creek, on the Right, just below We struck a Rock but soon got off—At Three we pass'd little Beaver Creek which is on the same Side of the River—The first is about 120 Yds broad at high Water the latter about 80 Yds wide—About 5 OClock we struck on a Shoal which detained Us Near an Hour—Before we got off We were obliged to throw overboard three Q<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is Louis Viviat who was a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia. His presence with Morgan furnishes proof, which is abundant, of the intercourse of the Illinois French with the East.

Casks of Wine to lighten the Boat—This Bar is between the Foot of the 15th Island & the right Handshore near two Miles below Yellow Creek—I imagine there is a good Passage on the left but at the Entrance it appeared Narrow—This Day We passd several Indian Encampments on each Side the River—All except One were Mingos That was a Delaware hunting Encampment—About 7 OClock We encamp'd on the right Hand Shore sixty two Miles from Fort Pitt & forty from Logs Town where We encampd the Night before—From the first Party of Indians We met We got a Supply of Meat in Exchange for Powder & Lead—This We did rather than loose Time in hunting.

Camp  
N 5.  
62 Miles

Sunday November 1st 1767

Embark'd at 7 OClock & reach'd the Mingo Town 73 Miles from Fort Pitt at 9 OClock in the Morning I stopd here to send a Letter to Fort Pitt & One to Philadelphia—Here I purchased some Pumpkins & Tossimano but at a very dear Rate This Town is on the right Hand Side of the River on a high level rich Piece of Ground close to the Bank of the River—There is not at present more than twenty Huts here in which there may be about forty Families—During the last Indian War w<sup>ch</sup> commenced in May 1763—All the Inhabitants of this Town removed to the lower Shawna Town as they apprehended they were too easy of access from Fort Pitt.

S. WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN, September 30, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:105—C.]

Two Letters from S. Wharton relating to the Indian Boundaries.<sup>1</sup>

PHILID<sup>A</sup> September 30<sup>th</sup> 1767.

DEAR SIR

I have not wrote to you, as often as my Inclinations would have induced me, as I have been engaged in a great Variety of Business,—Which has called me much from Home;—But as I esteem it my Duty, to afford you every Piece of Intelligence, which respects his Majesty's Interest, I give you the Trouble of this Letter.

I took the Liberty, both last year and the year before, of mentioning the absolute necessity, of the King's Ministers giving Direc-

<sup>1</sup> For second letter see page 76.

tions to Sir William Johnson, for the purchase of the Boundary, between the Indians and his Majesty's Middle Colonies.

The Indians were spoke to by Sir William Johnson, on this Matter, in the year 1765 and they *fixed* with Him, Where it was to be, and several Times since, both Sir William and Mr Croghan, in their publick Negotiations, have assured Them, That They daily expected Orders from the King's Ministers, for the Confirmation of it.

It is unnecessary for me, to make Use of Arguments, to prove the Propriety of a Boundary, being firmly settled, between the Natives and Us, as you must be thoroughly convinced of it—All I now intend, is from unquestionable Facts to evince, That the future Peace of those Colonies, actually depends on the King's Orders being expeditiously transmitted, for the purchase of it. Colonel Croghan has been three months this Summer at Sir William Johnson's, assisting Him in different Treatys with the *Six Nations*;—At Which Times, He assured me, That They discovered a very great Uneasiness among Them, caused by the Irregularities of the Traders—,The murder of their Warriors, and the King's Subjects settling on Land not yet sold by Them.

The Senecas are greatly incensed, as they have lost many of their Warriors and a few days before Mr Croghan left the Mohawk Country, several Expresses arrived from the *Out Posts* affording the very disagreeable Intelligence, of the War Belt passing thro' the Western Tribes. In short, The Face of Indian affairs is so alarming, That Sir William Johnson judged it indispensibly necessary for Himself to set off immediately, for the Seneca Country and that Mr Croghan should proceed with all possible Dispatch to Fort Pitt, The Shawanese Villages, and Detroit, In Order if practicable, to avert the impending Stroke.

In 'Mr Croghan's Route thro' this City (Where He stopped but a Short Time)—He received Dispatches, by Express, from the Commissary of Indian Affairs, at Pittsburgh, confirming the bad News from Michilimacnac, Detroit &c and informing Him, That he had just then, received advice from the Shawanese, That There was to be a very great Council held among Them, this Fall, to



consist of Warriors from the Senecas and twelve of the Western Tribes and that Several Hundreds were assembled. The Receipt of this Letter hurried M<sup>r</sup> Croghan away and He went off with a Determination to go immediately to *this Council*, with a View if possible, to compose the Warriors, Untill such Time as decisive Orders could arrive from England.

There is no other Method, I am persuaded, of preserving the Colonies from all the Horrors of an immediate Indian War, But by convincing the Natives, That the King's Ministers were in Earnest, at the Time Sir William Johnson treated with them about the *Boundary*;—For they have in their publick Councils said, That They cannot help thinking, That it is by the Governments Permission, The White People have settled over the mountain and have murdered their Warriors On their Own Land—In short, They have remarked with great Sagacity, That we have Laws for the Control of our People and that if the Nation really meant to do them Justice, They would either purchase the Land from them or Else remove their Subjects from it.

Indians, you well know Sir, are not always in a Temper to Dispose of a large Part of their country—What a Pity it is therefore, that so fair an opportunity should be lost,—When the Crown might for a small Consideration purchase Land sufficient for us to settle or hunt on, and at the same time remove the present unfavourable Disposition of the Natives, by fixing *a Line* between Them and Us,—beyond Which, No Englishmen should presume to settle or hunt. As an inhabitant of this Colony, who has its future Tranquility much at Heart and as a Merchant, indebted to Great Britain, Who has all his property in the Indian Country—I hope you will pardon my thus earnestly addressing You;—For be assured, That if Orders are not sent Early this Winter to Sir William Johnson, to purchase the Boundary (an Object the Indians have long expected, as they so long ago fixed it, with Him)—a general Indian War will infallibly happen either this Winter or early in the Spring As the Indian Agents cannot any longer delude Them, with Promises, That a Hunting Country shall be allotted for Them, to remain for ever

inviolable, from the Inroads or Incroachments of the White People.  
I am with great Regard, Dear Sir your very affectionate Fr<sup>d</sup>

SAM<sup>L</sup> WHARTON

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Esq. Agent for Pennsylvania

CROGHAN TO B. FRANKLIN, October 2, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:97—C.]

LANCASTER October 2<sup>d</sup> 1767.

SIR

I was favoured with your Letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> <sup>1</sup> April & I return you my sincere thanks, for the Notice you are pleased to take of my publick Transactions; And shall think myself happy if my Conduct meets with the approbation of the Kings Minister.

I have been about three months this Summer, at Sir William Johnson's, where we had several Conferences with the Six Nations and at every meeting they expressed great uneasiness that the Boundary between their Hunting Country and the middle British Colonies was not confirmed, agreeable to the settlement of it, made about two Years agoe with Sir William Johnson, when they agreed to it, as they understood, it was desired by the King and wished for by themselves, with a view to prevent any further disputes between their Warriors and their Brethren the Kings Subjects; but at those *Conferences*, they said, that to their great Surprise, their Father the King, had taken no Notice of that Agreement, and that the English, on the Frontiers of the Colonies and in particular, on that of Virginia, have since that *Agreement* was formed, made more encroachments on their Country, than ever they had before and had killed several of their Warriors, this last Spring (which unhappily is but too true). They complained likewise of the Regulations of Trade, in their Country, & said, that the Traders will not comply with them, (which indeed cannot be denied). Nor can the General and Sir William Johnson oblige them to conform to the intentions of Government, without proper authority from his Majesty, for that purpose. Everything that could with propriety be mentioned to them, was done by Sir William Johnson, but they appeared, as if they thought that all which was said to them, was intended *only to amuse*

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

*them* & they declared plainly, that they could not believe, but if it had been the King's desire to prevent his Subjects from making Settlements, in their Country, before it was purchased, or killing their People, or preventing frauds and abuses in Trade, he would have done it before now, as he made laws to rule his People by; and that they dreaded the consequences of not confirming that *Boundary*, as *all the Western Tribes and Senecas*, were as much or more concerned in it, than themselves, and that those were the Tribes, who had lost several of their Warriors last Spring on the Frontiers of Virginia & who they feared, *then* were meditating a method of taking revenge.

About the beginning of September, several Letters were brought to Sir William Johnson & myself from the out Posts, acquainting us with the great dissatisfaction of the several Tribes to the *Westward* and of the Senecas & informing us that a Conference of the Warriors of the *Senecas* & *twelve* different Tribes of the Western Indians, was to be held this Fall, in the Shawnesse Country, which left us no room to doubt of the design of this great Council. On which Sir William determined to go himself immediately into the Six Nation Country, & for me to proceed to the Shawnesse Towns and Detroit, by way of Fort Pitt, in order to divert them & divide their Councils, if possible for a while.

On my way through this Province, I have received a Letter from the Commissary of Indian Affairs at Fort Pitt, confirming the Account of this great meeting in the Shawanesse Country & that several Hundreds were already assembled there; you Sir are well acquainted with the Indians and their Customs & Manners. They are Jealous & revengefull never forget and Seldom forgive, where they think they are injured and a delay a neglect they cannot bear and often construe them into a design against themselves. Indeed such is their opinion, at present respecting this *Boundary* and delays of Government, in not ordering it to be confirmed, That it must inevitably produce an Indian War, early next Spring or perhaps this Winter, unless Sir William Johnson and myself, should be able to divert it; For their Intentions are, I am convinced, to do themselves

justice, by force of Arms, as they say, they are aggrieved and much *slighted and deceived by us.*

No doubt Sir William Johnson has wrote his Majesty's Ministers fully on this occasion, but as I know your zeal for the good of the King's Interest, I could not let slip this opportunity, of communicating such very interesting Intelligence, to the commerce of Great Britain and to the Peace of these Colonies.

I set of tomorrow for Fort Pitt & beg leave to assure you I am with great esteem and regard Sir Your most obedient & most humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Esquire

S. WHARTON TO [B. FRANKLIN], October 4, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:108—C.]

PHILA<sup>D</sup> October 4th 1767

DEAR SIR,

Since writing On the other Side,—The apprehensions of Hostility's shortly commencing, Unless the Indians could be quieted by the Agents, Are too soon (And too fataly for my Partners and self) confirmed.

An Express, yesterday brought us, the following alarming Advices.

That Our Factor at Fort Pitt had sent from Thence, in July last, Two large Batteaus, with Cargos to the Amount of About Three Thousand Pounds Sterling and That near to the Falls of the River Ohio,—One Devereux Smith, who was coming up That River, saw one of Them, Near to the East Side of it And upon examining her, found No Person on Board,—That the Cargo was mostly destroyed and part scattered, for several miles along the River Side.

And from Detroit, There is also certain Intelligence, That all the Crew of those Boats, being fourteen in Number, was murdered by a party of Chippeways (one of the Western Tribes who are *now meeting at the Shawanese Towns*) Who had returned with the Plunder, to their Nation.

This Loss is very severe Upon Us and Especialy when added to the vast Sum, we lost the last Indian War; and no Retribution received for Them.

All Trade must cease from hence to the Illinois, As it will be impossible for any Persons to carry it On, unless some speedy and efficacious Measures are taken, to pacify the Indians.

No English Merchants save Ourselves, have yet ventured to send British Merchandize to the Illinois And I dare say, None will be so rash, as to do it hereafter,—At least, not until Methods are adopted, to gratify the Natives in Their Expectations.

I am respectfully Dear Sir Y<sup>r</sup> Affectionate Fr<sup>d</sup>

S. WHARTON

SHELBURNE'S WESTERN POLICY, October 5, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:173—Draft]

Considerations submitted to the Board of Trade, relative to the Superintendent of Indian affairs.<sup>2</sup>

WHITEHALL October 5<sup>th</sup> 1767.

LORDS OF TRADE

MY LORDS,

Several Memorials & Petitions having been presented to His Majesty, by Merchants trading from hence to North America, or residing in the Colonies, setting forth the present state of the Indian Trade, and representing the necessity of some new Regulation, I have His Majesty's Commands to transmit to Your Lordships Copies of the same for your Consideration.

His Majesty observing the Expences of N<sup>o</sup> America to be enormous, & to arise in a great Measure from the present manner of managing Indian Affairs by the intervention of Superintendants, who necessarily have a Power of drawing for such Sums as they shall judge expedient, as well as from the Number of Forts subsisting ever since the late War, and the distant Stations in which the Troops have remained for want of any regular Plan or System having been adopted since the Peace; I have it further in Command to desire Your Lord-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:981 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare with Shelburne's other papers on the same subject, *ante*, 12 ff. and the resolution of the cabinet, *ante*, 21.

ships to take into your Consideration, at the same time, how far the present Expence, whether regarding the Indians or the Disposition of the Troops for Indian purposes, may with safety and Propriety admit of being reduced; and for this purpose Your Lordships will State your Opinion to His Majesty how far the Appointment of Superintendants remains longer necessary, their first Institution being supposed to be chiefly, if not solely, for the purpose of a general Union of the Colonies, under His Majesty's immediate Direction, to resist the Encroachments of the French at the beginning of the last War, If Y<sup>r</sup> Lordships think them still necessary, how far it may be right to strengthen the hands of these officers agreeable to their repeated applications in order to give a more efficient Strength to an Institution Independant both of the civil and Military Power—Or as the General Regulations of Trade attempted to be carried into Execution by the Superintendants are asserted in these Petitions to be ill suited to the particular Circumstances of the several Provinces, and to serve rather to clog the Trade with useless and vexatious Restrictions, than to remove the Evils, of which Complaint has been made, and as it appears also from the Correspondence that the Governors of several of the Colonies do not keep up a regular Correspondence with these Officers, paying little, or no Regard to the Rules laid down by them if your Lordships should think their further Continuance unnecessary, you will then state your Opinion to His Majesty, in what Method it may be proper to intrust both the Trade and Management of the Indians to the Care of the Colonies themselves, leaving it to them to judge of their several Interests with those People, and to pass Laws which shall be adapted to the Circumstances of the respective Provinces, and which must afterwards in course, be sent over hither to be submitted to His Majesty for his Royal Approbation or Disallowance, (if found repugnant to the true Interest of the Colonies, or, of Great Britain) Subject always to such general Restrictions as Your Lordship may judge proper to lay before His Majesty, as expedient to be observed by the Provinces, who must in Consequence defray whatever Expence they may judge necessary from time to time for their own Quiet & Security against Indian Incursions.

And as the sole Utility arising from the several Forts which are now maintained, appears to be the forming of a certain Barrier against the Indians for the Security of the Colonies, your Lordships will take into consideration whether most of the Posts now subsisting may not be reduced and others of them intrusted to the Provinces themselves, in order to lessen the present heavy Expence; Still preserving the necessary Communications by means of a few Posts remaining in the Hands of His Majesty's Troops on the great Lakes & Rivers which lead from Canada to the Mississippi and the Frontiers of New York, which, together with a small number of Vessels to command the Navigation, may answer every Intention of Government with regard to the Indians and at the same time secure an easy access for His Majesty's Troops into the different Provinces, keeping the Force of the Army more collected, and without hazarding its subordination and Discipline.

His Majesty likewise commands me to refer to your Lordships, Extracts from several Letters of Sir J. Amherst & Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage,<sup>1</sup> recommending the Establishment of further new Governments on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and at Detroit, at one or more of which Places a considerable Body of French have been suffered to remain since the Peace without any Form of Government; also different Proposals from private People for undertaking Establishments in those Parts. Your Lordships will consider the Force of the several Arguments which are brought in favor of these Settlements setting forth, that they will secure to His Majesty's subjects the Command of the Fur and Peltry Trade in preference to the French and Spaniards, preventing smuggling with them, which, as appears by the Extracts of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's & M<sup>r</sup> Croghan's Letters, amounts to so considerable a Sum annually as to become a National Object; That they will be an effectual Check to the Intrigues of those Nations for gaining the Affections of the Indians; That they will promote the great Object of Population in general and encrease the Demand and Consumption

<sup>1</sup> Some details of Amherst's proposals appear under the title *Amherst's Observations on the Illinois Settlement*, November, 1767, printed *post*, 103. For Gage's ideas see Gage to Conway, March 28, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I. H. C., 10), 197, and Gage to Shelburne, January, 1768, *post*, 159. See also Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, 127, n. 72.

of British Manufactures, particular[ly] by affording to the Americans an opportunity of following their natural Bent for the Cultivation of the Lands, and offering a convenient Reception & Occupation for their superfluous Hands who otherwise cooped up in narrow Bounds might be forced into Manufactures to rival the Mother Country, an Event which any other way, it might be difficult to prevent, That by raising Provisions of all Sorts to supply such interior Garrisons as it may still be found necessary to keep up they would greatly contribute to lessen the extraordinary Expence accruing not only from the Establishments of the different Forts & the various contingent charges, but also from the necessity of transporting Provisions as well as Stores to supply the Garrisons, from the Provinces on the Coast, by the Rivers, & by the Great Lakes, as well as by Land Portage, all which not only occasions an accumulated Expence, but also often reduces the Garrisons to great Distress, & in case of an Indian War, when alone they can be usefull, leaves them in a very precarious Situation;—That these *new* Colonies will prove in Effect a Protection & Security to the *Old*, forming of themselves an exterior Line of Defence rendering most of the interior Forts useless, & equally contributing to Diminish the present Indian & Military Expence, that being situated behind the other Provinces they will be of singular use to keep the Indians in Awe, & prevent their hostile Incursions upon the Frontiers to the Eastward, while those Savages, who are hemmed in by our Settlements on both Sides, must either become domiciliated, & Reconciled to our Laws and Manners or be obliged to retire to a Distance.

In case Your Lordships should think it right to advise His Majesty to establish these new Governments, you will consider, whether it will not be practicable to fall upon such a Plan as will avoid great part of the Expence incurred by the Estimates of the new Governments established after the Peace.

I send your Lordships all the Papers which can furnish any Lights in these Matters, which His Majesty desires that you will without loss of Time take into your Consideration in their fullest Extent. These together with the Materials in Your Lordships office, and the Examination of Such Merchants as are most intelligent in



the North American & Indian Trade, & such of His Majesty's military Servants as have been in America, (who will be ready to attend Your Lordships and give you every Information in their Power) will enable you to acquaint me, for His Majesty's Information, in one or more Reports in what Manner Your Lordships think these Points can be regulated so as most effectually to promote the Prosperity & Happiness of the several Provinces, as well as the real & solid Advantage of the Mother Country, Objects which His Majesty has so much at heart,

I am &c<sup>a</sup>  
SHELburne.

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>r</sup> to the Lords of Trade October 5<sup>th</sup> 1767.

REED TO GAGE, October 5, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 101—C.]

Extracts of Letters from Lieut. Colonel Reed 34th Regiment, to General Gage. Dated Fort Chartres, Illinois Oct. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1767.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the Indian Presents, I have taken all possible Methods, to make them small, but that will not do, without the Methods are taken as mentioned in my former; This last Six Months are very high, having had 4000 Indians and what adds greatly to it, is paying upwards of 100 Pr Cent more for every Article we get, than in any other part of America.

<sup>1</sup> The endorsement follows Reed's letter of October 28, 1767, *post*, 102.

## CHAPTER II

SUMMARY VIEWS ON INDIAN RELATIONS, OCTOBER 6, 1767—  
NOVEMBER 20, 1767

BOARD OF TRADE'S RECEPTION OF SHELBURNE'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 5—FRENCH INFLUENCE AMONG THE INDIANS—CABINET APPROVAL OF THE ILLINOIS COLONY—BAYNTON AND WHARTON'S REPORT—CROGHAN'S OPINION ON INDIAN TRADE AND BOUNDARY—BOARD OF TRADE'S ACTION—JOHNSON'S VIEWS ON THE INDIAN BOUNDARY—REJECTION OF COLE'S ACCOUNTS BY GAGE—COLE'S COMPLAINTS—LONDON MERCHANTS' ENDORSEMENT OF SHELBURNE'S PLAN—AMHERST'S OBSERVATIONS ON ILLINOIS SETTLEMENT—MINISTERIAL CONSIDERATION OF INDIAN MANAGEMENT—SHELBURNE'S APPROBATION OF GAGE'S POLICY—FURTHER PROGRESS OF BOARD OF TRADE.

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, October 6, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391:74, f. 286—E.]

Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>

Present

Lord Clare,

M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert. M<sup>r</sup> Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]S GENERAL—Read a Letter from the Earl of Shelburne, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Oct<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1767,<sup>1</sup> referring to this Board, for their consideration and opinion several papers relative to the state of Indian Affairs, and to the Establishment of certain Posts and Colonies in the interior part of the Continent of North America.

Ordered, that the Secretary do, with all convenient dispatch, collect and lay before the Board, all such materials in the papers of this Office, as may relate to the several points contained in the Earl of Shelburne's letter.

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 77.

McCLEOD TO JOHNSON, October 8, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15: 95—E.]

NIAGARA, Oct. 8, 1767.

I see by a Letter from Captain Turnbull to Captain Brown that the Western Indians have sent a Message to the French on the Mississippi desiring to know if they could furnish them with powder and ball. Capt. Turnbull has not heard what answer the French made them but says he thinks the intentions of the Indians are very bad. All the Traders that come this way from Detroit make great Complaints of the permissions granted by Mr. Cole to the Traders from the Illinois to go amongst the Indians. They tell me that there has been Traders from that place to the Missouri River.

They give passes to Traders from Canada for the Illinois, but most of them stay by the way and trade amongst the Indians, without going near that place. They sometimes call at Detroit on their Return and get a pass from the commanding officer for Montreal; in particular there is one Monsr. Ademar who passed here for Montreal, had his pass for the Illinois, but never went near it, he traded with the Indians at the Miamis, returned with a pass from Capt. Turnbull, and left his brother with a Cargo of Goods at the Miami.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, October 9, 1767

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4: 421—E.]

I returned last night from Paris, and just now hear that the Illinois settlement is approved of in the Cabinet Council, so far as to be referred to the Board of Trade for their opinion, who are to consider it next week.

BAYNTON AND WHARTON TO MACLEANE,<sup>1</sup> October 9, 1767<sup>2</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.24, f. 475—A.L.S.]

PHILAD<sup>E</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1767

DEAR SIR

We took the Liberty of writing to you, On the 28, April and the 9th of June;<sup>3</sup> But we are yet, without the favor of an Answer to either of those Letters; occasioned, We flatter Ourselves, by the Hurry of Publick Business.

We mentioned to you, in Our Letter of the 28th of April, The great Difficulties and Losses We had sustained, in Our Adventure to the Illinois And We are sorry, Now to inform You,—That such have been the embarrassments we have met with, in the prosecution of that distant Trade, That we have been constrained to stop Payment for a few Days.

Our Speculation has been attended with the most favorable Circumstances to his Majesty's Interest, As we are the only English Merchants, Who have ventured to forward British Merchandize to the Illinois Country; Whereby the King's Agents have been enabled, in some Degree, to counteract the French & Spaniards, On the opposite Side of the Missisipi.

The Influence of the French is so great, with the Numerous Tribes of Indians, in that Country, That They have engrossed the greatest Part of the Trade and Thereby, France is enabled to interfere with the British Nation, in the Supply of Foreigners, With Skins and Furs.

You may be surprized,—But be Assured, That New Orleans remits at least, One hundred Thousand pounds Sterling Worth of Peltrys annuall to France.

<sup>1</sup> Lauchlin Maclean was Shelburne's private secretary. On May 12, 1766, he came to England from Philadelphia, where he had been a druggist. He was an intimate of Burke through whose influence he later obtained the government of St. Martins. His interest in western lands is shown by his membership in the Walpole Company, which was petitioning for a grant back of Virginia; he also held some land on the southern bank of the Ohio near the falls. *Anecdotes of Pitt*, 2:68; P.R.O., CO., 5:1336, f. 575; Durrett, *Centenary of Louisville*, 133.

<sup>2</sup> This letter was inclosed in one of Maclean to Pownall, December 22, 1767.

<sup>3</sup> Neither of these letters has been found.

A small Fort or Post, built at Massiac, On the Ohio, near to the Mouth of the Wabache, would prevent the French (who reside On the West Side of the Missisipi) from ascending that River to trade And Another erected, at the mouth of the Illenois River And at La Baye,—would hinder Them, from the great Commerce of Lake Michigan And the Rivers *Ouisconsin, Foxes, Chicagou, and Illenois*—But Unless these Posts are soon built; and at least Five hundred effective Men are stationed in the Illenois Country—All Our Possessions there, will certainly fall a Sacrifice to the Perfidy of the French,—Who are constantly inciting the Indians, to Acts of Hostility. By a late Order, We are informed, That the Commander in Chief, has reduced the Garrison of the Illenois, to Only four Companys—We have a high Opinion of the Goodness of his Intentions—But in confidence to yourself, We will venture to say,—That so small a Number, is Not sufficient to impress a proper Respect, in the Minds of New Subjects And New Allies; And That, unless a greater Number of Men is soon sent there,—French Chicanery will expose his Majesty's Garrison to the Distresses of an Indian Rupture.

It is with the utmost Concern, We inform you, That the greatest Discontent and Jealousy, Now prevail Among the Western Nations & the *Senecas*; And That, at this Time, there is certain Intelligence, That twelve Tribes are Meeting at the Shawanese Town, to determine On Measures, To do Themselves Justice, for Injurys They have received, from the Kings Subjects.

Their Complaint is as follows.—

They say, That all the Land to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains is their property, as They have never sold it, to the White People And That contrary to the peace made between Them and Us, Near four hundred English Families have settled On their hunting Country, At *Redstone Creek* And On the River *Mohongahela* &c And That their Warriors, in their Journeys to And from the Cherokee Country, are much insulted by those Settlers And a great Many of Them, have been Murdered.

Several Expresses have lately arrived from the *Out posts* giving the Most alarming Information, As to the Disposition of the Indians

Thereaway, Insomuch, That Sir William Johnson sometime last Month set Off for the six Nation Country And M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is gone to Fort Pitt And is from Thence, to proceed to the Indian Council at the Shawanese Town And afterwards to Detroit, In Order, if possible, to assuage their Resentment, Until Orders can arrive from the King. What has greatly aggravated the present revengefull Temper of the Natives, is a general Opinion, Among Them, That They have been slighted and treated, as Women;—For they alledge, That about two Years ago, Sir William Johnson called their Chiefs together And in the strongest Manner, urged the Necessity of a permanent *Boundary* or Line, being fixed between Them and Us And That when it was established, Their Warriors should Not travel or hunt On Our Side of it—Nor any White Man travel or hunt on *theirs*.—With a View of preserving a lasting Peace between their Father the King of England & Them—They assent,—That They agreed to sell all the Land, On the English Side of the *Boundary* But Ever since, They have been kept in Expectation, Whilst The White People continue to quarrel—murder their Warriors, & encroach On their Country.

It is realy much to be lamented, That an Object of such Importance, should have been so long Neglected, As Nothing can be done, Which will be so pleasing to the Indians And at the Same Time, beneficial to his Majestys Interest.

Some of the Chippeways, (A Tribe of the Western Confederacy) have already committed Hostilitys, by plundering two of Our Bat-teaus, On their passage from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres And in Murdering, all Our Crew, being fourteen in Number.

The Amount of Our Cargo was near £3000 Sterling, Which is a heavy Additional Loss to Us, in the Indian Trade.

All Commerce will immediately cease to the Illenois And Fort Chartres, will be infallibly abandoned, Unless *very speedy Measures* are taken, to regain the Friendship of the Indians And Thereby keep Open, the Communication between Fort Pitt And Fort Chartres.

An Indian War, at this Time of general Scarcity of Remittances to Britian,—would be productive of the most fatal Effects to the British Merchants (As the American Traders have Now Several

hundred Thousand pounds, in the Indian Country)—And Also to All the Middle Colonies,—Therefore it is Ardently to be hoped, That the Administration, will *no longer* delay giving explicit Orders to Sir William Johnson, to confirm the Boundary between the Indians and Us, (which by Direction from Home, He fixed With Them in 1765) And purchase all the Land, Within it—Otherwise; We candidly assure you,—The Indian Agents will lose all their Influence And the Colonies, will before the Spring, be involved in all the dreadful Woes, of a general Indian War.

Your warm Affection for his Majesty's Interest, Whether in Britain or America,—occasions you the Trouble of this Letter And We shall Ever esteem Ourselves happy, If We do in the least contribute to the Establishment of a Boundary—On Which depends—The future Peace of these Middle Colonies.

With great Regard, We are Sir Y<sup>r</sup> most Ob<sup>t</sup> & Most humble Servants

BAYNTON & WHARTON

LAUHLIN MACLEANE Esq<sup>r</sup>

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, October 13, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74. f. 294—E.]

Tuesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>

Present

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Dyson. M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert.

M<sup>r</sup> Robinson

PLAN[TATION]S GEN<sup>L</sup>—Read a Letter to the Secretary from M<sup>r</sup> McLean, Sec<sup>ry</sup> to the Earl of Shelburne, inclosing copies of several papers rec[eiv]ed by the last Packet from America, relative to the points contained in the Earl of Shelburne's Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst.

Their Lordships took the said Letter of Reference from the Earl of Shelburne into consideration, and several papers touching the Points therein contain'd, collected by the Secretary pursuant to order, were read.

## BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, October 14, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74 f. 298—E.]

Wednesday, Oct. 14<sup>th</sup>

Present

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Dyson. M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert.M<sup>r</sup> Robinson

Their Lordships made a further progress in the consideration of the several matters contain'd in Lord Shelburne's Letter of Reference of the 5<sup>th</sup> instant.

## CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, October 18, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 25:99—L.S.]

FORT PITT October 18th 1767.

SIR

On my way from Philadelphia up here I met with M<sup>r</sup> Maisenville a Frenchman, which your Honour see with me two Years ago. He lives on the Ouabache and informs me that the the [*sic*] five Tribes of Indians which Reside on that River seem very much dissatisfied that a place of Trade is not fixed in their Country, for them, as well as at Fort Chartres, & Detroit, & a Man, appointed to see Justice done them in Trade as well as the other Nations Round them; & looks upon it as slighting them above any other Nations. M<sup>r</sup> Maisenville says there is Numbers of French Traders among those Tribes who follow them to their Hunting Ground both from Cannada, Detroit, & the Illinois, who poison the minds of the Indians against the English, for their own Interest, to sell their Goods, & does much hurt. But says, he is certain that if a Mart was fixed for a Trade, & English Traders to settle there, they would carry the Trade which at present he says is carried chiefly to New Orleans: our neglect of those People he say's has disgusted them much.

M<sup>r</sup> Maisenville pass'd by Detroit & see the party from Saginaw Bay which plundered Baynton, Wharton, & Morgans Boats on the Ohio. He says they did not bring much of the Goods, nor had they any Scalps. Most of the Party were Relations of the Two Indians sent down from Detroit for the Murder of Cap<sup>t</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Clairs Man, &



'tis supposed to be done in revenge for sending those Two Men down the Country.

As M<sup>r</sup> Maisonville Passed by Sandusky he met with four Indian Runners from the Western Nations with several Belts of Wampum going to the Shawanese, & Dellaweres, to Let them know that the Great meeting of Indians intended to be held in the Shawanese Country was not to take place till next March; and since I came here the Shawanese have Confirm'd this Account.

I have had Several Meetings of the Indians I met here, & examined them particularly what the design of the great Council was or which Nation or Confederacy desired it They all say that they are unacquainted with the Business to be settled at it, & says the Chepwa's sent the Belts to all the Nations this way, & on the Ouabache, & say they heard that the Senecas desired the Chepwa's to call the several Nations together.

Some Shawanese I met here inform me that their Nation is affraid a War against us is intended; as they have Received Belts last Summer from the Senecas, complaining of the ill treatment they met with from the English in passing to & from War against the Southern Indians, on the frontiers of Virginia where they have had several of their Warriors kill'd & Wounded. At the same time they acknowledge that they had offered to give up all the Lands on this side the Ohio to the King, for a Consideration But said the King had never given it to them, & that now the White People was settleing their Country.

On one very large Belt the Senecas said to the Dellaweres, & Shawanese, Brethren those Lands are Yours, as well as ours, God gave them to us Live upon & before the White People shall settle them for nothing, we will sprinkle the Leaves with their Blood, or Die every Man of us in the attempt.

I have not been able to gain any further Intelligence worth relating, but am sorry to find the Indians in so Sullen a Temper, as they at present appear, I wish that Boundary had never been Mention'd to them or that His Majesty had before now, Ordered it Confirmed. Indians cannot bear disappointments, or delays where they expect to get any thing. And nothing now, will in my opinion prevent a War

but taking a Cession from them, & Paying them for their Lands. Notwithstanding all the trouble that has been taken to remove the People settled on Redstone Creek, & Cheat River, I am well assured there are double the Number of Inhabitants in those two settlements that ever was before: And I hear the Indians have stopped the Surveyers a little beyond Cheat River, from extending the Line between Pennsylvania & Maryland, how true this report may be I can not say, as I have not heard from any of the Gentlemen on the Line. This Report was brought from Redstone Creek Yesterday.

The Traders that went from this last Winter to Trade in the Indian Country's unknown to Cap<sup>t</sup> Murray are still amongst them, & tho' Cap<sup>t</sup> Murray reported them to Governor Penn I don't find that One of their Bonds are put in Suit against them.

I hear that one Thomas Mitchell a Trader has been killed lately at one of the Shawanese Villages but has not yet learned the particulars: I look upon it of dangerous Consequence at present to have any Traders Scattered thro' the Indian Country for if the Indians are, or should be determined to make War on the Setlers at Redstone Creek & Cheat River, or any Other part of the frontiers; the Goods which the Traders carry into the Country will be a temptation to the Indians, to Murder & Plunder all the Traders, & so enable them to carry on a War against us. Confining the Trade to the different Posts would Certainly be a means of making the Indian Nations Dependant on us & prevent many Irregularity's, in particular the Seal of spirituous Liquors which the Indians Complain much off, but how this can be done or whether it would be for the Good of His Majesty's Service I refer to Your Honour.

I will set out for Detroit in two days, & will pass by some of the Shawanese, & Dellawere Villages, where I hope to find out more of the Indians Sentiments, & will send M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kee & Montour to others of their Villages in Order if Possible to find out the Real cause of their discontent, by my return here.

I am with Great respect your Honours Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN

TO THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Baronet His  
Majestys Sole Agent & Superindant for Indian Affairs in the  
Northern District of North America &c, &c, &c, Johnson-Hall

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Pitt Octb<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1767

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, October 21, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 314—E.]

Wednesday, Oct<sup>r</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>

Present

Lord Clare.

Mr Dyson. Mr Fitzherbert.

Mr Robinson. Mr Roberts.

PLAN[TATION]S GEN<sup>L</sup>—Their Lordships made a further progress  
in the consideration of the subject matter of the Earl of Shelburne's  
letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst.

Ordered, that the Secretary do write to the principal merchants  
and others concern'd in the Trade to and interested in North  
America, to desire their attendance at the Board on Tuesday next, on  
the subject of the above mentioned letter of Reference.

JOHNSON TO GAGE, October 22, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[*N.Y.D.H.*, 2:881 *et seq.*]

JOHNSON-HALL Oct. 22d. 1767.

DEAR SIR

Having been absent for above three Weeks at the Onecida Lake  
for the purposes mentioned in my former Letter, I could not earlier  
Answer your two Letters of September and last of the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant.<sup>2</sup>

I have received the sev<sup>l</sup> enclosures therewith transmitted, with  
the Head piece &c from these particulars, and the State in which I  
now find the minds of the Indians I have reason to think that the  
charges ag<sup>t</sup> some of the Northern Indians may be true. I did not  
receive that Letter, regarding the Cherokees &c till I was at Fort  
Stanwix on my way home consequently it has not been as yet in my  
power to lay the same before the Six nations, but I shall do so as soon

<sup>1</sup> This document, Johnson MSS., 15:106, was completely destroyed in the  
Albany fire and we were therefore obliged to rely upon the above copy.

<sup>2</sup> These are not printed.

as possible. I imagine M<sup>r</sup> Stuart has not yet received some of my last Letters otherwise he would have found that the Deputys have been expected here & may come with safety & treat about an accommodation. I reserve the Subject of affairs at Michilimackinac for a separate Letter which is herewith inclosed and herein answer the remainder of yours of the 21<sup>st</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of this Inst which chiefly regard the motives of discontent amongst the Indians.

The Indians are divided amongst themselves with regard to Trade, some being desirous to have Traders amongst them, others not sensible of the ill effects of which it has been & may be productive, the Trade is plentiful, & may in General be cheap, but sundry Traders are guilty of frauds, and ill treatment to the Indians, for which there is no remedy, altho' they have been repeatedly assured that persons sho<sup>d</sup> be appointed Vested With Ample power for that purpose; as well as that a Total Stop should be put to the Conduct of the frontier inhabitants. The Greatest Grievances with regard to Lands are the Kayaderosseras patent & the Grant of the Lower Mohock Flatts to the corporation of Albany the several Intrusions made & threatened to be made in almost every Quarter to the Southward occasions likewise a Gen<sup>l</sup> discontent. on all these points they were assured of Speedy and Effectual redress, which they have in Vain Expected these four years. The large patent before mentioned is circumstanced exactly as you describe, nor can anything be Expected to be done in their favor here therein or indeed in anything else, for the judicious reasons you assign. The Indians proposed frequently that We should not Exceed Certain Limits in our purchases &ca and the Govt was so Sensible of this that the Establishment of a Certain boundary Line between each of the Colonies throughout the whole Continent and the Indian Nations was made an Article of the plan. This is the bound<sup>y</sup>, I have so often spoke of, not that between Pensilvania & Maryland which is a private affair, & Concerning this Gen<sup>l</sup> Boundary (agreeable to my Orders) I conferred with the Whole Confederacy & Assured them that it would forthwith be settled, and the Lines determined on, beyond which no purchases whatsoever should be attempted As nothing appeared better calculated for preventing farther disputes than the redress of present

Grievances, and the fixing such a boundary as would prevent future encroachments to which end the Ind<sup>s</sup> proposed to Cede Lands to most of the Colonies they have expected it with impatience for a considerable time, & finding themselves disappointed therein, & on every other head they suspect that it was done to lull them into a State of security & cannot be persuaded out of the opinion, that we have hostile designs which we are about to put into Execut<sup>n</sup>. The people on the frontiers may not always be aggressors, but they certainly are so very often, this serves to confirm the Jealousy & Resentment of the Indians, and our Enemies who are very busy amongst them greatly increase both, for however absurd the Ind<sup>s</sup> may appear in believing a people who have so often deceived them, it is most certain that they do so & give credit to all the reports they receive. As to what you mention of the Shawanese and Delawares refusing to Accompany Cap<sup>t</sup> Murray the reasons they gave were Just, them Lands being the Sole property of the Six Nations, and the Mingoes (as the Six Nations are called there) were the people agreeable to their practise who should have attended him altho' such intrusions were equally disagreeable to the rest. Some of their people may at times be bro<sup>t</sup> to encourage Settlements & even thro' Lucre dispose of Lands, which is highly disagreeable to the rest, & therefore we should put a stop to them, at least they Expect that from us having no regular mode of their own for preventing it, other than by the murder of the parties. I met the Indians at the Tuscarora Creek in Oneida Lake, they were greatly affected at the death of a remarkable Chief of the Onondagas, and I was obliged to perform all the Ceremony on that occasion after which they told me of the various Reports & Injuries they had received, that their heads were quite turned with them, that they had in Vain waited the fullfilling of our promises, & that every agreeable hope seemed now fled as the Nations to the Westward & would probably soon create disturbances & draw others in to retaliate the Injuries they had received. That they had received a very large belt from an Officer on the *Mississippi* with a message to inform them that they need not longer be trifled with by the English for that he (by which is meant the Gov<sup>t</sup> to which he belonged) having sat down quietly for some time & being about to

rise up, luckily discovered his Axe beside him & found that it was as Sharp as ever, therefore Exhorted them to take up theirs Likewise—each Nation pretended seperately to be better disposed than their Neighbour, but upon the Whole I see nothing but a General tendency to a Rupture which I am at a loss how to prevent, as my Influence & Credit must decline in proportion, as they find that the promises made them prove abortive.

I Should have sent Down my acct<sup>a</sup> by this opportunity but that I have not yet rec<sup>d</sup> those from Niagara—the present Method of pay<sup>o</sup> off the departmen<sup>t</sup> is attended with the greatest inconveniency to me—the Officers at the Outposts draw occasionally, I must ans<sup>r</sup> them or hurt their Credit & I have been often obliged to take up money for that purpose. I think it will be best to Give you an Estimate for the future of the Ann<sup>l</sup> Am<sup>t</sup> of Sallarys &c that I may have the Amm<sup>t</sup> of that at Least in my hands to ans<sup>r</sup> those purposes of the Department.

GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE.

COLE TO JOHNSON, October 25, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 16:203—A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

I was not a little Surprized the other day when I received a Letter from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton Wharton & Morgan, merch<sup>ts</sup> in Philadelphia, wherein they acquaint me that my March accounts would not be paid for want of proper vouchers and formes, a sample of which they sent me, I could not possbly conceive this to be necessary from the first Instructions I had from you and none others have I received from any one under whome I was put; Except M<sup>r</sup> Croghan who desired me verbally when here to get the Commanding officers to Signe my accounts, which I did, what was Giveing to Indians, I could not perceive any necessity for the others, as they must be known to Every one. another paragraph in your Instructions is "as you will be on the Spot, and it being Impossible to Give more Instructions, you will do what you think best for the Service. had I done otherwise or could it be made appear that I have Should

<sup>1</sup> Published by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3:no.3, pp.31 *et seq.*

I not Deserve to be abandoned by you my Patron and every other friend I have in this world. these Instructions I have mentioned above are all I received till yours of the 2<sup>d</sup> of Ap<sup>l</sup> Last which came to hand the 15<sup>th</sup> of July by the way of Fort Pitt accompanied with a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, wherein he says you desire I would get the Commanding the officer to Cirtifie what Expences were necessary to be made, this I complied with in a more particular manner then formerly, as you will See by my Sept<sup>r</sup> accounts inclosed to M<sup>r</sup> Croghan in the manner they are drawn out, and were almost ready to leave this when the disagreeable news arrived of my March accounts not being Accepted. I must now Sir beg your patience while I make a few remarks, which I hope may Justifie my conduct to a Gentleman of your Knowledge in the department I am Employed in. I flatter myself you will Give weight to those parts that carry reason with them and ever obliterate from your memory wherein I may have been mistaken or done amiss. I assure you from the Strictest Sinsibility, I mean not to throw any blame on those who may have had a Right to Give me any sort of instruction. reather attribute it to my want of Judgment, not knowing the particular Formes, not haveing them before me, which unless I was Inspired, could never devine to be necessary. these Gent<sup>n</sup> Further observe that the General remarked that only some were Cirtified and that is so *Laconick* a manner as to be a Sufficient Reason to refuse them, could he think think [*sic*] a Gentleman of so high a rank in the army as Colonel would Sign his Name or Give his Santion to what he thought was not for the good of the Service would it not stare him the face as much as any Certificate whatever. and does not my takeing a receipt in my name and drawing for the Sum Demonstrate that they were bought for the Kings Service in as Strong a manner as any forme of words I could Invent. how could the General expect to have these formes when neither the colonel or I had any Instructions for it and Indeed if I had they could have no weight with him unless they came from the General.

From the abstracts you sent me of the Lords of Trade's proposals to regalute the Indian Department and which you ordered me to comply as nigh as I possible could Seem to Exclude the army from

from [sic] Intefering with Indian affairs in any manner whatever, Espatially those at the posts, where Commissaris resided, in this light I construed them and have been ever Tenacious of Supporting the honour of the Department by not suffering it to dwindle into a low fawning dirty Employ, but from a Spirrit I thought justifiable have Endeavourd to strain Every nerve in my power to act in such a manner as should turn to the good of the Service. the honour of him whom his majesty has been pleased to put at the head of so consequential a branch as the Extending Trade and Commerce is to the British Nation. And at the same time have never done anything without acquainting the commanding officer which will be seen by the Certificats he has signed to my accounts, and the same would have bee[n] done Long ago had it been known to be necessary. And prevented the Department comeing under any disgrace for the want of it, or the Kings Service Suffering through my bills being protested, for I do assure you I am afraid I shall be put to much difficulty, for the Future, Should the necessity be ever so Great, to find Credit for what may be really wanted in the Eye of the most Stretest Oeconomist And how soon some vigorous Efforts may be thought Expedient, I dont pretend to Say, but from the two boats being cut off on the Ohio about a hundred miles above the falls the particulars of which you doubtless have had Long before this in a more fuller manner then I can give it you, Leaves Great reason to think every thing is not wright amongst the Savages and to use the Indian phrase *many bad birds are flying about*, though the Indians here Seem to be as well attached to the English, as any I ever saw.

I am Informed by the Chiefs of the Kaskaskias Viliage, that there is a belt which came from the Irequois, Shawanese & Deleweres passing through the nations Inhabiting the Lakes up to the Fausavoins on the Missisipi, and has taken a turn to go back, to the northward among nations unknown to those here, and that the contents will not be made known till Spring, and the moment it comes to their Knowledge it shall not be kept a Secreet from me.

I have Long Since Giveing my opinion unless we Established more posts it would impossible to Lessen the Expences of this part of the world, in the Indian Department, it did not Occur to me at



that time the more Effectual meathod the General has now taken not to pay my Accounts, however the arrival of the Spaniards, and the advantageous Situations they have taken possession off may be a means of the General's altering his opinion and perhaps think the present Expences trifles to what may hereafter accrue. I have particular discribed the post they are building, and where I think we ought to have Forts, to M<sup>r</sup> Croghan with my *Certified* Accounts which doubtless he will forward to you. I am not a little Surprized that all the authority, I have for Certifieing my Accounts in the maner you will see them is from the merchants, Should be Extreemly Glad to know if I am to follow such Instructions as come through their hands, without being Signed by you or M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, or any one whome I am to obey. the reason of my doing it now, as they say these formes have been sent me by you and M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, and think its Cruel that they Should be kept out of their money because your letters may have miscarried But, if these are not wright you may depend that whenever the proper ones comes to hand they Shall be complied with. you must now Give me Leave Sir to recapulate what I have mentioned in former letters wherein I have desired Liberty to go down and settle my own prissing affairs. have had no answer to them, In my last to M<sup>r</sup> Croghan by M<sup>r</sup> Gibson which doubtless will be transmitted to you, in answer to his from Fort Pitt, with your Instructions, wherein I represented the Impracticability of carrying on the Service, Situated as we are, in this part of the world if I was Strictly to adhear to them, I begd that I might be removed to some other place and if that could not be Granted that I should have liberty to resigne or some one Sent to relieve me whose conduct would better suit the present Oeconomical Scheme.

Pray Sir now Give yourself a moments reflection, and think of my Situation, at Such a distance from those who are to give me Instructions that it takes a twelve month or nine months at least to have answers. Found falt with, know not for why. obliged to act, not knowing wither wright or wrong. doing what I think best for the Service, haveing the commanding officers approbation tho' he has not Signed every particular account heretofore, as we did not think it necessary. And the manner he signed what he did, Seems Gave

umbrage, it was not for me to direct how he should Certifie them, but no one could think he would put his name in the maner he did but that he would do the same to those Certificats had they been known.

I hope Sir you will Excuse this Long letter and make use of Such parts of it as you think the Service may requir. What I fear the Kings Service may Suffer from the Generals refusing my accounts much perplexes me, however I hope soone to be relieved by hearing from you and doubt not you will attribute whatever you find amiss to want of judgement not Intentionally done.

I am Dear Sir with the utmost respect your most ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

FORT CHARTRES Oct<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1767

SIR W<sup>M</sup> JOHNSON

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Chartres Octb<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1768.<sup>1</sup> Comis<sup>ry</sup> Coles letter w<sup>th</sup> Acc<sup>ts</sup> rec<sup>d</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> March

COLE TO [CROGHAN], October 25, 1767.<sup>2</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 15:113—A.L.S.]

FORT CHARTRES Oct<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1767

DEAR SIR

Inclosed you have my Accounts for the Last Six months amounting Seven thousand and twenty pounds fifteen Shilling & Eleven pence New York Cur<sup>r</sup> for which I have drawn on you in Favour of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, Merchants at Phil<sup>a</sup>, and agreeable to your directions at two months Sight. the manner I have drawn the accounts you will see part of the different nations that usally vissits this post, tho' not their Numbers as only a Small part of the Several Tribes have been here.

The war amongst themselves has privented the Whole of the nations comeing down, and the French on the other Side takeing that advantage Sent Traders amongst them and Ingrosed their Pelteries,

<sup>1</sup> The difference in the date given in the letter and its endorsement will be noticed; the correct date is probably 1767 and the printed calendar of the Johnson MSS., therefore, in error. Compare Johnson MSS. 15:113 of same date.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3:no.3, pp.36, *et seq.*

and those that did come came from the Messages I sent them Last fall.

I have Some Intelligence of affairs being Settled amongst them, if so doubt not but there will be a considerable Trade here in the Spring from those nations as well as from those who have not yet been here—I wrote you fully by M<sup>r</sup> Gibson in answer to your Letters by Andrew, to which I refer you—my Sentiments continue the Same.

The Arrival of the Spaniards Some time past, may make a great turn in affairs in this Quarter as I am convinced no pains or Expence will be Stuck at to Ingratiate themselves into the favour of Savages, they have not taken possession of the French Settlements but leave them to be commanded as before, and have gone to the Missouri there, to Erect two Forts, on the points, where it Emptys into the Mississipi by which means they will command both Rivers—What will the French not be capable of doing. through these advantageous Situations aided and assisted by *Spanish dollars*, they will not only be able to engrose almost the whole Trade, but Gain the Intire affections of the Indians unless timely prevented by our haveing a Strong Post at the mouth of the Illinois River, a Small distence above them—and till that is done I fear the Indian Accounts will be rather higher than Lower tho' I dare Say they are thought much too high already but those think so, I Sincearly wish were in my place, in our present Situation that they might have the tryal.

There has been no boat arrived Since the Smiths who not haveing their Tools obliged me to continue the Same meathod of repairing the arms and utensils of the Indians as before Every thing being ready for them to put up their Tools whenever they arrive—have obtained Leave for them in the meantime to work in the Fort.

Thus far I had wrote Some time ago when my Sept<sup>r</sup> accounts were ready to Leave this and would have done so had not the Express boat from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton, Wharton & Morgan arrived wherein I received a Letter from them Gentlemen acquainting me, my march accounts were refused, for want of proper Formes and Vouchers, which they Sent me and told me the Same had been forwarded by you and Sir William Several times before, it not a little Surprized

me that I never received them, and could not helping thinking it Somewhat odd, that these formalities Should be necessary and that I should never have the Least notice of it from anyone but the Merchants, but finding these *formalities* could not prejudice the accounts have anexed them, and you have also the march accounts Inclosed done in the Same manner, which you will Either forward to Sir William or lay them before the General as you think proper.

I have wrote fully to Sir William on the matter wherein I have represented how much I think the Service may Suffer by the General refuseing these accounts, and have desired to know wither I am to follow Such directions as I receive from the merchants without there being Signed by any one who has a wright to give me orders.

I have Long ago Giveing my opinion that unless more posts were Established, the Expences of the Indian Department could not possbly be Lessened, it did not occur to me at that time the more Effectial method the General has takeing not to pay my accounts.

The two boats being cut off in the Ohio Gives Great Room to think all is not wright amongst the Savages, and I am Informed by the Indians here (who Seem as well disposed to the English as any I ever Saw) that there is a belt now pasing among the Indians Inhabiting the Lakes up to the Fausavins liveing on the Mississipi Said to have come from the Iriquois, Shawanese and Delawares and is returning northward, among nations unknown to those here, and that the contents are not to be known till the Spring, but the moment it comes to their knowledge it shall not be Kept a Secreet from me—Col<sup>o</sup> Reed thinks signeing my abstract in the manner he has now done would be sufficient, without Certifieing every particular acco<sup>t</sup>.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir Your most ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Chartres Octb<sup>r</sup> 25 & Decb<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1767—rec<sup>d</sup>  
March 13<sup>th</sup> 1768 Comis<sup>ry</sup> Coles Letter

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, October 27, 1767.

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 320—E.]

Tuesday, Oct 27.

Present

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Dyson. M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert.

PLAN[TATION]S GEN<sup>L</sup>—Several principal merchants of London trading to North America, and others interested therein, attending upon the subject matter of the Earl of Shelburne's Reference of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst., their Lordships had discourse with them upon several points relative thereto, and they having severally desired time and opportunity to consult together upon a matter which appear'd to them of so great Importance, their Lordships complied with their request, and agreed to postpone the further consideration of this matter, until they should report the result of their deliberations thereupon.<sup>1</sup>

REED TO GAGE, October 28, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 101—C.]

Extracts of Letters from Lieut. Colonel Reed 34th Regiment, to General Gage. Dated Fort Chartres, Illinois October 28<sup>th</sup> 1767

Mr. Cole's Accounts for March, being returned give Me much uneasiness as they are the first I ever had Occasion to put my Name to, that ever were refused, in upwards of Thirty One Year's Service, and without the Methods are followed as mentioned in a former of mine, there must be Expences attending the Indians, and very considerable ones, or the Military and Inhabitants must Starve, nothing but Presents prevents them from destroying the Stock in the Country; As our good Friends on the other side will always be ready to Spirit them up to Mischief, as their Traders are the worst of People, and speak the Language of most of the Nations, being continually Marrying amongst them.

N.B.<sup>2</sup> The Methods proposed by Colonel Reed in his former Letter are to erect four Forts, besides Fort Chartres. Viz<sup>3</sup>: In the upper Parts of the Mississippi, in the Illinois

<sup>1</sup> The report is printed *post*, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently a comment of General Gage.

River, The Ohio River, and the Ouabache River: To have able Engineers and Artificers to erect them, and at least 1000 effective Troops.

It is supposed the 4000 Indians, must include Men and Women, and Children of all Ages.

[*Endorsed:*] Extracts of Letters from Colonel Reed, to General Gage. Dated, Fort Chartres, Illinois October 5<sup>th</sup> & 28<sup>th</sup> 1767. In Major Gen. Gage's of (N<sup>o</sup> 24) of 12 March 1768.

THE MERCHANTS ENDORSE SHELBURNE'S WESTERN POLICY

October 30, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 62:205]

The Advice of the North American Merchants to the Board of trade, about the Indian Trade. 30 Oct. 1767

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS

In obedience to your Lordship's Command, the Merchants trading to North America, and the Agents for several Provinces, whose Names are annexed, having met & deliberated on the Questions proposed by your Lordships, humbly submit the following Answers as their Unanimous Opinion—Viz<sup>t</sup>:

That the Indian Trade will probably be conducted to the greatest National Advantage under such Regulations as may appear to the respective Legislatures of each Colony best adapted to their particular Circumstances.

That the Establishment of Colonies at the principal Western Stations in North America will tend greatly to secure the British Dominions there, to encrease the Consumption of British Manufactures and most effectually to exclude those of Foreign Countries as well as to lessen the Expence of supporting the present Forts and Garrisons.

I am, in behalf of the said Gentlemen, with the greatest Respect  
&c<sup>a</sup>

BARLOW TRECOTHICK

LONDON 30 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1767

AMHERST'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE ILLINOIS SETTLEMENT,  
November, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:123—C.]

Observations of Sir J. Amherst relating to the Illinois Settlement.  
Nov. 1767.

In the Proposals for establishing a British Colony at the Illinois, there appear many good things; some few to which Exceptions may be made; I shall briefly mention them.

I shall suppose a Government to be established at the Illinois, the intended Bounds from the Wisconsin, to the River Ohio are very proper; but in forming a Seat of Government, it will be better to go higher up the Mississippi, to the Riviere de St Croix, or even to Lac Rouge. The French included these in the Illinois Government,<sup>1</sup> when they were in possession of it, and it does not seem probable that any Government will hereafter be established higher up the River, than the present proposed one, and therefore better to include the upper Country.

The Ohio are the natural Bounds below, and within the Government should be included all the Country back to the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Mississippi, below the Riviere de St Croix<sup>2</sup> or Lac Rouge,<sup>3</sup> and the Ohio.

From the River of Miamis<sup>4</sup> beginning at its Source, as also from all the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Lakes (as mentioned in the latter Part of the 8<sup>th</sup> Paragraph) these more properly form a part of a Government which I hope will be fixed at the Detroit, they were included in the Government of Canada, when the French possessed it: the Course of the Wabash was also within that Government.

<sup>1</sup> So far as our information goes, this is not correct. From some French sources, the Illinois district was bounded on the north by the Illinois river and a line from its upper waters to the Wabash. Still the question is debatable. See Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 191.

<sup>2</sup> A tributary to the Mississippi River and with that river the boundary between Minnesota and Wisconsin.

<sup>3</sup> In Beltrami County, Minnesota.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Maumee River, at one time called the Miami of the Lake, to distinguish it from the river of the name Miami, which flows into the Ohio River. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 8:206.

If Grants are given, those who receive them should furnish the Implements for Husbandry, and transport themselves at their own Cost: Assistance may be given to them by the Boats belonging to the Crown, but it is better they should not have any dependence on them.

In regard to raising of Companys or light Horse, it is quite unnecessary, the Regiments in America are the best Troops to answer all Purposes for the effectual security of the Colony in its Infancy, and the best foundation to the Colony for the Benefit of Great Britain, is the Establishing a Seat of Government.

[*Endorsed:*] From Sir Jeffry Amherst relative to the Illinois Settlement in Am<sup>ca</sup> Nov. 1767.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, November 13, 1767

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:421—E.]

Since my return, the affair of the Illinois settlement has been renewed. The King in Council referred the proposal to the Board of Trade, who called for the opinion of the merchants on two points, namely: whether the settlement of colonies in the Illinois country and at Detroit might not contribute to promote and extend the commerce of Great Britain; and whether the regulation of Indian trade might not best be left to the several colonies that carry on such trade; both which questions they considered at a meeting where Mr. Jackson and I were present, and answered in the affirmative unanimously, delivering their report accordingly to the Board.<sup>1</sup> We shall know in a few days what report the Board will make to the King in Council. Enclosed I send you the notice I received from the Board to attend the first call with the merchants. You must know, government here is quite tired of having the management of Indian affairs, the superintendents drawing for such immense sums to be given in presents to the Indians; who, nevertheless, they say, are not kept in so good temper as when every colony managed the neighbouring Indians, and put the crown to no expense. It seems, therefore, the present inclination to drop the superintendencies and provide for Sir William in some other way; but whether they will finally resolve on this is rather uncertain; for they seem afraid of changing anything in settled

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 102.



measures, lest something should go wrong, and the opposition make an advantage of it against them. The merchants, to a man, disliked the plan of regulating the trade under the superintendents, and speak strongly against it. The plan I think I have seen in your hands, as proposed by the Board of Trade.

SHELBURNE TO GAGE, November 14, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.85, f. 401—Draft]

WHITEHALL 14th Nov. 1767.

(N<sup>o</sup> 4)

GENERAL GAGE

SIR,

I have had the honour to lay your several Letters from No. 11 to No. 17 before the King, and I have the Pleasure to assure you of His Majesty's entire Approbation of your Conduct, particularly of your Endeavours to lessen the Extraordinaries of the Army, and to contract the Contingent Expenses into as narrow a compass as possible.

In my former Letters I acquainted you confidentially of several Points then under consideration respecting the Colonies, and your Answers in regard of them have been very satisfactory.

I am now to inform you that His Majesty has been pleased to refer to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations the Consideration of what regards the Establishment of New Governments on the Ohio, Mississippi, and at Detroit; likewise how far the Reduction of the Forts occupied by His Majesty's Troops may affect the Indian Trade; as also the Consequences which might attend the entrusting the Management of Indian Affairs to the respective Colonies under certain general Restrictions, with a View to lessen the present Expence, and to keep the Troops somewhat upon the plan formerly sent you by the Secretary at War.

The enormous Expence attending the present Method of supplying the Troops cantoned in the back Settlements and Frontier Posts of North America; with the heavy contingent Charges arising from the Transportation of Stores, and the Danger to which the Discipline of the Army is exposed by the Regiments being broken into small

Detachments; have all been very often and very justly represented in your Letters:—To remedy these Evils no measure seems to bid fairer than one, which, by establishing Governments where Provisions and Necessaries may be furnished on the Spot, will render half the Posts kept up unnecessary; while the remainder may be partly transferred to the Care of the several Provinces, and partly maintained at a much less Expence. The illicit Trade with the French and Spaniards will be in a great measure cut off, as the Goods must be intercepted by Our Traders in their Passage; the Indians will be prevented from Incursions into the back Settlements; Precise and definite Boundaries will be put to the Old Colonies; The Trade and Manufactures of Great Britain will be extended into the remotest Indian Nations, & such Posts only will require to be garrisoned as command the different Indian Communications, or the intercourse between His Majesty's different Colonies, by the great Rivers and Lakes.

These are the principal Points at present under deliberation relative to the Colonies. The Quit Rents and Grants of Lands will next be taken into Consideration with a view to some new Regulation; than which there cannot be a more necessary Work, as very great Abuses have crept into this Branch of His Majesty's Revenue, where the Evil (as indeed is generally the Case) grows worse and worse the longer it is neglected.

Whatever Lights you can furnish on these or any other matters of consequence relative to America will be very acceptable.

His Majesty approves your Attention to the motions of Don Anthonio de Ulloa at New Orleans; he cannot be too narrowly watched.

Instructions have been sent to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor of Virginia to complete the boundary Line between that Province and the Western Indians, in the same manner as it has been run by the Provinces of South and North Carolina, Maryland and Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the latter see Carter, "British Policy Towards the American Indian in the South, 1763-68," in *English Historical Review*, 33: 37-56.

Governor Carleton has been directed to keep a watchfull Eye on the Jesuits who have been represented as endeavouring to send Part of their Effects and Moveables Clandestinely to Italy.

Governor Grant has established a Post by Land between the Provinces of East and West Florida, which may be of great Service in conveying any necessary Intelligence with safety and Dispatch.

Governor Wright of Georgia has written that the Magazines of that Province are full of Gunpowder, no less than 1100 Barrels having arisen from the Duty imposed upon all Ships which enter at the Custom Houses. He has desired Leave to assent to a Law for the Commutation of this Duty into Money, 'till such time as the Circumstances of the Province shall render it necessary to collect it again in kind. He has also represented that as the Magazines are small and not constructed in the best manner, the present quantity of Powder may be liable to spoil or become unfit for Use, and therefore recommending a Sale of Part of it. These matters are referred to the Lords of Trade and Plantations for their Consideration. Should any thing occur to you on this head or should you think it eligible to purchase any Part of this Powder for His Majesty's Use, in case it should be put up to Sale, as in all Probability it will be sold very cheap, you will do well to write concerning it, as soon as possible, to the Governor of Georgia.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

SHELBURNE

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Major General Gage November 14<sup>th</sup> 1767.  
(N<sup>o</sup> 4)

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, November 17, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 323—E.]

Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>

Present.

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Jenyns. M<sup>r</sup> Roberts.

M<sup>r</sup> Dyson. M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert.

M<sup>r</sup> Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]s GEN<sup>L</sup>—Read a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Alderman Trecothick, dated the 30<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, containing the Sentiments of the Mer-

chants trading to North America, and of several Agents for the Colonies, met together the 29<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, concerning the management of Indian affairs and the forming new Governments in the interior Country in North America.

Their Lordships took into further consideration the subject matter of the Earl of Shelburne's Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, and after discoursing with S<sup>r</sup> Jeffery Amherst and General Monckton on the several points contain'd in the said Letter, several other officers employ'd in different departments of the Service were examined.

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, November 19, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 324—E.]

Thursday, Nov. 19<sup>th</sup>

Present.

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Jenyns. M<sup>r</sup> Roberts.

M<sup>r</sup> Dyson. M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert.

M<sup>r</sup> Robinson

PLAN[TATION]s GEN<sup>L</sup>—Their Lordships made a further progress in the consideration of the subject matter of the Earl of Shelburne's Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup>, and several officers, employ'd in various departments of His Majesty's military Service in North America, were examined touching the several points referred to in the said Letter.

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, November 20, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 328—E.]

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>

Present.

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Jenyns. M<sup>r</sup> Roberts.

M<sup>r</sup> Dyson. M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert.

PLAN[TATION]s GEN<sup>L</sup>—The Secretary laid before the Board the following Extracts and copies of papers transmitted from the Secr<sup>y</sup> of State's office by the Earl of Shelburne's Order, viz<sup>t</sup>:—

MAISONVILLE TO JOHNSON, NOVEMBER 20 109

Extract of a Letter from Major General Gage to the Earl of Shelburne, dated New York, Oct<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>, 1767,<sup>1</sup> relative to Indian affairs.

PLAN[TATION]s GEN<sup>L</sup>—Their Lordships made a further progress in the consideration of the subject matter of the Earl of Shelburne's Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> ult.

MAISONVILLE TO JOHNSON, November 20, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15:143—A.L.S.]

AU DETROIT le 20<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1767

MONSIEUR

Depuis le temps que J'ai eu l'honneur de vous voir deux an passée, J'ai residez a la Ouabache faissant commerce avec les Sauvages dans ces quartiers avec les Marchandize qui appartenois aux Marchands angloise.

Dans l'interval de mon Demeurée a ces postes, J'ai avancée une quantité des marchandize pour le Service du Roy, pour [*MS. burned*] Besoin des plusiers parties Sauvages, [*MS. burned*] liers et curriers, envoyée du fort Pitt au Fort de Chartres, retournant par le Chemin de Ouabache, chez eux, part par ordres de Mons<sup>r</sup> Croghan et de Mon<sup>e</sup> Col. Reed, aussi bien que aux Sauvages qui ont etez avec Mons<sup>r</sup> Croghan au grand Conseile qui ce tennois, ici, dans le temps

[*Translation*]

DETROIT, November 20, 1767

SIR:

Since I had the honor of seeing you two years ago I have resided on the Wabash carrying on with the Indians of those regions a commerce with merchandise that belonged to English merchants.

While living at these posts I advanced a quantity of merchandise for the service of the king for [*MS. burned*] need of several parties of savages, [*MS. burned*] and couriers sent from Fort Pitt to Fort de Chartres, returning by the Wabash route to their own homes, part being on orders of M. Croghan and of Colonel Reed as well as to the savages who have been with M. Croghan at the grand council which was held here about the time of their return.

<sup>1</sup> This has not been found.

de leur Retour, le reste J'ai donnez par des Ordres de Mons<sup>r</sup> Cole et de Mon<sup>s</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Reed. Le Compte de toute ce Depense que J'ai fait, J'ai delivrée a Mons<sup>r</sup> Croghan, Jé espere que votre Honeur, lui donnera des Ordres de me le payer.

Je crois que Mons<sup>r</sup> Croghan, et tous Officiers du Service du Roy, qui me connoissent me rendront la Justi [*MS. burned*] de dire que J'ai toujours [*MS. burned*] de faire de bien pour le Service du Roy parmis toutes les Nations Sauvages ou J'ai demeurée.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec une tres profond Respect Monsieur votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

MAISONVILLE.

[*Translation*]

The remainder I have given upon orders of M. Cole and of Colonel Reed. The account of all this expenditure which I have made I have delivered to M. Croghan. I hope that your honor will give him orders to pay me.

I believe that M. Croghan and all the officers in the service of the king who know me will render me the justice [*MS. burned*] of saying that I have always [*MS. burned*] done well for the service of the king among all the savage nations where I have dwelt.

I have the honor to be, with very profound respect, sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

MAISONVILLE

### CHAPTER III

STATUS OF WESTERN TRADE, NOVEMBER 20, 1767—  
DECEMBER 22, 1767

REPORT ON SITUATION AT NEW ORLEANS—PHYN'S PROPOSED  
TOUR OF INSPECTION—THE WEST UNDER CONSIDERATION BY  
THE MINISTRY—THE WESTERN MERCHANTS' MEMORIAL—  
BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN'S COMMERCIAL RELATIONS  
WITH COMMANDANT REED—MORGAN'S HOPES FOR THE RE-  
HABILITATION OF THE COMPANY'S FORTUNES—MINUTES OF  
MISSISSIPPI LAND COMPANY—OBSERVATIONS OF INDIAN COM-  
MISSARY COLE—DIFFICULTIES OF THE FIRM OF BAYNTON,  
WHARTON AND MORGAN—BOARD OF TRADE'S ACTIONS.

MARSH TO HALDIMAND, November 20, 1767

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.728, f. 190—C.]

PENSACOLA 20<sup>th</sup> Novem<sup>r</sup> 1767

SIR,

In consequence of the Orders<sup>1</sup> which you gave me on going to New Orleans I inquired into the following Articles, which I will endeavour to answer fully, and at the same time offer you my sentiments, relative to any thing that I observed worthy your attention.

1<sup>st</sup> I marked the state of the boats from the posts of the Natchez and Iberville, the Expence attending the Storage &c. of the Provisions in New Orleans before the boats can possibly take it away.

2<sup>nd</sup> I informed myself relative to the sentiments of the Evidence for and against Major Farmer on their appearing at Pensacola on said Majors tryal.

<sup>1</sup>The British officials in America kept vigilant watch of the Spanish action in Louisiana, in view of making or preventing an attack should war with Spain be declared. Gage, as early as 1766, instructed West Florida officials to keep him informed as to the strength of the Spanish in Louisiana and the attitude of the French toward them.

The keenest interest was always evinced in the number of troops sent up the Mississippi and how many and what posts were garrisoned. All western trade centered at New Orleans, hence accruing to the benefit of foreign traders. Commercially and politically, the Spanish possession of Louisiana appeared to the British to constitute a menace and it was therefore their constant desire to gain control of it. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 142-144.

3<sup>dly</sup> The reason of the great desertion from the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, if encouraged by the French & Spaniards.

4<sup>thly</sup> What trade the English Merchants carry on at New Orleans, what returns they make, and if they trade with the Indians, or carry their Peltree to said town.

5<sup>thly</sup> The Disposition of the French & Arcadians to the Spanish Government.

6<sup>thly</sup> The manner of treatment the Spaniards shew to the Indians in general.

7<sup>thly</sup> The Nature of the soil, and what it is capable of Producing.

8<sup>th</sup> The Imports and Exports of New Orleans to different parts for the year 1763 taken from good Authority which will give you an Idea of the trade in General.

9<sup>th</sup> The Spanish Governors treatment of the French.

first. The boats that were sent down for the Provisions were in such bad repair that it was impossible to send the provisions back in them without a thorough repair, that of the Natchez may do if it does not meet with any accident for two trips more, that from Fort Bute was so bad and Rotten, that with great Expence & care it was made fit to go back again. These two boats that I saw were the best each Post had, and I took an English Carpenter to look at them who said they cou'd not swim long from the Rottenness of their timbers & from their originally not being built with proper wood & strenth that is necessary for boats employed in that service, he declaring the best boats that was ever made wou'd want canking, and further said any more Expences made upon those two boats was so much money absolutely thrown away.

The Officers desired me to inform you that it was not possible, for the men to row up the Missisipi from the great heat and heavy Rains without an awning to cover their boats, that of the Natchez was able to be patched for that trip, but that Fort Bute was so bad it cou'd not be repaired, therefore beg'd you wou'd order them New ones. The Expence of Storage &c. is very high at New Orleans, therefore to avoid much of that Expence, the boats allotted for the Provisions shou'd be always kept in good order to fetch it immediately



on its arrival there and in order to save part of the Heavy Expence for repairing boats at New Orleans, each Post shou'd have Oakum, some pitch and canking Irons, and if they had a Man of each detachment who understood that business they having the price Government pay to soldiers for their work, might repair themselves many small Deffects, which otherwise, if they have not will oblige them to send to New Orleans, and put them into Carpenters hands whose prices are Extravig<sup>t</sup>. I was obliged to order a Canoe to be bought to attend the boat that carried the Natchez Provisions as the Water at this season of the year is so low and Impossible for twelve men to carry her beyond Point Coupée in order to enable the officer in the boat to send to the Fort for more Assistance or otherwise they might wait for a long time and indanger the Provisions, as the distance is Seven Leagues and so woody a Country that no Soldier can find his Way.

The Officers begged me further to mark to you, it is absolutely necessary to have Colours, as the Spanish & French Posts bring all boats too that have not Colours, and then tell the Officers they are sorry to have brought an English boat too, which they wou'd not have done had they known who they were, but apprehended they might be Spanish or French boats going to trade with the Indians without Mons<sup>r</sup> Ulloa's leave.

2<sup>dly</sup> In regard to the French Evidences on the Tryal of Major Farmer<sup>1</sup> Those that are Merchants declared they wou'd not come for to have their Care Passage paid, as their time lost to their business, while kept at Pensacola would occasion them to suffer too much, therefore their demands woud be Exorbitant, those Evidences who are Officers wou'd not take an Oath in law [?] Court whatsoever in regard to any thing they knew of the Affair, but only give their Words & Honor, as their King in no process whatsoever Exacts more. I spoke to the French Commanding Officer and the Intendant and they told me they knew no Law of theirs, by which either the

<sup>1</sup> The court-martial of Farmar grew out of the natural antagonism between the civil and military authorities in West Florida. The occasion for the trial was the alleged malfeasance of Farmar and although the indictment contained a list of eight charges he was acquitted on all counts. Carter, "The Beginning of British West Florida", in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 4:330-335.

Merch<sup>ts</sup> or Officers could be obliged to attend, and if the latter did, they never wou'd take an Oath but give testimony, according to the Rules of their Country.

3<sup>dly</sup> The reason of the great desertion from the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> all the men I spoke with complained of the bad Provisions they received at the Illinoise and as far as I cou'd learn their desertion was not Encouraged by the French or Spaniards, on the Contrary they wou'd be glad they were out of the Country, they are to Idle to Work and commit such thefts upon the Inhabitants that many of them have got Publick Whipings and if Ill in the streets, are an Expen<sup>ce</sup> to their Government by taking them into the Kings Hospital.

4<sup>thly</sup> In regard to the trade the English Merchants carry on at New Orleans the Cheif is Flower & Pork w<sup>ch</sup> the French & Spaniards take from us, and give great Continance to all those that bring it, the Spanish Governor is desirous to make a Contract for Eight Thousand barrells of Flower & Pork a year with a View as far as I could learn to supply the Havana, for while I was there he sent in two Spanish Ships Three Thousand Barrells of Provisions, in order to keep up a Magazine at the Havana and to prevent as much as possible the necessaty they wou'd otherwise be under of admiting our Vessells into that Port. They als [*sic*] take Negroes from us about three Hundred were bought & sold while I was there, but I could not learn of anyone that our Merchants ever traded with any of our Indian traders or brought their Peltree to New Orleans.

5<sup>thly</sup> I found from the first Frenchman to the most inferior of them a Determined & fixed hatred to the Spanish Nation & Government also a Resolution formed by many of them Especially the Merch<sup>ts</sup> to quit the Country and settle in our Colonies were they sure of meeting with Protection, & that desire proceeds as they say from a Certainty that when Don Ulloa takes possession he means according to the Custom in the Spanish Colonies to make a Monapoly of the whole Commerce and make the rest of the Merch<sup>ts</sup> trade with them, they say further that the Spanish Justice to Individuals will not be conducted with that impartiality that they had been used to under the French Government, & that they thought themselves at

liberty to quit a Prince who resigned them to another, without even paying that Paper Credit he Established to carry on the War against his Enemys and with so small a Reluctance quited a Body of His Subjects who had Exerted themselves with their property and blood, to maintain His Rights in Louissunnia, upon some conversations I had with the French I found many of them were Protestants and had Money and Slaves, and only waited to see Don: Ulloa take possession, then, were determined to quit the Country.

6<sup>th</sup> I learn'd from good Authority that the Spanish Governor had brought many sort of presents for the Indians, & since they had Established two Posts upon the Missisipi received all that came and gave them every sort of thing they could want & since their Arrival, the late Capt<sup>n</sup> Rea of the 21<sup>st</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup> who Commanded at the Natchez informed me that the Indians did not seem so attentive to the English as they were before and many of the presents he offer'd them, they rejected with scorn and said they wou'd go to their Brothers the Spaniards who gave them much better presents then we did. Capt<sup>n</sup> Rea further informed me he used every Art to try if the Spaniards set them against us, & he believed there was some reason to suspect it, tho' he cou'd not possitively prove it. In Conversation with M<sup>r</sup> Ulloa he endeavour'd Artfully to bring in that both Nations shou'd avoid ever encouraging the Indians against each other but on the Contrary shou'd they ever attempt any Insult upon one or the other of us, we both shou'd join to punish them by refusing them any protection till they had made reparation for the Injury they had committed, to the Nation.

7<sup>th</sup> I shall not say much on the Richness and Fertility of the Soil of the Missisipi, or the Current of that River, as it is so well known; the Land is Capable of produceing Cotton, Indigo, Indian Corn, Rice & Sugar Cane but before I quit this subject I must observe to you the difficulty that all boats loaded have in rowing up from the strong Current in the River, for it far Exceeds any I have seen in the Mohawk or Hudsons River, as Soldiers can set or Warp Batteaux up each of them from the Shallowness of their Waters, but in the Missisipi that cannot be from its great depth and height of its Banks.

8<sup>th</sup> This Article I shall not speak of myself as the following Accounts of the Exports and Imports is what I have obtained I believe with some Certainty. There was in the year 1763 Import<sup>d</sup> for the Town Country & Indian trade and carried from New Orleans to Different parts, Dry Goods amounting to Foure Hundred Thousand pounds Sterling at least.

Imported in the year 1765 fifteen Thousand barrells of Flower from different parts Two Thousand barrels of Pork and Twelve Hundred barrels of Beef mostly for ships use that Comodity being very plenty the Inhabitents never make use of Salt beef, also a great number of Slaves for the use of the planters.

Exported in the year 1763 upon Examination about Eight Thousand packs Beaver Peltray and Deer leather worth Eighty Dollars ~~per~~ pack one with the other at least.

Reased and shiped from thence one hundred Thousand pounds of Indigo equal to any made in the West Indies. Six hundred Thousand pounds of Cotton of the best sort, a large quantity of Tobacco & Rice & some Suger. You will please to observe that there is not above Seventy Leagues of this Valuable Country settled & that only on the River, so that I will leave you to judge what a Country it is likely to be, as you know the Extent of it.

Large Drovers of Cattle are sent down to that Market, which are Reased with little or no Expence, the meat of which will not take Salt so as to keep at Sea; A very Advantages trade may be carried on from Mexico and Pereu by way of that River as you may have any number of Mules deliver'd to you at Point Copea [*sic*] for a trifle in Dry Goods these mules sells to a very good profit all over the West Indies.

There is also a great trade carried on to Hispanolia with timber much in favour of New Orleans.<sup>1</sup>

9<sup>th</sup> The Spanish Governors personal behaviour to the French in general is rather severe, perticularly to those who are in the Characters of Gentlemen which occasions great disgust among

<sup>1</sup> For 1767 and the following years compare Gage to Shelburne, January 17, 1767, *ante*, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (*I. H. C.*, 11), 495; Baynton, Wharton, Morgan to Maclean, October 9, 1767, *ante*, 84.

them, he seems determined to keep them as much under as possible and shews only to two or three Merch<sup>ts</sup> any countenance and those people it is thought when he takes possession he will give the Exclusive trade too.

I have the Honor to be with Respect Sir Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>le</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

J. MARSH

· TO BRIGADIER GENERAL HALDIMAND

[*Endorsed:*] 1767 Cap<sup>t</sup> Marsh of the 20<sup>th</sup> November

PHYN<sup>1</sup> TO RAY, November 21, 1767

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.728, p. 196—A.L.S.]

CAMP AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE OHIO

WITH THE MISSISSIPPI

Nov<sup>r</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1767.

SIR

Having met with a French Battoe going to New Orleans, and as the Master informs me he intends to call at your Port, I have thought it my Duty to acquaint you I am thus far on my Route to Join the 21<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, *to which I have now the Honor to belong* with Ninty Volunteers from the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> for the 21<sup>st</sup>.

My Orders from the Commander in Chief are after delivering the Stores & Provisions I have now under my Convoey at Fort Chartres, I am to apply for Boats there, to carry my Detachment to the Post<sup>2</sup> occupied by our Reg<sup>t</sup> at the Ibbervillé; and my Route is from thence through the Lakes Mauripas & Ponchartrain into the Bay of Mobile; He says I will have a carrying place of nine or ten Miles from the Post at Ibbervillé, at the end of which I will find small boats to transport my Detachment into Lake Mauripas, where I will meet with a shooner [*sic*] or some large Craft to carry me to Mobile.

But as the severe Season of the Year is fast approaching & as I have some doubts of meeting with more obstacles in my Route, than

<sup>1</sup> George Phyn appears as a lieutenant in 1759. For his observations on the West see Phyn to Johnson, April 15, 1768, *post*, 242. Phyn was made captain in 1771, but his name does not appear on the army list after 1775. For other items consult index.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Bute.

the General seems to express, I thought it best to advise you of my approach, & to beg you will take what steps you may think necessary, to facilitate my Junction with the Reg<sup>t</sup>.

I have been now a long while from the Inhabited part of the Country, consequently can write you no News. I left Fort Pitt the 29<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> and never did any party undergo more fatigue than mine has done, *through the lowness of the Ohio* I don't know if the Recruits I now bring the Reg<sup>t</sup> will add to its appearance, on a Parade, I believe not; but I daresay they are Men fit for any Service. However I long much to have the pleasure of showing them to you, And of having the Happiness to once [*sic*] Join my Reg<sup>t</sup>.

I shall make no appollagie for this confused Epistle, but referr that till I have the Satisfaction of Introducing myself to you, which will give real pleasure to one who is with the Greatest Respect Sir  
Your very Obedient and Most Humble Servant

GEO PHYN  
L<sup>t</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

TO CAPT RAY

[*Endorsed:*] 1768 L<sup>t</sup> Phyn to Cap<sup>t</sup> Rea—from de Oio 21<sup>st</sup>  
November 1767 receivd 18<sup>th</sup> febru: 68. at Pensacola

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, November 25, 1767

[Franklin, *Works* (Smyth ed.), 5:65]

LONDON, November 25, 1767.

DEAR SON,

I think the New Yorkers have been very discreet in forbearing to write and publish against the late act of Parliament. I wish the Boston people had been as quiet, since Governor Bernard has sent over all their violent papers to the ministry, and wrote them word that he daily expected a rebellion. He did indeed afterwards correct this extravagance, by writing again, that he now understood those papers were approved but by few, and disliked by all the sober, sensible people of the province. A certain noble Lord expressed himself to me with some disgust and contempt of Bernard on this occasion, saying he ought to have known his people better, than to

impute to the whole country sentiments, that perhaps are only scribbled by some madman in a garret; that he appeared to be too fond of contention, and mistook the matter greatly, in supposing such letters as he wrote were acceptable to the ministry. I have heard nothing of the appointment of General Clark to New York; but I know he is a friend of Lord Shelburne's, and the same that recommended Mr. M'Lean to be his secretary. Perhaps it might be talked of in my absence.

The commissioners for the American Board, went hence while I was in France; you know before this time who they are and how they are received, which I want to hear. Mr. Williams, who is gone in some office with them, is brother to our cousin Williams of Boston; but I assure you I had not the least share in his appointment; having, as I told you before, carefully kept out of the way of that whole affair.

As soon as I received Mr. Galloway's, Mr. T. Wharton's, and Mr. Croghan's letters on the subject of the boundary, I communicated them immediately to Lord Shelburne. He invited me the next day to dine with him. Lord Clare<sup>1</sup> was to have been there, but did not come. There was nobody but Mr. M'Lean. My Lord knew nothing of the boundary's having ever been agreed on by Sir William, had sent the letters to the Board of Trade, desiring search to be made there for Sir William's letters, and ordered Mr. M'Lean to search the secretary's office, who found nothing.<sup>2</sup> We had much discourse about it, and I pressed the importance of despatching orders immediately to Sir William to complete the affair. His Lordship asked who was to make the purchase, that is, be at the expense? I said that if the line included any lands within the grants of the charter colonies, they should pay the purchase money of such propor-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Clare was Robert Nugent of Carlanstown, County West Meath, Ireland, first Viscount Clare. He was appointed a lord of the treasury in 1754 and in 1759 made one of the vice treasurers of Ireland. He was made a member of the Board of Trade in 1766. He died in 1788. *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:899.

<sup>2</sup> This illustrates something of the inefficient management of British officials relative to American affairs. As is shown in this volume alone, there was a stream of correspondence from Johnson and Gage to the ministry. According to Franklin, these letters were found about Christmas time. See B. Franklin to W. Franklin, March 13, 1768, *post*, 215.

tion. If any within the proprietary grants, they should pay their proportion; but that what was within royal governments, where the King granted the lands, the crown should pay for that proportion. His Lordship was pleased to say he thought this reasonable. He finally desired me to go to Lord Clare, as from him, and urge the business there, which I undertook to do.

Among other things at this conversation, we talked of the new settlement,<sup>1</sup> his Lordship told me he had himself drawn up a paper of reasons for those settlements,<sup>2</sup> which he laid before the King in Council, acquainting them that he did not offer them merely as his own sentiments; they were what he had collected from General Amherst, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jackson, three gentlemen that were allowed to be the best authorities for any thing that related to America. I think he added that the Council seemed to approve of the design. I know it was referred to the Board of Trade, who I believe have not yet reported on it, and I doubt will report against it. My Lord told me one pleasant circumstance, viz. that he had shown his paper to the Dean of Gloucester (Tucker), to hear his opinion of the matter; who very sagaciously remarked, that he was sure that paper was drawn up by Dr. Franklin; he saw him in every paragraph; adding that Dr. Franklin wanted to remove the seat of government to America; that, says he, is his constant plan.

I waited next morning upon Lord Clare, and pressed the matter of the boundary closely upon him. He said they could not find they had ever received any letters from Sir William concerning this boundary, but were searching farther; agreed to the necessity of settling it; but thought there would be some difficulty about who should pay the purchase money; for that this country was already so loaded, it could bear no more. We then talked of the new colonies. I found he was inclined to think one near the mouth of the Ohio might be of use in securing the country, but did not much approve that at Detroit. And as to the trade, he imagined it would be of

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the plan of Sir William Franklin and the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to establish a colony in the Illinois country. The matter had been under discussion between Benjamin Franklin and Shelburne for more than a year, when the latter was induced to recommend it to the board of trade.

<sup>2</sup> October 5, 1767, *ante*, 77.



little consequence, if we had all the peltry to be purchased there, but supposed our traders would sell it chiefly to the French and Spaniards, at New Orleans, as he heard they had hitherto done.

At the same time that we Americans wish not to be judged of, in the gross, by particular papers written by anonymous scribblers and published in the colonies, it would be well if we could avoid falling into the same mistake in America, in judging of ministers here by the libels printed against them. The inclosed is a very abusive one, in which if there is any foundation of truth, it can only be in the insinuation contained in the words "*after eleven adjournments,*" that they are too apt to postpone business; but if they have given any occasion for this reflection, there are reasons and circumstances that may be urged in their excuse.

It gives me pleasure to hear that the people of the other colonies are not insensible of the zeal with which I occasionally espouse their respective interests, as well as the interests of the whole. I shall continue to do so as long as I reside here and am able.

The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session of Parliament; and perhaps if the new Parliament should not differ greatly in complexion from this, they may be fixed for a number of years, which I earnestly wish, as we have no chance for a better.

B. FRANKLIN.

MEMORIAL OF HENRY VAN SCHAACK AND OTHER TRADERS TO SIR  
WILLIAM JOHNSON, Detroit, November 26, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 15:157. C.]

TO THE HONORABLE

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Baronet Sole Agent and Superintendant of  
Indian Affairs for the Northern District &c.

The Memorial of the Body of English Traders  
residing at Detroit.

Sheweth.

That Your Memorialists are Indian traders who have given bond in the respective Colonies from whence they came, to observe and abide by such regulations as have been made for the Indian trade;

and such other, as his Majesty by himself or by his Commissaries shall at any time think fit to make; Which Rules and Regulations Your Memorialists have strictly observ'd, but while they have conformed to his Majestys gracious intentions; the Royal indulgence, of granting a free and an Open trade to all his Subjects, (under *certain restrictions of confining the Indian Trade to the Forts*), has been manifestly abused, to the great hurt and detriment of your Memorialists as they will with due respect presume to Shew.

First Your Memorialists beg leave to observe that by the Kings proclamation dated the 7<sup>th</sup> October 1763, it is declared, among other things, That the Trade with the Indians shall be free and open, to all his Subjects whatever; provided every Person who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do take out liscence for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of the Colonies respectively, where Such Person shall reside; and give Security to observe such regulations as he shall by himself or his Commissaries think fit to make &ca, In Consequence of this every Subject who has Credit or money to the amount of Fifty Pounds new York currency has it in his power, to become an Indian trader, with this trifling sum a battoe load of rum can be bought, hence one third of the Indian trade is carried on by people without Character or property, who bring nothing from the Colonies but Rum; by this means the Sale of British Manufactories is lessen'd the Indians Kept drunk and idle about the Fort, & the trade in general much hurt, which your Memorialists conceive to be contrary to the intention of the Royal Proclamation before mentioned.

Secondly the immense quantities of rum brought up from the Colonies in the Indian Countries by the Traders in general, is the cause of a Considerable decrease in the Indian Trade and will as your Memorialists conceive be the intire destruction of the commerce with savages, if speedy and efficacious measures are not taken to lessen the Quantity, which they conceive might be done by fixing a certain quantity (not exceeding two hundred and fifty Gallons) to each three handed battoe load of dry goods, this would effectually prevent rum sellers, who come in Characters of traders, from Continuing their impossitions.

Thirdly Your Memorialists conceive that it would be for the good of trade, That on the Arrival of Rum at the different posts it was ordered in Publick Stores, and none Sold but for the benefit of all the traders, the price to be Settled by the Commissaries and traders; this the Memorialists would be glad might take place on the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of May next at all the Posts it would not only prevent many complaints, but would tend to Keep the Indians quiet and Sober & enable the Commissaries to transact the Publick business with the Chiefs.

Fourthly Your Memorialists beg leave to shew that for the last two Years past their Credit has greatly Suffer'd for want of remittances which they Attribute to the great quantitys of rum Sold at the posts, and of the trade being Confined to this Fort; this Restriction has put it out of the Power of your Memorialists to vend their goods to people of property, who used to Winter among the Indians; and has proved very detrimental to them; for while they have been confined within the Fort, the traders from Michilimachinac & the Illinoise have had permissions to go among most of the Nations of Indians on which the trader at this Post Principally depend for trade.

Fifthly The Memorialists Must take Notice that the annual remittances of Peltry from this place are greatly lessened by confining the trade here which will appear if it is considered, that the French and Spanish traders come from the West side of the Mississipi with goods all the way to S<sup>t</sup> Vincenne, the Highlands, Vermillien Ouya, River Languille, LeCeur De Serf & the Miamis; by this foreign Subjects get into their hands a valuable branch of the Fur trade, (to the great hurt and Detriment of the Memorialists and other Brittish Subjects) these furs are carried down to New Orleans from thence they are Shipped to France and in return get foreign manufactories Whereas if traders from hence were encouraged and permitted to go among those nations of Indians they could afford to undersell the French and Spaniards and thereby engross the trade carryed on there into the hands of Brittish Subjects only, hence it appears that the restriction of Confining the trade to this Place is not only hurtful to individuals but very Detrimental to the Publick.

Sixthly Your Memorialists are of Opinion that the trade being confined to the Posts is not only the Cause of many Complaints from the Indians that live at a Distance from the Fort; but it tends to lessen the trade; for in all publick councils or meetings of distant Indians they make it their first Case to request that traders may come among them with goods, otherwise the hunters are frequently obliged to leave their hunting and going two or three hundred Miles for a little powder & Ball, or trifles of less value but to them absolutely necessary by this means the Season for hunting is lost consequently the trade lessened.

Seventhly The Memorialists think that this Settlement of Detroit from its Situation, number of Inhabitants and its great extent makes it very difficult if not impracticable to confine the trade to this Fort, if this is admitted, it follows that men of Credit and reputation who give Bond for observing the regulations are restrained from going among the Indians and the worst and lowest kind of people have it in their power to go off Clandestin'ly with goods among the Indians where experience has taught they have done much hurt by Keeping up a Spirit of Jealousy and discontent to the disturbance of the Publick tranquility.

Eighthly The Memorialists imagine that if Men of Character were permitted to go with goods among the Indians it would be to their intrest as well as inclination to Cultivate a good understanding among them and us conciliate their affections and instil in their minds principals of friendship & dependance, Moreover People thus Qualified might in time obtain an influence over the Savages to Remove from them a Sett of Runnagates and Vagabonds that for some Years past have occasioned great Unneasiness and discontents among the Indians.

Ninthly That if the Reasons Your Memorialists have presumed to offer for liberty to go a trading among the Indians should have weight with You Sir, they beg that no Trader may be Suffered to Carry more than Fifty Gallons of rum to each three handed battoe Load of dry goods This quantity the Memorialists think can be of no disservice to the trade; as every trader will for his own interest part with small Quantities in order to put off his dry goods the better.

Lastly they beg that You will be pleased to take these Matters into Consideration and Afford them Such relief as You in Your Wisdom Shall think fit, and they will be in duty bound to Pray.

Detroit 26<sup>th</sup> November 1767.

(a Coppy)

H V SCHAACK  
RINKEN & EDGAR  
WILLIAMS & VAN ALEN  
GEORGE MELDRAM  
HUGH BOYLE  
PETER POND  
JOSHUA RAND  
HENRY WILLIAMS  
CORNELIUS VAN SICE  
JACOB LANSING  
ALLAN McDOUGALL  
JOHN MAGILL  
JAMES STERLING  
JOHN PORTEOUS  
BEN<sup>N</sup> JAMES

[*Endorsement*] Memorial of the Traders at  
Detroit————

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 2, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

FORT CHARTRES Dec<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1767

DEAR PARTNERS

I have the Pleasure to inform you of my Arrival here the Ulto in perfect Health. My boat is not yet come Up, Neither ar Mr. Rumsey<sup>1</sup> or Lt Phynns, but I look out for them every Hour, as several Days before my Appearance, Mess<sup>r</sup> C & J<sup>2</sup> had sent Necessarys down the River, in Consequence of Mr. Rumseys Letter to them from the Ohio.

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice see Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 100.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Clarkson and John Jennings. For biographical notices see Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I.H.C., 10), 349, n. 1; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 167, n. 2.

I landed with my Indian about 70 Miles below the Wabashe & march'd from thence across the Country to Kaskaskia in five Days. Had it not been for an incessant Rain of 48 Hours, we might have been here sooner, as the Distance is not more than 150 Miles & we had no other Compass to steer by than the Sun. I cannot expect Mr. Bacons Boat in less than ten Days. Prather does not yet appear. The Monsieurs declare against having any Thing to do with his Negroes. Apprehending that as they have been so long among the English & some of them Country Born, they must have been Sent here for their Rogueries. However I do not apprehend but he will part with them by the Spring at Something under our Prices. As to ours, I am well assured We shall do with them on the Plan We propose the Sale. It is true the Season is far advanced, but they have arrived very opportune. Many Frenchmen before my Arrival were preparing to depart for New Orleans on no other Acc<sup>t</sup> that to purchase Slaves. We have inform'd them, that We will take Peltry, Silver, Bills of Exchange or their Produce in Payment & that by allowing Us 10 Pct Interest & giving proper Securities, We will wait for Part untill the first of May. This has put a Stop to their Departure.

I have had several Conferences w<sup>th</sup> Col. Reed<sup>1</sup> & Commissary Moore, with Respect to supplying the Garrison with Provisions, & doubt not but We shall accomplish our Purpose, as We have it in our Power to make a Monopoly of all the Flour in the Country by purchasing it with Negroes. And notwithstanding Col. Reed & Mr. Boloine<sup>2</sup> perfectly *know each other*, I have no Apprehensions of failing in the End. This distant Hint must suffice. And if I do not fully & properly explain several other Matters, you must Attribute it to the fear of a Miscarriage.

The Person<sup>3</sup> who is to succeed Col. Reed in the Command here, I am on particular Friendly Terms with & I think I can do the Needfull with him.

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice see Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 372, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For biographical notice see Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 114, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Wilkins.

Too much of my Time has as yet been taken Up in Ceremonys I have however appropriated a Share of it to the examining into our Affairs here. I hope shortly to make myself Master of them & to be able to give you a clear Acc<sup>t</sup> thereof. Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J. are beginning to be in Spirits with our Proposal My sudden Arrival did not a little surprise them. They had not the least Expectation of seeing Me & had given over looking out for Mr. Wharton,<sup>1</sup> as they had been so often disappointed. My being the first Who could give the Intelligence of our having stopp'd Payment, may have prevented any bad Consequences that might otherways have been apprehended.

At the Place where our Boats were robb'd, I put ashore to examine Whether any Goods were secreted in the Woods or up any of the several Creeks thereabout. I spent near a Day in doing this, but found that Storer or Mr. Rumsy must have collected all that were to be had, there appearing Nothing but a few broken Packages & Remnants of rotten Stroud<sup>2</sup> As neither of them are yet arrived & I did not overtake them, I am not able to give you the proper Information relative thereto. They Will soon be Up, When every Thing in our Power for the Benefit of the Underwriters shall be done.

I am sorry that Mons Thoulouse the Man Whom Mr. Croghan recommended to Me last Year as worthy of any Credit whatever has turned out so great a Rogue as to deceive Us. However he is the only One that has done so, & by it we are taught a good Lesson for our future Government tho' at a dear Rate. I expect to recover something More from him by Means of our Friend Col. Cole, with whom I have just been conversing on the Subject.

By Millford & by One Last the Indian Acc<sup>ts</sup> were sent to you properly vouch'd. That of September is a handsome one, but the next of the same Date, 'tis imagin'd by our Friend, will be a much larger One, unless something particular intervenes. That of March will not be great, but I hope equal to the One of March 1767.

I do not yet know how or by what Opportunity I shall send you this. When I see fully into our Affairs & after I visit our Neighbours

<sup>1</sup> There are numerous references to Wharton's trip to the Illinois country but he never made the journey.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of coarse blanketing used by North American Indians.

on the other Side the River, I shall determine & acquaint you of every Thing material that may occur. Untill then I lay down my Pen.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 6, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA Dec<sup>r</sup> 6th 1767.

Mr. Rumsay arrived here with the Negroes the 3 inst. We have most excellent Quarters for them & every Convenience. Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J have laid in a Q<sup>ty</sup> of Provisions for them at a very cheap Rate, by taking the Advantage of purchasing from the French Negroes for Goods. Mr Rumsay will inform you of the Difficulties he had to encounter in descending the Ohio & of his Misfortune of loosing seven Blacks & two white Men. As all the former that have arrived are in perfect Health, except One Who is not in Danger, & as the French acknowledge that they are as fine a Parcel as could possibly be collected, you may depend on good Prices. The first Offer We have had for the Choice of two was 375 Dollars each payable immediately in Provisions for the Garrison, This We refused as we are determined not to break the Price under 400 Dollars. I hope by the next Opportunity to inform you of a good Sale of them. At present 'tis impossible to say What Remittances can now be made from them, but in the Spring you will know the Result of the Whole.

I refer you to Mr. Rumsay for a particular Relation of his meeting with a Party of Wiandot Indians & of his recovering from them a Parcel of Obrians & Litles Goods, which Storer could not prevail on them to give Up. So soon as Storer arrives, which will be very shortly, I shall send you an Inventory of the Whole. You shall also be furnish'd with every necessary Paper to recover the Losses so soon as the Goods are disposed of.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 10, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

FORT CHARTRES Dec<sup>r</sup> 10th 1767

DEAR PARTNERS

I have already wrote to you by this Opportunity on Business in general. I have reserv'd One or two Subjects for a sepearte Letter, as they are the only disagreeable Ones I have to write on. One is with



Respect to our having flatter'd Ourselves With the Expectation of having the Preference in furnishing the Garrison here with Provisions—Which Col. Reed has not only refused Us, but will not permit our sending in an ounce of any kind, Notwithstanding General Gages Letter to him & Commissary Lakes<sup>1</sup> to Mr Moore recommending Us so warmly Col. Reed swears that he values General Gages Letter no more than a Rush & that he will let Us know that he alone is the Person Who has Authority to make Engagements. He also swaers that as We have apply'd to the General in such an Under hand Manner for the Contract, that he will take Care We shall never have it or any Advantage arriving therefrom, for he never will on that Acc<sup>t</sup> take any Provisions from Us, if he can possibly get a Supply elsewhere. I have mention'd to him the Hardships that such a Resolution would subject Us to, Who as the only English Merch<sup>ts</sup> in the Country & who had risked so extensively, might look for some Indulgence. I also represented the repeated Failures on the Part of Mr Boloine in the late Contract, as would appear from the Commissarys Daily Minutes, & which he (Mr Moore) had often complain'd of to him. He swore he did not care for that, as he knew that Mr Boloine would send in better Supplies for the future & that he & he alone should have the Contract, notwithstanding I then offer'd to deliver in Buffaloe Meat that was much better than Mr Boloines at 1<sup>d</sup> N Y. Curr<sup>cy</sup> cheaper Plb than he did. The Truth is, at least 'tis universally said that Mr B. the Col. & C<sup>t</sup> C.<sup>2</sup> are in Partnership. Nay the Col. himself has not only told me but others, that he really believes that C<sup>t</sup> Campbell is concern'd. This he does to make People think that he is not interested himself.

It is known to every One that whoever desires to carry a Point with Col. Reed, must not be empty handed. He has not yet nor never shall receive a — from me. He has therefore repeatedly declared that he would do our damn'd Company all the Injury he could, as he had never reaped a Farthings Benefit from Us. Notwithstanding to keep him in good Temper, We have let him have

<sup>1</sup> Leake.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Campbell, barrackmaster at Fort de Chartres. See Gage to Hillsborough, October 7, 1769, *post*, 629.

Goods at first Cost. But this will not content him. His insatiable Avarice has led him to such lengths as to oppress many of the Inhabitants in such a Manner, that nothing but the Prospect of his being speedily remov'd would induce them to tarry in the Country. He has extorted their Money from them in the most Tyrannical Manner. If a French Man was seen to canter his Horse near or in the Town, or if his Horse started & got into a Gallop, he was made to pay 200 Livres & sometimes more—and that without being permitted to speak in his Defence.

A Lady of One of our best Familys in the Place was sent Prisoner from Kaskaskia to Fort Chartres for purchasing a Piece of Meat from an Indian with a Pint of Rum when she had been without any for several Days before. Col. Reed without hearing What she had to say in her Defence, order'd her to pay 250 Livres, which she accordingly did. These fines he has as yet appropriated to his own Use. He has also been so imprudent as to insist on 20 Lres for administring the Oath of Allegiance.

One who lately desired to be admitted as an English Subject, had the Spirit to refuse the Payment of this Fee—Saying he knew well that his Britannick Majesty would much Rather give Encouragement, than require Payment, for their Admission.

The Fees he has receiv'd from the French Traders for Permissions to go up the Illinois & Wabashe Rivers with Merchandize of French Manufacture, have to my Knowledge been great & many.<sup>1</sup>

The French in open Day & without the least Ceremony send their Peltries from hence to New Orleans or to the West Side of the Mississippi, Which I am a little surprised at, as he might with great appearance of Reason prevent them unless they paid for the Liberty. This with the very large Q<sup>ty</sup> of Peltry taken from the Wabache to New Orleans, is certainly highly prejudicial to the English Interest, as we are thereby prevented from vending English Merchandize to the very numerous Tribes around & the British Nation is deprived of the Opportunity of manufacturing vast Q<sup>ties</sup> of Skins & Furs, Which

<sup>1</sup> These charges are not entirely unsupported. See Phyn to Johnson, April 15, 1768, *post*, 243; and Father Meurin to Bishop Briand, June 11, 1768, *post*, 307.

are now all sent to France, As also from receiving a great Annual Revenue, which w<sup>d</sup> Necessarily result therefrom.

An English Trader cannot at present with the least Security of his Life venture even to Post Vincent for want of a Garrison there—to ascend the Mississippi or the Illinois Rivers with Goods would be certain Death, so great is the Influence of the French in that Part, by our not having a Post at the Mouth of the latter.

The Peltries which would be taken at those Places alone Were proper Measures fallen on, would pay a sufficient Duty to support the Garrisons—by Which the Nation would reap a double Advantage, as our Natural Enemies would be deprived of the Benefit of that Trade & thereby considerable Numbers of English Subjects would find profitable Employment.

In short, unless very diff<sup>t</sup> Measures to what are at present pursued, are taken, the Country had much better be abandon'd, as it is very evident that not a single Advantage can arrise from it as yet, otherways than by a proper Regulation & Encouragement of the Peltry Trade, Which from many Calculations would be more than 3000 Packs P Annum were suitable Posts establish'd at the Illinois River & Post Vincent.

The Disadvantages we in particular labour labour [*sic*] Under are not to be surmounted, Unless Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage will be our Friend & positively direct that a Preference shall be given to us in supplying the Garrison with Provisions, or will be pleased himself to make a Contract with Us. If he will do this, We shall be indebted to him for our Fortunes, as thereby the Whole Trade of the Country will be thrown into our Hands. We cannot though, except on that Acc<sup>t</sup>, engage to supply fresh & Salt Meat for less than 10 sols P<sup>lb</sup> reckoning 100 sols to the Dollar Salt Buffaloe alone we may.

Unless you can have this Encouragement, I recommend to you by no Means to persist in the Trade, or even to send the necessary Assortments for the Convenience of the Army. For as we have a good Prospect of getting rid of our Indian Goods in the Spring, owing to the present great Scarcity at New Orleans, We had better desist with the Loss of Ten than Twenty thousand Pounds.

I forgot to mention that over & above the 1<sup>st</sup> P<sup>lb</sup> that We offer Meat at [*blank in MS.*] cheaper than Mons Boloine, Col. Reed allows his Partner twenty Soldiers to bring his Boats up from the Mouth of the Ohio.

The great Number of French Hunters that are procuring Meat up the Ohio<sup>1</sup> for New Orleans as well as for the Settlements on the West Side of the Mississippi, have so thinn'd the Buffaloe & other Game there, that you will not now see the 1/20 Part of the Q<sup>ty</sup> as formerly & unless some Method be taken to put a Stop to this Practice, it will in a short Time be a difficult Matter to supply even Fort Chartres with Meat from thence. They are even so impudent as to wear English Colours up the Ohio, on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Cherokees. Our present Comd<sup>r</sup> looks no further than to Day, & if he could get Fees from a Thousand he would permit them all to hunt there. The Inhabitants call him the clean handed Colonel. For the other Matters I refer you to my Letter of yesterday & am Dear Partners

Yours &c

G M

TO MESSRS BAYNTON & WHARTON.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 11, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

FORT CHARTRES Dec<sup>r</sup> 11th 1767

The 9th Instant at Oka,<sup>2</sup> I was much surprised at the Arrival of One Butler & another Person who set out some time past from hence in a Cannoe w<sup>th</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Millford to asscend the Ohio to Fort Pitt as Expresses with Letters from Col. Cole & Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J. &c. This Butler says that the 26th Ult<sup>o</sup> being on an Island at the Mouth of the Cherokee River<sup>3</sup> They were fired upon by a Party of Indians at the Break of Day just as they were going to embark to proceed on their Way up the River. Butler appears in such a Fright that he cannot give a consistant Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Affair, or perhaps his Inconsistency may arrise from some other Cause. However he says that Millford had gone some Distance from the Camp to shoot Geese,

<sup>1</sup> They hunted in the Kentucky region.

<sup>2</sup> Kaskaskia.

<sup>3</sup> Tennessee River.

when they were attacked by a considerable Number of Indians. On which he with all the rest immediately ran to the Canoe & push'd off. That Millford Who is coming Up in Storers Boat received a Shot through the Cap of his Match Coat in getting on board the Canoe, & that the Canoe was pierced w<sup>th</sup> Shot in several Places without any One of the five Men being hurt. They say they cannot pretend to tell the Number of Indians but that they fired more than forty Guns at them from behind Trees & that several followd them to the Edge of the River. The Whole of this may possible be true, but I do not believe any Part of it. I apprehend they began to dread the Severity of the Approaching Season & agreed One & all to return with this Report. If so I shall discover it from the Examination they shall separately Undergo so soon as Millford & the other People come up. Is it probable that even a very small Party of Indians would let all of them escape, When they might with so much Ease have Tomhawkd the Whole? At least Milford if he had been any Distance from the Canoe, could not have escaped.

This is the 3rd Time of these Letters coming back. By Mistake Both Originals & Copies were taken on board the same Canoe. In Consequence of both Packets being return'd, I have come up here to engage the Noted Warrior Silver Heels, immediately to set out for Fort Pitt by Land, Which he has agreed to do. And as Mr Young has compleated his Work here, I shall send a Boat with a few Packs of Peltry to New Orleans which he will have the Direction of & undertakes to follow such Orders as I may give him with Respect to the Sale or shipping of them. Also to exert his Industry in making all possible Dispatch to Philad<sup>a</sup> with the Letters. The Interest on the Am<sup>t</sup> of the Bills enclosed is £60 P M<sup>o</sup> which is a considerable Inducement for my hurrying them off before I can give you full & satisfactory Acc<sup>ts</sup> of all our Affairs in this Quarter, & make a proper Addition to the first intended Remittance. If I was to delay it any Time Longer the Winter might set in & detain them untill the Spring. I will however prevail on Col. Cole to send a Person off in January or February if the Weather Will permit, When I hope to be able to send you something considerable but this you must not count upon.

The inclosed is a List of Goods w<sup>ch</sup> will yield prodigious great Profits here if you can possibly accomplish the Purchase of them so as to send them off from Fort Pitt early We have been greatly disappointed of most of the Articles by the Loss of Littles & Obrians Boats. This List is exclusive of the 200 P<sup>s</sup> of red Stroud &c Which I hope are 'ere now at Fort Pitt ready to come in the large Boat with Mr. Wharton, as We cannot do without them & they must be here by the last of March if possible.

If a principal Part of the within Order could also come with him, it would be the Means of his Making a very great Remittance in a very short Time. Messr<sup>s</sup> C & J. have made out this Order. I have not yet cast up what the Amount may be, but it must be high, if therefore you cannot execute the Whole on that Acc<sup>t</sup>, send but One half of each Article except those mark'd A in the Margin—Without which We shall trade to great Disadvantage, compared to What We may do with them Those markd B, are also highly requisite & will sell to a great Profit. C are the next so & D, after. As to the Tin Ware 500 PC<sup>t</sup> may be made on every Article of it & as the whole can be filld & packd with Coffee in tight Barrels, 'tis my Opinion they can be brought full as cheap as by having the Tin made up here on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Risque which would be run in the Work Mens getting sick &c. We have been very Unfortunate in having the two large Parcels by Finney & Obrian lost on their Way here.

The Parcel of Silver Ware you may judge too large—but Mr J is particularly desirous of having the whole compleated so as to arrive with Mr. W, as it will greatly benefit the Sale of other Indian Goods. One half may, & the Remainder can follow sometime after. The two last Parcels had of Mr Laycock were too light. Let those you may hereafter send be about 12 or 15 PC<sup>t</sup> heavier. I mean the Arm Bands, Moons & Gorgets.

Messrs C & J have already acquainted you of the Scarcity of Indian Goods &c at New Orleans. All the Boats Which have come Up from there this Season have been loaded either wholly or principally with Liquors, owing to the high Prices & Scarcity of Dry Goods below.

From the last Advices this Scarcity still continues, & if the Vessels so long expected from France have not yet or do not shortly arrive, We shall in the Spring make very great Sales. Perhaps such as will at One Stroke disengage Us from our present Thralldom & afford Us the Happiness to know that no One will suffer essentially by our Delay of Payment. However it is best not to be too sanguine I shall write by Mr Young to Mr Macnamara to desire him to acquaint you whether or not the long look'd for Vessels are arriv'd from France. If they are, Whether they have brought a large Q<sup>ty</sup> of dry Goods & What Q<sup>ty</sup> is likely to be sent here so as to arrive before June—As the Whole or most of the Trade for the Season will be over in that Month—I mean for Peltry & particularly with the Indians.

Mr Rumsay has made a Beginning in the Disposal of the Negroes by selling [*blank in MS.*] of them at 400 Dollars & One at 450. About thirty others are now marked by different Persons, Who are endeavouring if possible to get them Under the 400 Dollars. They begin to shew Us a few hard Dollars by Way of tempting Us.

Prather begins to wish he had not come & apprehends he will not be able to dispose of his Cargo at any Rate, As he has not had a single offer, On Acc<sup>t</sup> of his Negroes being, as they say, All English. I shall endeavor to keep up his Spirits, least he may be induced to part with them at an Under Rate. If he keeps them Untill the Spring, he may get them off His Hands at a good Price—but he is fearfull of the Expence.

As to News we have but little here. I have not seen more than five Indians since my Arrival. All are busily engaged in hunting. Their Villages are deserted for the Winter Season—Men, Women & Children with their Dogs, Cats & Poultry, are all dispersed through the Country, where the Game is most plenty.

One Day last Week a Spanish Boat pass'd by this Post with twenty odd Deserters from the Missouri. The Boat had a Parcel of Provisions on board designed for the Garrison of a small Fort lately built at the Confluence of that River wth the Mississippi. They took the Boat by Force from Pain Court<sup>1</sup> & obliged the Commissary to

<sup>1</sup> St. Louis.

come away with them. The People of my Boat met with them about half Way between this Place & the Ohio & got a Bag of Corn from them in Exchange for some Buffalo Meat. Some suppose they intend for the Natchez Others imagine they design for New Orleans to complain of the Usage they have received from their Commander It is thought that the Commissary was somewhat Consenting but what Views he could have I cannot comprehend.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 20th Storer arrived the 17th Instant with his men & the Boat he got from the Indians. I shall inclose you a List of the Articles he & Mr Rumsay saved, but the necessary Papers for recovery of the Underwriters cannot be sent Untill next Opportunity.

Father Murraine<sup>1</sup> has given Mr. Clerkson 200 Dollars to which Value he desires you will purchase a Bill of Exchange in Philad<sup>a</sup> & remit it as formerly mention'd in Mr Clerksons Letter. I yesterday purchased a Bill with these Dollars at 20 PC<sup>t</sup> Discount which will pay Us a Com<sup>n</sup> on obliging the old Father. Please to be particular in mentioning by what Vessels you send this Remittance & the Times of their Sailing as he is a very particular Gentleman.

Silver Heels sets out tomorrow or next Day at farthest, I am fearfull of not being able to procure some Bills—I Expected to have rec<sup>d</sup> before this Time. At Foot you will have a List of the Remittances you will herewith receive. I have changed my Mind w<sup>th</sup> Respect to loading a Boat & sending her to New Orleans. Mr

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Father Meurin. The decree abolishing the Jesuit order was executed in the Illinois country in 1763, the Jesuit property being confiscated for the use of the French king. Not only did the Jesuits leave, but the Sulpicians likewise abandoned their parishes, so that at the beginning of the British occupation not a single priest was in the country. Father Meurin, however, one of the expelled priests, obtained leave to return to minister to the abandoned parishes. In 1768, Bishop Briand of Quebec made Father Meurin his vicar-general in Illinois. But owing to age and ill-health, and the widely scattered parishes, it was impossible for Meurin to carry on the work alone. The English authorities made efforts to secure an additional priest, but without success. In 1768, however, Bishop Briand sent Father Pierre Gibault, who took up his residence at Kaskaskia, Father Meurin retiring to the less populous parish of Cahokia. See *Bannissement des Jesuites de la Louisiane*, September 3, 1764, Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I.H.C., 10), 62; Sterling to Gage, December 15, 1765, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 124; Gage to Conway, June 24, 1766, *ibid.*, 321; Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, *post*, 300; Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, 113–129.



Young takes his Passage with L<sup>t</sup> Phyn who sets out hence with his Party tomorrow or next Day.

If I think of anything farther to add by him & have Leisure it shall be done.

I have wrote to several Friends by Silver Heels. Those who might have expected to receive a Line from Me & do not, please to excuse Me to them—

	I am &c—			
1 & 2 Wood on Fisher	for - - -	£ 23	6	8 sterl'g
d° d° d°	- - - - -	20		
1 & 2 Forbes on Forbes	for - -	60		
Moore on Lake	for - -	29	8	6
		132	15	2
Moore On Lake for - - - - -		87	2	5
d° on d° for - - - - -		160		
d° on d° for - - - - -		180		
Benezet on Benezet - - - -£ 105	2 3 - - -	112	2	5
Cole on Sir W Johnson - - - - -		3721	12	0
d° on Croghan - - - - -		7020	15	0
		11281	12	9

Carried over

		sterlg	NY Cur <sup>or</sup>
Am <sup>t</sup> bro <sup>t</sup> Over - - - - -	£ 132,15, 2		£ 11281,12,9
Campbell on Collingwood - - - -	50,		
Reed on Gen <sup>l</sup> Gage - - - - -	73,12, 9 1/2		
Wood on Fisher - - N 24 - -	100		
d° on d° - - - - 25 - -	100		
d° on d° - - - - 26 - -	182		
	£ 638, 7,11 1/2		
at 4/8 Sterlg P Dollar is - - - - -			1094, 8, 9
			12326, 0, 9

Moore on Lake - - - - -	181,14,3
d° on d° - - - - -	-178, 5,7 4/7
d° on d° - - - - -	80,11,5 1/7
	<hr/>
	£12816,12,0 5/7

An Acc<sup>t</sup> of Liquors at Kaskaskia 13th December 1767. fill'd & Cooper'd.

	Viz		
		Galls	Gallons
51 Barr <sup>s</sup> of P & N E Rum		30 ca is	1530
369 Kegs of ditto - - - - -		9 1/2 - -	3505 1/2
			<hr/>
			Gallons
			5035 1/2
9 Bbls of W India Rum - - 30 ca - -	270		
78 Kegs of ditto - - - - -	9 1/2 741		1011
	<hr/>		
16 Bbls Shrb - - - - -	30 ca - -	480	
15 Kegs of d° - - - - -	9 1/2 - -	142 1/2	
			622 1/2
107 Kegs of Jamaica Spirits - -	9 1/2 - - - - -		1016 1/2
12 Kegs of Lisbon Wine - - - -	9 1/2 - - - - -		114
			<hr/>
			7799 1/2
	Madeira Wine - - - - -		120 1/2
			<hr/>
	Gallons		7919 1/2

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 16, 1767  
[George Morgan Letter Book]  
KASKASKIA Dec<sup>r</sup> 16th 1767

DEAR PARTNERS

I have already wrote to you so fully in Regard to Business under different Dates that I have at present only to mention a few Things design'd only for yourselves. Let me first begin with sincerely wishing that this may find each of you, your Familys & Friends in Perfect Health. As to our Prosperity we must continue to labour as well as wish for it. Without flattering Ourselves We are not yet Void of

Hope & that with Reason. At this Moment the Restitution<sup>1</sup> comes uppermost in my Thoughts, notwithstanding I would willingly cast off all Dependence on so broken a Reed. Yet as not only you but many of our Friends have thought our Prospect so great, I cannot help believing that it is not impossible but something may turn up therein much to our Advantage. As to being so sanguine as either of you have formerly been I am glad I have it not in me. This I do not mention by Way of finding Fault w<sup>th</sup> either of you—On the Contrary—I must Confess that if the Matter succeeds—You have all the Merit. If it does not, You have nobly acted your Parts, & may sit down with the Pleasure of knowing it has not been by your Neglect or Indolence I dare say you are now in Anxious Expectation of Mr Cs Return from Detroit. He can hardly be with you by this Time whatever his Resolutions may have been.

It is with Pleasure I can tell you that I look on it, that the Apprehensions entertained of Mr C<sup>2</sup> ought to be discarded. And notwithstanding he may be a little wrong, I sincerely believe he has not been intentionally so. I must say that I wish no Blame had been laid on him for many Reasons. What may have appeared so mysterious in his Conduct, He will account for in so plausible a Manner, that you yourselves & every One will exculpate him from censure.

As to the Parts of his & your Letters which caused such Dissatisfaction I impute to their being misunderstood. This he is in part convinced of & has or will explain several of his Expressions in such a Manner as will carry Conviction. I shall not enter into the Particulars but leave the Whole to be amicably settled hereafter, as I am sure you will be glad of the Opportunity.

I have Reason to believe that Cap<sup>t</sup> Long has misrepresented him. I am sorry he should do it designedly. I have requested him to tarry untill the Spring, when as he has already wrote, he will return to Philad<sup>a</sup> & as Mr Jennings will set out at or near the same Time, I recommend that you engage two proper Persons, Who can not only be depended on but who are Adepts in the French Tongue & quick in Business to come down with Mr. Wharton, Unless you can have

<sup>1</sup> Reimbursement by the Indians to the traders who suffered losses at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy.

<sup>2</sup> Clarkson.

a Dependance on Mr Jennings Return, in which Case One will be sufficient but absolutely Necessary. They should be Persons of good Dispositions & who will give great Application. If two Boys of good Parents could be got as Apprentices or at Low Wages to be constantly in the Stores, it would be of great Advantage—As the principal Persons intrusted ought to have a little Leisure to visit the French & join in their Conversation, by which they might come to the knowledge of every thing that pass'd & have good Opportunitys of making Offers & Bargains abroad. Mr. Whartons Time will allmost solely be taken up in this—Although he will find it necessary to attend to a yard of Tape &c frequently, in order to show that he is not above his Business. If you do not meet with a Person to your Minds Perhaps Mr. Rumsay will answer in Mr. Clarksons Place, but he is not cut out for a Retail Shop Keeper. His Abilitys are almost equal to anything, but will not soon shine in so low a Sphere. His great Attention to what he has in Hand he deserves great credit for. I am convinced that he will do all that a Man in his Situation can for our Interest & will loose no Opportunity to benefit & advance the Sale of the Negroes He or I will inclose you a List of those sold to the Time of the closing of our Letters, with the Prices annexd payable in May next. Those who have Bills of Exchange by them, Wait for Us to lower our Price, but I hope We shall not be reduced to that Necessity, As I have sent off to Post Vincent & Kahoki, to inform the Principal People there that We will take Cattle for the Garrison in Exchange, Which will be a great Inducement to their purchasing of Us at our own Prices.

You will observe that I have as we agreed on wrote very pressingly with Respect to the inclosed Order. Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J. made it out, but I think it too large to be sent at One Time, unless for the Years Supply. Indeed We have found from Experience that all Goods designd for this Place ought to be deposited at Fort Pitt in the Fall, ready to be shipd on board of very large Boats the Moment the River breaks Up & that the Navigation of the Ohio ought never (except on very extraordinary Occasions) to be attempted At any other Time. We have not yet built a proper Boat for the Purpose. That I proposed for Mr. Wharton is the most so. She is about 40

feet long 5 deep & 12 broad & 6 feet ought to be added to the Length & not less than twenty two Men to row, two of whom should be good Hunters. A Keg of Salt should also be put on board to cure their Meat when they come into the Buffaloe Country As Game is very scarce on the Mississippi. The Barrels they may have had with Beef or Flour in at leaving Fort Pitt may serve to pack it in. By this Method a prodigious saving may be Made. But I must not forget to observe that the Boats should absolutely be built of Seasoned Stuff with Square Sterns & no lap or clinch Work but close square Seams. I need not say they should also be very strong—indeed remarkably so. With such Boats as these & a proper Commander, (such as C & J have mentiond) the Risque at that Season would not be One P<sup>ct</sup> But note that the Sail Cloth or Cover should be entire & made 6 or 8 feet Wider than the Boat Whose Sides ought to have Wash or gang Boards 18 Inches Wide to cast off the Water & for the People to walk back & forward on, that they need not dirty the Goods. The Duck should be sent to Fort Pitt & made up there.

You will say that I write as if we were just entering deeply into the Trade instead of getting out of it,—yet if we do continue our Supplies it ought to be done to the best Advantage. With One such Boat every Year having such Goods as ought to be ordered We might make a great deal of Money. If she was not wanted here, the same Hands might instantly set out with her for Fort Pitt, Where she might be kept untill the next Season.

The Necessity of the forgoing Plan We see from many Instances particularly with the Villain Storer Who is not yet arriv'd. Mr. Rumsay will mention to you particularly the Stupidity & Rascally Behaviour of this Scoundrel. I expect him up in two or three Days as I have heard of his being about 40 Miles below this Place. Four Days past I sent a Cannoe down w<sup>th</sup> provisions & Men to know the Cause of his Detention & to assist him Up. What to do with the Wretch when he does come I cannot tell As no Satisfaction can be got from him.

By a letter from Mrs Cole to her Husband dated in September last, she is exceedingly displeased with me for not having remitted her the £100 she order'd. The Language she Uses is severe &

dictated by Distress & Disappointment. At which he is not a little affected—Yet is & will be still our Friend—but positively declares that Unless you do remit her £1000 immediately on Receipt of the Money for his Acc<sup>ts</sup> he will, let the Consequence be what it may, withdraw his Services to Us—& never purchase a Farthings worth More Goods from Us. There is more than this Sum due to him from Us. You will therefore no doubt comply with his Desires as soon as possible. Mr. Wharton must not forget to bring his Acc<sup>t</sup> with him as I neglected doing it.

I cannot say any Thing determinate on the Buffaloe Adventure further than—If Mr Hollingshead cures the Meat well, We shall have no Difficulty in setting it into the Garrison at 9 sols if not 10 Plb. We are preparing a sufficient Number of Barrels to pack it in the Moment it arrives—But keep this from Mr Lake.

I send you the inclosed Letter dated Dec<sup>r</sup> 10th, which you can put to any purpose you please. You will discover my Intention by reading of it, Commissary Moore, who is very well disposed towards us, has applied to me by Desire of Col. Reed for some Flour, which I shall take Care to furnish provided they will engage our Buffaloe Meat. You will readily see the Reason of my declaring Col. Reed our Enemy on Acc<sup>t</sup> of my not seeing him. Perhaps this & the Warm Manner I have wrote respecting him may as well have been left out.

I am sensible it would be superfluous for me to mention my Expectation of seeing Mr Wharton by the first of March. I know he needs nothing to excite him to Use the greatest Dilligence. Dont think that I am uneasy at being here, for in our Circumstances We ought not to think a seven Years Absence long, if by that Means We can restore Ourselves & Familys to a desirable Situation.

I forgot to tell you that Mons Viviat<sup>1</sup> Was so anxious to get here, that he would not Wait for me, but purchased a Cannoe hired three Men & sat out thinking he could proceed much faster than me as the Waters were so low. I parted with him in a thick Fog Opposite the Logs Town<sup>2</sup> & have not seen him since. I hope no Accident has

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, (I.H.C., 5), 7.

<sup>2</sup> A trading village on the north side of the Ohio, eighteen miles below Pittsburgh.

happend to him—but I think Has had sufficient Time to arrive in At the same Time I also parted with Mr Bacon in the Batteau Charlotte. As he has ten stout Men on board, I trust the will be here before the Winter sets in.

What Plan to propose as the Most feasible for our next Falls Buffaloe Hunt I have not yet hit upon. I think I will take a Nap & dream of One I sincerely wish you & yours a good Nights Rest, although I do not expect One myself on Acc<sup>t</sup> of my dear Molly. Tomorrow I will attack you afresh.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 18th I could not sit down yesterday to write you a single Line—& cannot yet hit upon a Plan for the Buffaloe Hunt that will suit Us. It is evident that the Boats must be furnis<sup>h</sup>d from this Place. By Way of Parenthesis let me tell you now least I forget it that at Fort Pitt I found in J Irwins Possession both Original & Copy of our Letter to C & J. advising them of our Scheme & ordering them to engage the Meat to the Garrison. However had their arrived it w<sup>d</sup> not have avail'd what I have already mention'd.

As to our next Falls Hunt,<sup>1</sup> We shall want nothing from you but Salt, Lead & a few good Men to be at the Cherokee Fort<sup>2</sup> the 1st of Sept as We shall have good Boats & every other Necessary to prosecute the Business. If they are not there at that Time I dare say Mr. Wharton will not let slip the Opportunity of dispatch<sup>s</sup> every Thing from hence but the Meat cannot be so well preserved by this Salt. If the Salt could be packd at Phil<sup>a</sup> in Tight Beef Barrels & sent to Fort Pitt, would not the Advantage of having it in Barrels overpay the Difference of Carriage? In Case of a Boats leaking there will be no Damage to the Sale. The Beef by being well packd in these Barrels will be worth 1<sup>d</sup> PC<sup>t</sup> more & we need not be at so great an Expense in making Casks here. Perhaps Wagoners would allow the Tare in the Carriage as they would have such snug Loads. The only Difficultys you will have to encounter will be the lowness of the Water & Advancing the Money for the Carriage. However as you are together you can determine on the Measures to be pursued. And Mr Wharton can take his Measures accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that this hunting party was sent to western Kentucky.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Massac.

Storer arrived yesterday afternoon with his own & One of the Boats that he got from the Indians. Inclosed you have a List of what we are saved which I shall take the proper Measures to Dispose of. Pray what Part are We entitled to as [*blank in MS.*] I shall furnish you with the Proofs, Charges & Sales the Settlement must be made in England. It will be Impossible to distinguish What belong'd to each Boat. However We will do as well as we can & such as we are dubious about must be kept seperate from either of the other Sales.

I wish Mr Wharton could bring with him a Connestoge Wagon & Geers entire. It would save a considerable Expence as well as be a great Convenience. I hope he Will not forget the Chair, as it will be highly necessary. I believe I had better conclude for I shall say very little more of Consequence if anything. Should any Matters occur they shall be added by Way of PS. I am &c

PS. As so large a Parcel of Kettles are saved from Obriens & Littles Boats & we have mist the Opportunity of selling them You need send few or none of those imported by J & D. They can be disposed of at Fort Pitt or kept there till further Orders.

#### MINUTES OF THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY, December 16, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., Chatham MSS., 97:16—C.]

At a General Meeting of the Mississippi Company at Stafford Court House in Virginia, December 16<sup>th</sup> 1767.

#### PRESENT

Richard Parker	Francis Thornton
Richard Henry Lee	William Brent
William Fitzhugh	John Augustine Washington
Francis Lightfoot Lee	William Fitzhugh Jun <sup>r</sup>
Thomas Ludwell Lee	William Beale Jun <sup>r</sup>
George Washington	William Lee

Richard Parker Esq. chosen President this meeting.

It is resolved that Mess<sup>rs</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup>. Brent, Richard Graham, Philip Thomas Lee, William M<sup>c</sup>Gachin, and George Plater be excluded from the Company for not having paid their Quota agreeable to the original Articles.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Mr. Carter in the *American Historical Review*, 16:318.



It is resolved that M<sup>r</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> Key dec'd was not a member of this Company, having never signed the Original Articles or paid any money.

It is resolved that Maj<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Addison, is not a member of this Company, but that application shall be made to him to become a member.

It is resolved that M<sup>r</sup> John Hite is not a Member of this Company having never signed the Articles or paid any money.

It is resolved that M<sup>r</sup>. Samuel Washington be admitted as a Member of this Company on complying with the Articles thereof.

It is resolved that Mess<sup>rs</sup> John Baylor, Bernard Moore and Tho<sup>s</sup> Walker, be admitted as members of the Company on their complying with the Articles thereof.

It is resolved that M<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Digges have full power and Authority to sell or dispose of his share in this Company to M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Montgomery or any other person that the Company shall hereafter approve of.

It is resolved that application shall be made to M<sup>r</sup> Warner Lewis and Doctor Arthur Lee to become members of this Company.

It is the opinion of the Company, and so it is ordered, that the Treasurer of the Company, call a general meeting of the Company according to the rules of the Company for that purpose, on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of March next ensuing, and if at that time a number of Members sufficient to form a general Meeting shall not be assembled, that in that Case the Committee already appointed by the Company or the Treasurer of the Company being so directed by the Committee, shall have full power and Authority to demand and receive of each Member of the Company the Sum of £13. 11. 0 Sterling, amounting in the whole to the Sum of £542 Sterling, which Sum the said Committee are empowered to dispose of in employing an Agent to proceed immediately to Britain, there to solicit the Company's Grant, as fully, speedily, and effectually as the nature of the Business will admit.

It is resolved that W<sup>m</sup> Lee Esq. the Treasurer, has presented his Account to the Company which is admitted. It is resolved that W<sup>m</sup>

Lee Esq. be continued Treasurer to this Company. It is resolved that the Treasurer pay the Expence of this meeting.

TEST, WILLIAM LEE Secretary

MORGAN TO YOUNG, December 18, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA Dec<sup>r</sup> 18th 1767

MR SAMUEL YOUNG

SIR

I herewith deliver you a Bill of Exchange on [*blank in MS.*] for £ [*blank in MS.*] which may perhaps be under the Necessity of disposing of at New Orleans to supply yourself with Cash for your Expences, but if you can avoid it, it would be very agreeable to me as I have mentiond it in my Letter to my Partners as remitted to them. Should you from Curiosity incline to tarry any Time at New Orleans or Pensacola, on your Way Home or should any Opportunity should [*sic*] offer for Philad<sup>a</sup> or New York before you choose to embark, I beg you will by such Opportunity forward the Packets of Letters I have committed to your Care, As they contain Bills of Exchange the Interest Whereon amounts to near seventy pounds P Month.

You were so kind as to promise to attend to making a few Enquirys for me during your Stay at New Orleans—To refresh your Memory I will just give you a Mem<sup>m</sup> of them

1st Whether any Vessels have lately arrived from old France & how many.

2<sup>d</sup> In what their Cargos principally consist & particularly whether or not they have a large Q<sup>ty</sup> of Dry Goods for the Indian Trade &c.

3<sup>d</sup> Whether Goods are reckon'd scarce & dear or plenty & cheap at New Orleans.

4<sup>th</sup> How many Boats are coming up this Season and what their Cargoes will principally consist of.<sup>1</sup> Of all these Things please make Memorandums to shew to M<sup>r</sup> Baynton & also inform me

<sup>1</sup> For similar interest manifested by British officials, see Marsh to Haldimand, November 20, 1767, *ante*, 111.

thereof with Every thing else you may apprehend worthy Notice & youll much oblige Sir One who wishes you an agreeable Passage & a happy Sight of your F<sup>ds</sup>

& is Your ob<sup>t</sup> Ser  
G M

COLE TO [CROGHAN], December 19, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 15:183—A.L.S.]

FORT CHARTRES Dec<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1767

DEAR SIR

Yours of the 18<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> I received a few days past.<sup>2</sup> You Doubt not I was Surpris<sup>d</sup> at my accounts being refused, for not being properly Certified,<sup>3</sup> had your letters or Sir Williams Instructions, been as full as this above, they never would have wanted these *formallitys* but haveing answered all these points fully in former letters to you and Sir William, Shall refer you to them, if ever they get to hand they have been twice up as far as the Cherokee Fort, a man falling Sick the first time, & Indians fireing on them the Second obliged them to return, tho' I hope they will now goe Safe as the faithfull Silver heels takes them under his charge—I hope you will now find my Accounts, *Sufficiently certified* if they are not please to Send me the necessary formes that they may be wright for the future.

The Smiths you hope behave well and do their duty, how far they would do the Latter if they had Tools I can be no Judge at present, it is but Little they can do without belloweses, none have they nor none can I get, I did obtain liberty for them to work Some time in the Fort, but that was put a Stop too, being but one bellowes, it was wanted for Garrison use, Mr Phyn brought two pair with him, have applyed to Coll<sup>o</sup> Reed for one, he says they are so bad they cannot be mended in this Country, and Wither their own will Ever be Sent I cant Say, as they tell me they were at Fort

<sup>1</sup> Published by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3: no. 3, pp. 39 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The letter has not been found.

<sup>3</sup> Cole's accounts were not refused on account of being incorrectly certified, but because they were too exorbitant. See the letter from Gage to Johnson, April 4, 1768, *post*, 220-221.

Pitt when they left it and that if they'd had a Battaux, they could have brought them to the Mesissipi, and I could have easily Sent for them.

You wish Some Stop could be put to French traders going out into the Indian Country, So do I with all my hart but unless the Posts are Established I mentioned in my former letters, the mouth of the River Illinois, the cherokee Fort & Post Vinsent it never can be prevented, that being done and all peltrys obliged to be bonded for an English post, and a duty or prohibition Laid on all French goods, landed on this Side would in a great measure through [*sic*] the Trade into our hands, make our Influence much greater with the Indians, and the monys arising from the dutys of the peltry, and French goods, would go far towards paying the Expence of the Country, besides a much Larger comsumption for British manufacturies.—But these are Considerations for the Great, not, for a triffling Comm<sup>y</sup> Subject to the orders of every *Rank*.

I dare say You will be able in your Voyage to Detroit to find out the Belts I mentioned passing among the Indians, and prevent any thing being attempted in the Spring.

I am Sorry the House you mentioned was obliged to Stop payment, but as they did it with So much reputation, it can be no prejudice to their Trade or Carrecters, but reather Give them more weight then ever, you may Depend that whatever is in my power to render them Service, I shall not be backward So long as I remain here, and wither ever I shall get away God knows, for notwithstan<sup>d</sup> the repeated letters I have wrote for liberty to go down and Settle my affairs, or leave to resigne, can get no answer to them neither from you or Sir William.

I am Extreemly obliged to you for the kind offers you make me of rendering me Service. believe I shall soon be obliged, to Accept them, if I cant get liberty to down [*sic*] soon pray Sir Interest yourself for me in this affair and let me once more Smell Salt water if for ever so Short a time, I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir Your most. ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

MORGAN TO MACNAMARA, December 20, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

FORT CHARTRES Dec<sup>r</sup> 20 1767

MR BARTHOLOMEW MACNAMARA<sup>1</sup>

DEAR SIR

I intended that this should be deliver'd to you with a large Boat Load of Peltry but the Season is so far advanced that I am determin'd not to hazard them untill the Spring, when I expect a fine Parcel. Perhaps you may be a little surprised at receiving a Letter from me dated at this Place. You must have heard the Cause though perhaps imperfectly or with many Aggravations. I will therefore trouble you with a Relation thereof in as short a Manner as possible that you may be able to explain the Affair to any that may enquire of you. Last Winter or Spring Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J. sent Us a very large Remittance in a Bill of Exchange for Expences incurr'd for the King among which was One for about £4000, which General Gage refused to pay as it wanted a single Voucher from Col. Reed, or rather the Voucher which he did give to be better explain'd. Messrs C & J. had drawn for several considerable Sums on Us for Payment of People from whom we purchased Provisions &c for the King, Which Bills we accepted, depending on the Generals paying all the Drafts on him. We also purchased a Supply of Goods & some Negroes immediately for this Place. We frequently press'd the General for our Money but never could get a determinate Answer from him untill August last, When he absolutely refused Payment. This Disappointment caused a general One to those Whom we were indebted to & who had relied on a Compliance with our Promises of Payment Which we had heretofore kept inviolably sacred To convince every One of the Situation of our Affairs & to shew that our Non Payment Was owing alone to our Disappointment in Remittance, We called all Persons to whom we were indebted together, and laid before them our Books with a State of every Thing. At which they were so pleased & so well convinced of the Truth of what we alledged, that they all assured Us, nay gave it from under their Hands that they would not trouble Us for their Money but only

<sup>1</sup> Agent of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan at New Orleans.

desired that they might all be paid a Proportion of their Debts as our Remittances came in, to which we of Consequence agreed. The Reason of My coming here this Fall was least any ill Naturesd Person should have attempted to injure Us here. I wish all those Who have Demands against Us would take Goods of Us. We would discharge them all at a Blow. You will excuse me for troubling you with an Acc<sup>t</sup> of this Affair—for I know it will give you Pleasure to be inform'd that we have Capital sufficient to prosecute the Trade to this Country with our usual Spirit—Which from our now being acquainted We can do w<sup>th</sup> double Advantage.

You will much oblige our House if you will acquaint them & me by the first Opportunity of the following Particulars Viz

1<sup>st</sup> Whether any Vessels have lately arrived from old France & how many.

2 What their Cargos principally consisted in & particularly whether they have a large Q<sup>ty</sup> of Goods for the Indian Trade.

3<sup>d</sup> Whether Goods are reckon'd scarce & dear or plenty & cheap in New Orleans.

4 How many Boats are coming up to the Illinois this Season & what their Cargos will principally consist of.

5<sup>th</sup> What kinds of Goods are most in Demand for their Trade. Also any other Matters you may think we are interested in.

I beg your Pardon for giving you this Trouble, but I know that your Inclination to oblige Us is such that you will with Pleasure comply w<sup>th</sup> my Request.

If you can send me Six Hhds of very good red Wine & a Gros of large Scalping Knives by the first Boat, you will much oblige me by doing it. As I or Mr Clarkson shall be with you in the Spring, you shall be then paid. I am very anxious for the Bearer Mr Young Meeting with a speedy Passage to Philad<sup>a</sup> or New York as my Letters by him contain Bill to the Amount of £13,000 Remittance.

I beg you will present my respectfull Compliments to M<sup>rs</sup> Macnamara To Capt. Trent & his Lady.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir your obliged & ob<sup>t</sup> S<sup>t</sup>

G MORGAN

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, December 21, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 366—E.]

Monday, Dec: 21<sup>st</sup>

Present.

Lord Clare

Mr Jenyns.

Mr Eliot.

Mr Dyson.

Mr Fitzherbert.

Mr Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]S GENERAL.—The Secretary communicated to the Board:—

Copies of two Letters from Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Shelburne, dated Johnson Hall, August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1767,<sup>1</sup> relative to the state of Indian affairs, and transmitting:

A Review<sup>2</sup> of the progressive state of the Trade, Politicks and Proceedings of the Indians in the northern district, with some Hints towards establishing such Regulations as may be enforced for preventing abuses & securing tranquility to the Colonies.

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, December 22, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.74, f. 370—E.]

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup>

Present,

Lord Clare

Mr Jenyns.

Mr Eliot.

Mr Dyson.

Mr Fitzherbert.

Mr Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]S GEN<sup>L</sup>—Read a Letter from Mr M<sup>c</sup>Lean to the Secretary, inclosing, by the Earl of Shelburne's order, several papers relative to the present temper and designs of the Indians in the northern district of America.

Ordered that the Draught of a Letter to the Earl of Shelburne be prepared, representing the expediency of giving immediate orders for the final Settlement of the Line proposed by the Indians in 1765,

<sup>1</sup> The letter of August 14, 1767, is published in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:946–948.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 24.

to be established as a boundary between their Lands and the Settlements of His Majesty's Subjects.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 22, 1767

[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA Dec<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1767

DEAR PARTNERS

Silver Heels being detain'd several Days longer than I expected in waiting for Col. Reeds Despatches, gives me the disagreeable Opportunity to inform you of L<sup>t</sup> Phyn & his Partys being detain'd here by the Ice. The Kaskaskia River is passable on it, & the Mississippi is so full as to obstruct the Navigation up & down. This Disappointment has arose principally from the Contractor Mons Boloine not having sufficient Credit with any of the Inhabitants to get the Q<sup>ty</sup> of Flour<sup>1</sup> he wanted for their Consumption in going down the River, unless the Commanding Officer would give it from Under his Hand that they should be paid. This occasion'd a great Delay—but after he got the Flour he could find no Casks to put it in, notwithstanding Mr. Phyn was several Days before assured by Boloine, that every thing was provided. Before they could be got ready, the Weather set in so severe that the Boats were froze up in the Ice, which will occasion the Troops to Quarter here all the Winter.

So soon as I heard of the Difficulty which Mr. Phyn labour'd under, I purchased the Q<sup>ty</sup> of Flour he stood in Need of, pack'd it in Kegs & offer'd it to him, but he could not take it w<sup>th</sup> out Col. Reeds express Order on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Contract subsisting between him & Mr. Boloine.

I sincerely wish Mr W could bring with him 8 or 10,000 Dollars—but this is a Thing that cannot be accomplish'd. Yet I would have you try if possible to make up 1000.

I shall be glad if Mr Wharton can also bring with him a Skinner or two to dress the Skins We may receive in the Hair.

This Moment Silver Heels came to inform Me that the Indian Who was to accompany Him to Fort Pitt could not be ready for

<sup>1</sup> Flour was an important commodity in both Spanish and British Illinois. For the amount of flour produced on the Spanish side, consult Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, 1:86–89, and index.



several Weeks. I have therefore engaged C<sup>t</sup> Trente Who came down with me the last Year & Who I know to be a Person that may be depended on. I have engaged both of them to come down w<sup>th</sup> Mr Wharton & to return with me & my Friend by Land or Water as I may choose in the Spring. This I am much pleased with, As I know they may be confided in. C C<sup>1</sup> agrees to pay the whole Expense As it is for the Benefit of his Majestys Service. Trente had before agreed to Wait for me here Untill the Spring, but as he will come with Mr Wharton in Time the same purpose Will be answerd.

I have but One thing to request of Mr W to bring with him for myself. That is as good a Pocket Compass as he can possibly get for me of as large Size & let the Needle be newly touch'd by Condyl. With this, if I return to Fort Pitt by Land, I am convinced I shall be able to walk it in twenty Days & in a Route of not more than 400 Miles. On Recollection I imagine that this Request will be Useless, as Mr. W will have certainly left Philad<sup>a</sup> before this reaches you. For the same Reason I cannot expect any of the Articles now wrote for, except you may have sent those I ordered from Fort Pitt. However I hope we shall be able to have the Whole of them here by the 1st of March 1769.

<sup>a</sup> This is doubtless Edward Cole, the Indian commissary.

## CHAPTER IV

WESTERN INDIAN PROBLEM AGAIN BEFORE THE MINISTRY,  
DECEMBER 22, 1767—APRIL 4, 1768

CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY IN 1768—DANGER OF INDIAN OUT-  
BREAK DUE TO NON-ESTABLISHMENT OF BOUNDARY LINE—  
PROPOSED COLONIES IN THE WEST—FURTHER DISAGREEMENTS  
BETWEEN MORGAN AND REED—LETTERS FROM MORGAN REL-  
ATIVE TO TRADE—SOUTHERN INDIAN AFFAIRS—DISCUSSION  
OF BOUNDARY LINE—REPORT OF BOARD OF TRADE ON INDIAN  
AFFAIRS—FURTHER OPINIONS ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THE  
WEST—CABINET MINUTE RELATIVE TO VARIOUS WESTERN  
MATTERS—GAGE'S VIEWS ON COLE'S ADMINISTRATION—PRI-  
VATE BUSINESS UNDER MILITARY RULE.

MACLEANE TO POWNALL, December 22, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.24, f. 471—L.S.]

WHITEHALL December 22<sup>d</sup> 1767.

SIR,

By order of the Earl of Shelburne I send you the inclosed Papers,  
for the Information of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners of  
Trade and Plantations.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant.

L. MACLEANE

JOHN POWNALL Esq<sup>r</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] Plantations General. Letter from Mr. McLeane to  
the Sec<sup>y</sup>, dated Dec. 22, 1767 inclosing, by the Earl of Shelburne's  
order, several papers relative to the present temper & designs of the  
Indians in the northern district of America.

Rec[eiv]ed

Read Dec<sup>r</sup> 22.

} 1767. T 46.

<sup>1</sup> Inclosed with this was the letter of Baynton and Wharton to Macleane,  
October 9, 1767, *ante*, 84.

SHELBURNE TO JOHNSON, January 5, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.69, f. 5—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup> 6)WHITEHALL 5<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1768

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

SIR

Agreeable to my Letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, I now have the Honor of signifying to You His Majesty's Commands that the Boundary Line between the Several Provinces and the Various Indian Tribes be compleated without Loss of time, conformable to a Report of The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,<sup>1</sup> Copy of which is herewith transmitted.

It is His Majesty's Pleasure that before You enter upon this Matter, You settle, in concert with the Commander in Chief of the Army, what Steps it may be proper to take for the General Execution of this salutary Measure; and it will also be proper to consult with the different Governors concerning such particular Points as may affect the Several Provinces separately, in order that the Work may be carried through with Cordiality and Dispatch.

I am Sir &amp;c

SHELBURNE

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson 5<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1768 (N<sup>o</sup> 6)

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, January 9, 1768

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow, ed.), 4:374]

LONDON, 9 January, 1768

DEAR SON:—

We have had so many alarms of changes which did not take place, that just when I wrote it was thought the ministry would stand their ground. However, immediately after, the talk was renewed, and it soon appeared that the Sunday changes were actually settled. Mr. Conway resigns and Lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Gower is made President of the Council in the room of Lord Northington. Lord Shelburne is stripped of the American business, which is given to Lord Hillsborough, as secretary of state for America, a new distinct department. Lord Sandwich, it is said, comes into the post-

<sup>1</sup> "December 23, 1767" is written opposite in the margin.

office in his place. Several of the Bedford party are now to come in.<sup>1</sup>

How these changes may effect us, a little time will show. Little at present is thought of but elections, which gives me hope that nothing will be done against America this session, though the *Boston Gazette* had occasioned some heats, and the Boston Resolutions a prodigious clamor. I have endeavored to palliate matters for them as well as I can. I send you my manuscript of one paper, though I think you take the *Chronicle*. The editor of that paper, one Jones, seems a Grenvillian, or is very cautious, as you will see by his corrections and omissions. He has drawn the teeth and paired the nails of my paper, so that it can neither scratch nor bite. It seems only to paw and mumble. I send you also two other late pieces of mine. There is another which I cannot find.

I am told there has been a talk of getting me appointed under-secretary to Lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here that I am too much of an American. I am in very good health, thanks to God. Your Affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN

PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY TO B. FRANKLIN AND R. JACKSON,

January 19, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 15:238]

GENTLEMEN

By Order of the *House* we inclose you Copies of, a Letter from his Excellency General Gage, a Message from the Governor to the Assembly and their Answer and the Examination of George Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup> Deputy Superintendant, under Sir William Johnson for the Western District, taken before the *House*; By which you will Perceive, The present Critical and alarming Situation of Indian Affairs, and that there is a prospect of an immediate Rupture with the Natives unless Measures are adopted to prevent it. By the *Answer*, you will observe, That the Representatives of the People are exerting themselves in every manner, That they can conceive, will tend to this salutary End. They have formed a *Bill* now before the Governor, making the offence of Continuing after notice,

<sup>1</sup> For table showing changes of ministry, see Hunt, *Political History of England*, 10:470.

on the Indian unpurchased Lands, felony of Death, without Benefit of Clergy, and warmly addressed the Governor, To exert himself, in bringing the Authors of the late horrid & cruel massacre of the Indians, at *Conestogo & Lancaster* (which we find, is one of the Causes of the Indian Discontent) to condign Punishment. What will be the Effect of this Law, should the *Bill* be passed, or what Part, The Government will act on the Occasion, Time alone can discover.

But as the *House* is of opinion, founded on Mr Croghan's Examination, That there is another Cause of Indian Jealousy and Dissatisfaction, without the speedy removal of which, no Durable and permanent Peace, can be Established between the Natives and his Majestys Colonies. They have ordered us to represent it to you, in the strongest Terms. For altho' the Power of redress does not Lye with them, yet They esteem it their Duty, in a matter of so much Concern to the safety and Peace of his Majestys Subjects, To contribute, as much as is in their Power, towards so important a Service.

The Cause, we mean is the non establishment of a *Boundry*, negotiated, about three Years ago, by his Majestys Orders to Sir William Johnson, between these Colonies and the Indian Country. The Delay of the Confirmation of *this Boundry*, The Natives have warmly complained of, and That altho' they have received no Consideration, for the Lands agreed to be ceded to the Crown, on our *Side* of the Boundary yet That its Subjects, are daily settling and occupying those *very* Lands, and a number of the Indian Warriors have been lately murdered, by the frontier People, chiefly those of Virginia, in their Passage to or from War, against the Cherokees. What has been the Cause of this Delay, The *House* are not apprized—But it is their clear opinion, That nothing less, than the *final Confirmation of this Boundary*, can lay the foundation of a solid & lasting Peace, with the Indians. As, they fear, no Laws however Penal, will prevent a Set of Lawless Men who infest the Frontiers of the Colonies, from entering and settling on these Lands, and when intoxicated with Liquor, from killing the Natives, who may fall in their Way. But shou'd *this* Boundary be established, these frequent Causes of Indian Dissatisfaction, would be removed, at least for

Many Years, as the Distance between our Frontiers and the Indian Country, wou'd be considerable and their Right of Passage to War, near the Inhabited Parts of the Province, Taken away. Under this View of Indian Affairs, The *House* have directed us, earnestly to desire, That you wou'd use your Interest with his Majestys Ministry, To obtain, as soon as possible, The Accomplishment and final ratification of *this Boundary*, so necessary to the future safety of the Colonies—and to prevent the immense Expence, which otherwise must unavoidable Arise to Great Brittain.


Copy.<sup>1</sup>

Signed by all the Committee.

directed To Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson Esquires Agents for the Province of Pennsylvania at the Court of Great Britain.

[Endorsed:] Letter from the Committee of Correspondence to the Agents in London.

Copy.

Read in the House and agreed to January 19<sup>th</sup> 1768  
Sent away  Packet Jan<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1768

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, January 22, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.75, f. 18—E.]

Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1768

Present.

Lord Clare.

Mr Jenyns. Mr Rice.

Mr Fitzherbert. Mr Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]s GEN<sup>L</sup>—Read a Letter from Sir William Johnson, Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the northern district of America, to the Board, dated Oct<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1767,<sup>2</sup> respecting the present state and disposition of the Indians within that District.

<sup>1</sup> From this point to the end, including endorsement, in a different hand from the earlier part.

<sup>2</sup> This general letter is printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:987-988.

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, January 23, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 55—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 22)

NEW YORK January 23<sup>d</sup> 1768.

MY LORD,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of November (N<sup>o</sup> 4)<sup>1</sup> and to testify to your Lordship the very great Pleasure I feel, in his Majesty's favorable Opinion of the Measures that have been pursued for his Service.

Your Lordship is pleased to acquaint me, that the Consideration of what regards the Establishment of New Governments upon the Ohio, Mississippi, and at the Detroit, with other important Points essential to the Welfare of the King's Affairs in this Country, had been referred to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

When I have the Satisfaction to know the Plan which their Lordships shall adopt respecting these Matters, I shall not fail to take the Liberty, which your Lordship is pleased to give me, of offering my opinion when anything occurs to me, that can contribute to its Success. As I presume the first object of these New Governments will be, the Settling them as soon as possible, that they may be able to resist attacks from any Indian Nations who shall attempt to molest them, and form a sort of Barrier to the old Provinces; I would now beg leave to Mention, the Propriety at the first Formation of these Settlements, of granting the Lands upon easy Conditions and in small Lotts contiguous to each other, not to be alienated by the Grantees; or else by various Artifices they will be soon transferred into the Hands of a few People who will become Proprietors of large Tracts, which Experience has shewn are seldom Settled, but kept by the Owners in Expectation that the Lands will increase in Value. The Prospect of getting good Farms on easy terms, will engage many Familys to emigrate from all the Colonies.<sup>2</sup>

The Provinces of Pensylvania and Maryland have only fixed Boundarys between each other, by a private Agreement between M<sup>r</sup>. Penn and Lord Baltimore. A Number of Indians were invited to

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with Gage's earlier proposal in Gage to Conway, March 28, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 198.

attend the Surveyors, to see how far Westward they would allow the Line to be ran, but I don't find that any determined Boundaries have been fixed between the said Provinces, and the Lands claimed by the Indians. By the Lines laid out on this Occasion, the Lands on which the People have encroached near the Monongahela appear to be in Pensylvania, but not yet purchased of the Savages. And I have been told by one of the Commissioners of Pensylvania, that his Province claims as far as some Miles beyond the Ohio, and fifty Miles below Pittsburg, But as your Lordship is pleased to acquaint me, that precise and definite Boundaries will be put to the old Colonies, the Limits of Pensylvania will no doubt be fixed as well the rest.

I shall not fail to write to Governor Wright as your Lordship has directed, concerning the large Quantity of Powder to be put up to sale in Georgia; And I propose to send an Officer of the Ordinance to inspect it, and see that it is fit for Service and to be sold cheap.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard Respect & Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, And Most humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup>. GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF SHELBURNE one of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Principal Sec<sup>rys</sup> of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York Jan<sup>y</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>: 1768. Major General Gage (N<sup>o</sup>. 22) R 29<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup>, 1768. By Capt. Marsh. A.5.

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, January 26, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.75, f. 22—E.]

Tuesday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>

Present.

Lord Clare.

Mr Jenyns. Mr Rice.

Mr Fitzherbert. Mr Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]S GENERAL.—Their Lordships then took into further consideration the subject matter contain'd in the Earl of Shelburne's Letter of Reference, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> last, and it was ordered



that the Draught of a Representation to His Majesty thereupon should be prepared.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, February, 1768

[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA February 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

Since I wrote to you by Mr Young, I cannot say any thing particular has occur'd. In this dead Season of the Year We could not expect any considerable Sale of Goods. Yet had the River admitted of the Arrival of Bacons Boat We should undoubtedly have disposed of most of his Cargo by this time. The great Q<sup>ty</sup> of Ice detain'd him untill the 10th Instant. We are now busily engaged in opening his Goods which appear all to be in good Order The 12th Instant I had [*blank in MS.*] Men dispatch'd to the Assistance of Mr Hollingshead at the Mouth of the Ohio—Who no doubt will embrace this Opportunity by Col. Reed to acquaint you of his success in hunting.<sup>1</sup> I have a large Parcel of Casks & a Q<sup>ty</sup> of Salt ready to pack his Meat in & an excellent Vault to store it in should that be necessary. What Q<sup>ty</sup> he has procured I have not yet learn'd, if it be properly cured & only half What We calculated on, We shall do very well for the first Essay considering the unexpected Delays he met with in leaving Fort Pitt & descending the Ohio As to the Sale, Although I have not yet bargain'd, yet I have an Expectation of doing it shortly. There has not been a single Indian either here or at Fort Chartres since my last, You therefore cannot expect I should be able to say What we may do in Trade with them, further than they still continue out on their Hunt & We hear they have hitherto had great Success. In April & May they will begin to come in, When We shall Use our Endeavours to get a considerable Share of their Peltry.

Inclosed is an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Sale of the Negroes. The Inhabitants still continue backward in purchasing of them from a Report Mons Boloin has spread that he expects Sixty up in the Spring from New Orleans. Although I am assured by several that I can depend Upon

<sup>1</sup> This party had been hunting in Kentucky during the winter. They were in that country earlier than Daniel Boone.

in a great Measure that this is not true, Yet many of the Inhabitants have so much Confidence in him that they still decline purchasing on that Acc<sup>t</sup>. Besides those mention'd in the Sale—Six are now mark'd for the Principal Inhabitant of Post Vincent P his Order at 360 Dollars each, but the Roads have been so excessively bad that he has not been able to come to confirm the Bargain & take them away. Mons Viviate is now in their Cabbins endeavouring to choose Eight, Which I have offer'd to him at 320 Dollars each in Payment of his Debt rather than remain a Prisoner in Fort Chartres Where Col. Reed has confin'd me for some time by a Stretch of his Millitary Power. I flatter myself that his despicable Character will prevent the least Suspicion of this being owing to the least Misconduct in me or the Want of a proper State of the Case being laid before him. Down Right Avarice prompts him to the meanest of Actions—And a proper Fee as in this Case from Mr Viviate would induce him to almost any Thing.

It is impossible for me at present to make you any other Remittance than the triffling One inclosed & mention'd at Foot hereof.

The Indian Acc<sup>ts</sup> being so contemptible is owing to the very few Indians Who have visited Fort Chartres since September last. The inclosed Draft of Mr Coles is for our own Acc<sup>t</sup> Only as he insists on it that he cannot close the others untill the 25th of March when I shall have another Bill for about the same Amount with the Inclosed Mr Cole has been greatly deceiv'd in the Expectation of the Amount of his Acc<sup>t</sup> owing to the beforementioned Cause However We may reasonably expect the greater Number in the Spring When he says he shall be under the Necessity of being liberal to them.

As most of the Negroes we have sold are not to be paid for untill next Spring & Summer, You are of Course precluded from any Remittances from them. We have taken Care to sell to None but undoubtedly safe Persons. The Interest they are to pay, agreeable to the Custom of the Country is 10 P<sup>ct</sup>—I have a large Q<sup>ty</sup> of Flour ready to be put into Garrison so soon as the Roads will permit Untill then I cannot receive the Bills as the Commissary must furnish his Vouchers, certified by the Commander, before he can draw.

Were it not for the Assurances I have given Colonel Cole that you would positively remit the One thousand Pounds as he has desired to Mrs Cole, he would have insisted on Deducting his whole Balance out of the Indian Acc<sup>ts</sup>. This I need not have mention'd as you are too well acquainted with the evil Consequences which might Arrise from not complying with his Request, his withdrawing future Favours. The Tryanny & Oppression which the Inhabitants of this Country have experienced from Colonel Reed, has induced me to propose to them a Petition<sup>1</sup> to the Lords of Trade & Plantation of which the inclosed is a Copy now circulating amongst them & which the English join them in praying of their Lordships to recommend to his Majesty to establish a civil Government here. They have appointed Mr Rumsay & myself to forward this Petition to Governor Franklin to inclose & recommend it to the Board of Trade. Perhaps it may be compleated Time enough to send by this Opportunity. If not, it undoubtedly will in a few Days, by Doctor Connolly<sup>2</sup> who ascends [*sic*] the Ohio in One of our Boats.

I shall impatiently await the Arrival of our red Strouds &c, without w<sup>ch</sup> We shall suffer greatly in our Sales. Should any Accident have happend to them I recommend to you to send at least 100 Pieces of the already described Fabrick, as soon as possible

I have already sent you a gen<sup>l</sup> Order for the Goods w<sup>ch</sup> are in demand here & w<sup>ch</sup> will afford a great Advance Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings drew it out, but I fear the Am<sup>t</sup> may be beyond your Capacity. If so, I would have you generally confine yourselves to the Articles therein mark'd with an A particularly those mentiond in the inclosed List But a small Part of those markd B, will be very necessary. As to Muscovado & Loaf Sugar, Coffee, Chocolate Mens, Womens & Childrens best & common Leather Shoes Tin Ware—Pewter d<sup>o</sup> Silver Truck, Appalachia Handkerchiefs—Beaver Traps, & Soap, you cannot send too great a Q<sup>ty</sup> but an assortment will occasion quicker Returns & prevent Traders going to New Orleans

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Doctor John Connolly, the nephew of Colonel Croghan, was a native of Pennsylvania. In 1774 he became Lord Dunmore's agent and was accused of precipitating the Indian war of that year. In the revolution, Connolly aligned himself with the British. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War 1774*, 42; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:71.

for the Articles we have Ordered, When they must of Course bring an Assortment of those we have most of. We are badly off for brass Cocks & Pewter Measures, The common sort of Cocks leak or break in a few Days using & the Rum eats through the Tin Measures in less than a Week. I therefore beg you will by the first Opportunity send,

2 doz brass Cocks of Philad<sup>a</sup> make the Size  
to be between the Hhd & Bbl Cocks

They must be made particularly well  
& strong, for w<sup>ch</sup> you must of course pay an  
extra Price

4 Pewter Gallon Wine Measures

4    d<sup>o</sup>      half Gallon      ditto

6    d<sup>o</sup>      Quart              ditto

6    d<sup>o</sup>      Pint                ditto

We have now come to a true Knowledge of the Trade to this Country We have dearly bought the Experience therein but if we are enabled to prosecute it properly in Person There cannot be the least Doubt but the Profits will be immense although it will certainly be several years before we can discharge our Debts. Yet it will be still longer if we are not enabled to keep up the proper Assortments. The Reasons are so obvious. At the same Time We must except any particular Accidents or an Earthquake I herewith inclose you all the Papers relative to the loss of Obriens & Little Cargos

Am <sup>t</sup> of the Sales are as follows	sterl <sup>s</sup>
of Obriens Cargo saved - - - - -	105, 15, 7
of Littles      d <sup>o</sup> - - - - -	37, 19, 10
of those uncertain to which Boat they belong'd	209, 10, 5
from w <sup>ch</sup> deduct the Expense	£ 353, 5, 10
of recovering them & the	73, 8, 5
Inclosed Acc <sup>t</sup>	£ 279, 17, 5

The Bills remitted to you by Silver Heels & C<sup>t</sup> Trent the 24th of December & by Mr. Young the 1st January amounted to New York Curr<sup>cy</sup> - - £ 12816, 12,0 5/7 You have now inclosed the following

Viz	
Moore on Lake - - - - -	£ 37
C & J or BW & M for £ 108, 15 (PC) -	116
Louvaire on Col Croghan for	
£ 114, 13/ sterl <sup>s</sup> to	247, 19, 5
	<hr/>
	£ 400, 19, 5

It is with the utmost pleasure I can tell you, the Apprehensions entertaind of Mr Clarkson, ought to be Discarded And notwithstanding he may be a little in the wrong, I sincerely believe he has not been intentionly so. As to those parts of his Letters & yours which has occasion'd so much Difference I impute to their Being misunderstood or misapplied.

This I believe he his [sic] in part convinc'd of & has or will explain several of his Expressions in such a manner as will give you pleasure for his Sake to know they were not intended as you took them.

I shall avoid entering into particulars of the Affair as I never convinc'd myself about it—but shall leave the whole to be amicably settled between yourselves as I am sure you will be glad of the Opportunity.

I have reason to believe that C Long has misrepresented Mr Clarkson. I am sorry he shou'd do it designedly. I have requested of him to tarry 'till May or June next when as he has already wrote he will return to Philadelphia & as Mr Jennings &c.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, February 4, 1768  
[George Morgan Letter Book]

DEAR PARTNERS

By Mr Young I gave you a short Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Proceedings of Mr Viviate since his Arrival here. This Letter shall be confin'd to the like Subject since that Time that I need not mix trivial Matters with those of more Consequence.

On Tuesday Evening the 26<sup>th</sup> of January I receiv'd a Billet from Col. Reed of w<sup>h</sup> the following is a true Copy

By JOHN REED ESQ<sup>R</sup> Colonel Commandant for his Britannic Majesty in the Illinois—

In Consequence of a Complaint made to me this Day by Mons Viviate Merch<sup>t</sup> on the Spanish Side of a Debt that is owing & unjustly detain'd from him by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton Wharton & Morgan, I do hereby order you to satisfye the Demands of the said Mr Viviate or to appear before me immediately after Sight of this to give your Reasons for a Refusal Hereof fail at your Peril.

Given under my Hand at FORT CHARTRES the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1768

JOHN REED Col.  
Lt Col. 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>.

TO MR GEORGE MORGAN  
Merch<sup>t</sup> at Kaskaskias.

Saturday Morning the 30th of January I waited on Col Reed in Consequence of this Order When after giving him the Reasons of its being out of my Power immediately to satisfye the Demands of Mr Viviate, he dismiss'd me with saying (after first using many Threats & much ill Language) that at present he had nothing further to say in the Affair—but that unless I settled the Matter very soon, he was determin'd to do anything which Mr Viviate would desire of him to force me to pay the Money.

I shall make no other Remarks on this Conduct than just to mention it was intimated to me by a Gentleman of the Regiment that he imagin'd I had not bid high enough with Col. Reed. You will readily comprehend his Meaning from C<sup>t</sup> Reeds Character.

After this all Things remain'd quiet untill the 2<sup>d</sup> Instant—When a Bailiff by a forceable Entry (through Ignorance) serv'd a Writ upon me of which the following is a Copy

GEORGE the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c &c—We command you that you take into Custody the Bodies of John Baynton Samuel Wharton & George Morgan Merchants at the Illinois or any One of them that you may find in your Bailiwick & them or him safely keep so that you may have him or them before Us at Fort Chartres on the fourth Instant to answer to the Suit of Mr Lewis Viviate that they render to him three thousand three hundred & ninety six pounds 18/ Pennsylvania Money which they owe & unjustly detain

from the said Lewis Viviate & have you here this Writ—Witness John Reed Esq<sup>r</sup> Colonel Commanding at the Illinois the 2<sup>d</sup> Day of February in the seventh Year of our Reign.

JOHN REED Col  
L<sup>t</sup> Col 34th Reg<sup>t</sup>

To CADWALADER BLANEY Provost Martial

Under a Copy of which Mr Blaney gave Me a Certificate as follows

I do hereby certifie that the foregoing is a true Copy of a Writ by the Authority of Which I have made George Morgan my Prisoner & do insist that he accompany me to Fort Chartres as required by the said Writ Witness my Hand at Kaskaskias this second Day of Feb<sup>r</sup> 1768

CADWALADER BLANEY Serg<sup>t</sup>  
34th Reg<sup>t</sup>. acting Provost Martial

Mr Blaney ask'd my Pardon for making the forceable Entry which he said was done entirely through Ignorance. But at the same Time refused taking any Bail whatever for my Appearance at Fort Chartres alledging he had no Orders from Col Reed for that Purpose & therefore insisted on my accompaning of him to Fort Chartres as his Prisoner, which I accordingly did (after calling on proper Witnesses to the whole Affair) And was lodged in the Fort untill seven OClock in the Evening of the third of February when Col Reed admitted me to Bail which Captain Pownall entered for my Appearance the next Day as required by the Writ. Feb<sup>r</sup> 4th in the morning I appear'd before Col Reed. Mr Viviate left the Room very abruptly about 10 OClock & immediately set out for Kaskaskias. I rested Prisoner in Col Reeds Room untill 12 OClock When he inform'd me he had order'd the Prison to be prepared for my Reception but said that I should be allowed to walk the Parade & any other Indulgence in his Power, but added that he must confine me to the Fort untill I satisfied Mr Vivities Demand. I answer'd that I saw no Necessity of his giving himself that Trouble as I was ready to answer to Mr Vivities Suit when he pleased & that If it was not brought to a Tryall on this Day I should look on myself as discharged from the Writ. Upon this he sent after Mr Viviate who was

not to be found. He then insisted on my staying Prisoner in the Fort untill I should settle the Affair with Mr Viviate. Rather than do which I got Edward Cole Esq<sup>r</sup> & Mr Jennings to answer for my Appearance at Fort Chartres any Day the Col should appoint to try the Cause which was accordingly fix'd to the Eighth of this present Instant. Here the Matter now rests.

FORT CHARTRES Feb<sup>y</sup> 4, 1768

Fort Chartres Feb<sup>y</sup> 8th 1768. This Day I appeard before a Court appointed by Col Reeds Order of which the following is a Copy—

The following is a Copy of the Proceedings of the Court.

A new Order for the Court Martial being made by Col. Reed to which the Names of Mathew Clarkson & John Jennings were added to those of John Baynton Samuel Wharton & George Morgan as Defendants agreeable to Mr Viviates Request. The Court again sat & read their Power. Mr Viviate then beg'd the Court might be adjourn'd untill the 9th Instant as he was not prepared for the Prosecution. The Court was accordingly adjourn'd untill 10 OClock the next Morning.

In consequence of the Plaintiffs denying the Authority of the Court & saying the Writ by w<sup>ch</sup> I was brought before them was wrong, I apprehended that I was clear from the Suit on that Writ & therefore proposed to leave the Fort which I was not permitted to do, being restrained by Col Reed who ordered the Centries not to let Me pass. Here I was detain'd from 45 minutes past ten OClock in the Morning (at which Time the Court was adjourn'd) untill fifty Minutes past One OClock in the Afternoon At which Time another Writ was serv'd on me at the Suit of Mr Viviate, a Copy of which is as follows.

GEORGE the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c &c We command you that you take into Custody the Bodies of Mess<sup>rs</sup> John Baynton Samuel Wharton & George Morgan Merchant at the Illinois or any One of them you may find in your Bailiwick & them or him safely keep so that you may have them or him before Us at Fort Chartres on the ninth Instant to answer to the Suit of Mr Lewis Viviate that they render to him the Sum of three thousand three hundred & ninety six



pounds Eighteen shillings Pennsylvania Money which they owe & unjustly detain from the said Lewis Viviate & have you here this Writ.

Witness John Reed Esq<sup>r</sup> Colonel Commander at the Illinois this Eighth Day of February in the seventh Year of our Reign.

Sign'd John Reed Col. Lt. Cl. 34th Reg<sup>t</sup>

To SERG<sup>T</sup> CADWALDER BLANEY Provost Martial

Under a Copy of the above Mr Blaney added—I do hereby certify the above to be a true Copy of the Original by Virtue of which Mr George Morgan was arrested at Fort Chartres by me this 8th day of February 1768

sign'd Cadw<sup>r</sup> Blaney

Serg<sup>t</sup> 34th Reg<sup>t</sup>. acting as Provost Martial

At the same Time Mr Blaney deliverd a Paper into my Hands, the Contents Whereof is as follows.

I do hereby request you to arrest John Baynton Samuel Wharton & George Morgan of the Kaskaskias Merchants at my Suit for the Sum of £ 3396,18/ Pennsylvania Currency I hereby withdrawing the Suit actually depending against them before the Court of the Illinois on Acc<sup>t</sup> of an erroneous Entry made on this Day before said Court, In witness Whereof I have given the present this seventh Day of February 1768

signed L VIVIA TE

True Copy Jn<sup>o</sup> Reed Col L<sup>t</sup> Col 34th Reg<sup>t</sup>.

To COLONEL REED commanding at the Illinois

Witness EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

JN<sup>o</sup> JENNINGS

How far these Proceedings may be unjust, I do not pretend to say—but Col Reeds Threats with much abusive Language have evidently been calculated to intimidate me into an unjust settlement with Mr Viviate.

I would not choose to be actuated altogether by Resentment, but I flatter myself you will not let pass Unnoticed the many insufferable Insults I have receiv'd from Colonel Reed in this Matter. He will shortly be at Philadelphia, where I hope Our good Friend Mr Gallo-

way<sup>1</sup> will bring him to a due Sense of his Injustice & Oppression I shall take Care to bring all the Necessary Proofs thereof with me.

McKEE TO CROGHAN, February 13, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:10—A.L.]

[*MS. burned*] and scalping them, is known to all the [*MS. burned*] in this Country.

The Indians are very much alarm'd at it,—I have [*MS. burned*] them on the Occasion, and used every Argument in [*MS. burned*] er to make them easy on that head,—They were [*MS. burned*] enough of us before, and very discontented; but this [*MS. burned*] of Stumps, has made the Warriors of the different nations [*MS. burned*]ious, as they say, the English are certainly determined [*MS. burned*]ke War on us, or otherwise they would not scalp our [*MS. burned*]le—the Scalping those Indians is worse than murdering [*MS. burned*] They come here from all parts of the Country enquiring [*MS. burned*] I have heard from Sir William Johnson, the General [*MS. burned*]n or of Philadelphia—or whether you are coming up [*MS. burned*] I shall continue to do everything in my power to [*MS. burned*] quiet 'till you come up and the sooner you come, the [*MS. burned*] Warriors of those Tribes have sent Belts to the [*MS. burned*] them to come to the plains of Scioto [*MS. burned*]ncil of their own, next month—and they [*MS. burned*] of Six Nation Warriors at Venango [*MS. burned*] in their suspicions—that we want to [*MS. burned*] Some of the lower Shawan [*MS. burned*] that the Tribes living on the Ouabache seem [*MS. burned*] incensed against the English, for having fixed [*MS. burned*] their Country, and threaten to plunder next sp[*MS. burned*] the Indians that went with M<sup>r</sup> Phyn, and are [*MS. burned*] confirm the Account the Shawanese gave me, an [*MS. burned*] these Accounts prove true, the communication [*MS. burned*] Ohio will be shut up.

I have nothing more at present to infor[*MS. burned*] but that most of the Shawnese and Delaware [*MS. burned*] are here,—and propose waiting hereabouts to see [*MS. burned*] they say, they will

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice, see Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (*I.H.C.*, 10), 418 n.

stay till the Middle of Ma[*MS. burned*] then they say, they must attend their own meet [*MS. burned*] Western Nations.

I am, Sir [*MS. burned*]

JOHNSON TO GAGE, February 18, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:21—Draft]

JOHNSON—HALL Feby 18<sup>th</sup> 1768.

D<sup>R</sup> SIR/

Your favor of the 31st ult<sup>o</sup> arrived here whilst I laboured under an attack of my old disorder which prevented me from answering it 'till now,—two, or three days before, I received a Letter from L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> Penn with an accot of his proceed<sup>s</sup> in Indian Affairs together with the particulars of the barbarous Murder committed by Fredk Stump as mentioned in your Letter which I consider as one of the most dangerous accidents that could have happened at this period and I much fear that the Lawless Gentry on the frontiers will render it worse by Screening the Murderer, or contributing to his Escape. The Effects of this additional act of Cruelty may better be foreseen than prevented, The Indians of Onoghquagey<sup>1</sup> have already wrote to me upon it, in Consequence of belts sent thro' the Six Nations with the News, and they say that some of their people, the Tuscaroras who were hunting in that Country are withheld from Returning by the White people least the News should be too soon propagated, in consequence of which they are very uneasy and desire a pass to fetch them away, this detention of these Indians as it will doubtless be misinterpreted by the Confederacy will increase their resentment, and the Indians Justly remark in their Letter that altho' the Affair may be "Smoothed over in Council, their minds cannot be healed in the present disposition they are."

I wish the Establishments of the Governments you mention may not make things much worse, as I have reason to fear they will, I have often observed that nothing of that kind could be undertaken, with due regard to Policy until all prejudices were removed, a firm Tranquility Established and the Indians previously consulted

<sup>1</sup> An Iroquois village. *Handbook of American Indians* (Hodge ed.), pt. 2, p. 142.

thereon,—The Very report of the Intended Colony on Ohio advertised by Lieut Webb, was made a Considerable Cause of the late Indian War, and the Indians have already heard of these Intended Governm<sup>ts</sup> under the most unfavorable Circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] Feby 18<sup>th</sup> 1768 To General Gage

BUTRICKE TO BARNSLEY, February 19, 1768

[*Historical Magazine*, 8:258]

We have no kind of news at present but that of Miss Hannah Boyts' marriage to Mr. Dean, merchant, which I am much pleased with for particular Reasons, you know.

We in the Barrack are just as when you was in town, mostly in a Blaze with the fumes of that Dear friend Madiera, which seems to steal on them very powerfully, and very often makes the whole Barr<sup>k</sup>, as it were, a Hell indeed.

HALDIMAND TO GAGE, February 25, 1768

[Add. MSS. 21.663 f. 196—C.]

PENSACOLA le 25<sup>e</sup> feve<sup>e</sup> 1768

Live Ock

MONSIEUR

Il y a quelques jours que M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye (un ancien Cap<sup>t</sup> françois qui fut employé par Mess<sup>rs</sup> les Gouv<sup>r</sup> Johnston, Farmar & Stuart, du Consentem<sup>t</sup> de Mess<sup>rs</sup> La Badie & D'Aubry, pour faire la paix avec les Sauvages, & facillitter la prise de pocession des Illinois)

[*Translation*]

PENSACOLA, Feb. 25, 1768

Live Oak

SIR:

It is several days since M. De la Gauterais (a former French Captain who was employed by Governor Johnston and MM. Farmar and Stuart, with the consent of MM. Labadie and d'Aubry, to make peace with the savages and to facilitate the taking possession of

<sup>1</sup> Sections concerning drafts of Lieutenant Roberts and Major Rogers are omitted.

vient me presenter une Lettre de M<sup>r</sup> Stuart le Sur Intendant, p<sup>r</sup> etre payé d'un restant de Conte qui lui est deu depuis trois années. N'ayant aucune Idée de ces Affaires la, je me suis informé de M<sup>r</sup> Charles Stuart qui fut envoyé avec M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye à la N. Orlean p<sup>r</sup> preparer son Expedition, & j'ay fait examiner ces Contes par M<sup>r</sup> le Maj. Chisholm & deux Cap<sup>u</sup> & a qui ils paroissent justes; & je ne puis attribuer le retard de la balance qui lui reste due, qu'aux Brouillaries qui ont subsisté entre Mess<sup>rs</sup> Johnston & Farmer; Au retour de ce dernier des Illinois à la N. Orlean; M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye le pria beaucoup de vouloir examiner ce conte, & d'en acquittér le solde & après plusieurs instances ils en comēcerent l'examen en presence de deux Marchands; Mais après quelques jours de Travail M<sup>r</sup> Farmer lui dit qu'il ne pouvoit n'en finir, sans que M<sup>r</sup> Sinnot ne fut present, la dessus M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye crut devoir envoyer les Contes à M<sup>r</sup> le G: Johnston en se plaignant du retard qu'on lui faisoit essuyér; Mais ne recevant point de reponce, il en envoya une autre copie à M<sup>r</sup> Clifton

[*Translation*]

the Illinois)<sup>1</sup> came to present to me a letter from M. Stuart the superintendent, in order that he might be paid the balance of account which had been due him for three years. Having no knowledge of this business, I made inquiries of M. Charles Stuart, who was sent with M. De la Gauterais to New Orleans in order to prepare his expedition, and I had these accounts examined by Major Chisholm and two Captains, to whom they appeared just; and I can attribute the holding back of the balance which remains due him only to the variances which exist between MM. Johnston and Farmer. On the return of the latter from the Illinois to New Orleans, M. De la Gauterais often asked him to please examine this account and to discharge the debt, and after several solicitations they began the examination of it in the presence of two merchants; but after several days' work, M. Farmer told him that he could not make an end of it unless M. Sinnot was present. Thereupon M. De la Gauterais believed that he ought to send the accounts to Governor Johnston, complaining of the delay which he had been made to undergo; but not receiving any reply whatever, he sent another copy to M. Clifton, the Attorney

<sup>1</sup> See Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I.H.C. 10), 405 ff.

le Procureur General, pour le prier de les examiner & lui faire rendre justice, Celui cy dans l'Intervalle fut demis de son Employ par M<sup>r</sup> le Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnston, & passa a Londres sans repondre à M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye; sur quoy il en envoya une Troisième Copie à M<sup>r</sup> Stuart le Sur Intendant; & ne recevant encorre de reponce; parce qu'ils avoient été envoyés a Londres par Meprise; On lui Conseilla enfin de s'adresser en droiturre a V: Ex: ; & ce n'est qu'après cette derniere demarche qu'il a enfin reçu une reponce; M<sup>r</sup> Stuart ayant tire hors de son Grand Conte les Articles qui regardent son Departem<sup>t</sup>, ordonne a son Deputte icy de lui en payer la balance, & le renvoye a Moy pour le payement des Articles qui regardent le Millitaire:

Il est facheux p<sup>r</sup> ce M<sup>r</sup> au lieu des recompences qu'il se flattoit d'optenir pour des services réels, qu'il a rendus, & les dangers qu'il a essuie, de se voir privé cy longtemps d'un argent qu'il a debourcé pour le Service du Roy; & qu'on l'a obligé de payer en partie par des arrest du Conseil de la N. Orlean.

[*Translation*]

General, to ask him to examine them and to cause justice to be done to him. The latter in the interval was dismissed from his post by Governor Johnston, and crossed over to London without replying to M. De la Gauterais; whereupon he sent a third copy of his letter to M. Stuart, the superintendent, again receiving no response, because the letter was sent to London by mistake. He was finally advised to address himself directly to Your Excellency; and it was only after this last measure that he finally received a response; M. Stuart, having drawn from his general account the items which pertain to his department, ordered his deputy here to pay M. De la Gauterais his balance, and sent him to me for the payment of the items pertaining to the military.

It is vexatious for this gentleman, in place of the recompense which he hoped to receive for the real services that he rendered, to see himself deprived for so long a time of a sum which had been disbursed for the service of the King, and which he had been obliged to pay in part by the orders of the Council of New Orleans.

M. Charles Stuart and every one of any note in New Orleans gave a very strong testimonial to M. De la Gauterais and pitied his lot.

M<sup>r</sup> Ch: Stuart & tous les personnes de quelques Conciderations de la N. Orlean, donnent un très bon Themoignage à M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye, & plaignent son sort. Je joins icy la Lettre que M<sup>r</sup> D'Aubry mecrit a son sujet; Les Esctremittés pour les quelles il a passé charge d'une femme infirme & d'une famille, qui n'ont dautre soutient que lui; merittent la concideration de V: Ex: pour qu'Elle ordonne le remboursement de ce qui lui est deu; dailleurs après les promesses qu'on lui a faittes, & les succes qu'il a eu dans sa Negotiation; il paroît avoir droit a quelques recompenses, & M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye par l'Influence qu'il à parmis les Sauvages & l'art qu'il a de savoir les menager; peût nous être tres utile, & sera dautant plus attaché au service du Roy; qu'il est bien né, & qu'il à une famille, pour la quelle il faut qu'il forme une ressource parmis nous, ayant refusé le Comandement de la partie que les Espagnols possèdent opposé aux Illinois que M<sup>r</sup> D'Ulloa lui offrit a son arrivée dans ce Pays & qu'il refusat, parce qu'il avait déjà pretté serment de fidelitte a S: M: Britanique; & peût hetre aussi dans la crainte de perdre ce qu'il lui etoit deu.

[*Translation*]

I am enclosing herewith the letter that M. d'Aubry wrote me on his account. The extremities through which he has passed, burdened with a sick wife and with a family who have no other support than him, merit the consideration of Your Excellency, that you may order the reimbursement of that which is due him. Besides, after the promises which were made him, and the success which he has had in his negotiation, he appears to have a right to some recompense; and M. De la Gauterais, by the influence which he has among the savages and the art which he has of knowing how to manage them, can be very useful to us, and will be more than ever attached to the service of the King. Further, he is well born, and he has a family for which it is necessary that he find a way of making a living among us, having refused the post of commandant of the district that the Spanish own opposite the Illinois, which M. d'Ulloa offered him on his arrival in this country, which he refused because he had already taken the oath of allegiance to his Brittanic Majesty, and perhaps also in the fear of losing what was due him.

Les Depredations Continuelles des Sauvages Chacktoues des six Villages, qui chassent & frequentent Continuellem<sup>t</sup> les environs des Lacs Pon Chartrain & Maurepas; ou ils pillent les habitants, tuent leurs Bestiaux, & introduisent les traitteurs francois dans leur Pays, exigent qu'on aye quelqu'un de Confiance & d'autoritte parmis eux qui repriment leurs desordres; & me persuadant avec M<sup>r</sup> C: Stuart que personne nest plus en Etat de remplir ce But que M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye; J'ay engagé M<sup>r</sup> Stuart à le nomer Coñmissaire pour cette partie la; J espère M<sup>r</sup> que vous voudres bien approuver cette demarche, j'en ecris au Sur Intendant, qui je pense se trouvera fort heureux de faire cette acquisition. Cette partie du District par sa proximitté avec la N. Orlean, & les ancennes liaisons qui subsistent entre les francois & les sauvages, demande une persone resolve qui connoisse la carte du Pays, & puisse veiller aux Interrest de la Nation; il partira sous peû de jours pour ces Cottes la, pour avertir encorre tous les francois, de se retirer; & pour demandér Sattisfaction aux Sauvages pour avoir pille dernierem<sup>t</sup> deux familles qui sont etablies

[*Translation*]

The continual depredations of the Choctaw Indians of the six villages—who hunt in and continually frequent the neighborhood of lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, where they plunder the inhabitants, kill their animals, and introduce French traders into their country—require that there should be some one of confidence and authority among them who may repress their disorders; and being persuaded, with M. C. Stuart, that no one is more capable of accomplishing that end than M. De la Gauterais, I urged M. Stuart to appoint him Commissioner for that district. I hope, sir, that you will be willing to approve this measure; I am writing about it to the superintendent, who I think will be very happy to make this acquisition. That part of the district, by its proximity to New Orleans and because of the former connections which existed between the French and the savages, demands a resolute person who knows the map of the country, and can have an eye to the interests of the nation. He will leave in a few days for those parts, in order to warn again all the French to withdraw, and to demand satisfaction from the savages for having plundered recently two families who are settled at Biloxi and



au Billoxi, & avoir tue leurs Bestiaux, & je saisi-ray cette occasion pour prier encorre M<sup>r</sup> D'Aubry de faire publier à la N: Orlean que tous les traitteurs françois qui seront trouvés de notre Cotté des Lacs seront conduits Prisonniers icy;

Je joins icy le rapport qui Ma été fait de l'Examen des Conts de M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye, M<sup>r</sup> Farmer (& M<sup>r</sup> Stuart qui etoit present) n'a pûe objecter sur l'employ daucun des Articles que M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye n'aye eclaircy sur le Champ en presence de ces Mess<sup>rs</sup>; il ne disconvient pas qu'il ne soit deu à M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye Mais il se retranche par dirre qu'il ne lui à pas donne le pouvoir de faire de la depense, & que lui même na plus le pouvoir de tirer pour de l'argent sans un ordre particullier; si des raisons comẽ celles la peuvent priver une Personne (dont la reputation paroît etablie) du remboursement des fraix aux quels la necessitté de des temps, & le bien du service lont obligé; On trouveroit peu d'honnêtes gens qui voulussent se charger de Coñmissions un peu difficilles; ces Circonstances; celles ou M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye se trouve; & le Lettre que M<sup>r</sup> Stuart lui ecrit; me font esperer M<sup>r</sup>

[*Translation*]

killed their cattle and I shall seize this occasion in order to urge again M. d'Aubry to have published at New Orleans that all the French traders who may be found on our side of the lakes will be brought prisoners here.

I am enclosing herewith the report which was made me of the examination of the accounts of M. De la Gauterais; M. Farmar (and M. Stuart, who was present) was not able to object to the entry of any of the items which M. De la Gauterais did not explain immediately in the presence of these gentlemen: he could not deny that it was due M. De la Gauterais; but he qualified by saying that he had not given him the right to make expenditures, and that he himself had no power to draw money without a specific order. If reasons like these can deprive a person (whose reputation appears established) of reimbursement of expenses to which the necessity of the times and the good of the service bound him, few honest folk would be found who would be willing to assume commissions that were a little difficult; these circumstances, those in which M. De la Gauterais finds himself, and the letter which M. Stuart wrote him, make me hope, sir, that

que vous approvouerez que je lui fasse payer une partie de ce que lui est deû; jusques a ce que je reçoive vos ordres pour le reste, & j'écriray à M<sup>r</sup> d'Aubry, dans des termes qui tranquilliseront sa famille, & les Créanciers; & le mettroit en Etat de pouvoir traiter immediatement pour nous.

J'ay l'hon: d'être &c.

N. B. Je feray payer 4 ou 500 piastes à M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye à Conte de ce qui lui est deu;

A tous les Papiers que contiennent ce Paquet, Je joins une Lettre de M<sup>r</sup> Louys Perret, que j'ay connu aux trois Rivières comē un tres honnet hoīne; & qui se donne toutes les penes possibles, pour faire subsister six Enfants qui ont perdu leurs mere fort jeunes; si V: Ex: peut lui rendre service, ce sera une bonne action que je crois veritablement qu'il mérite.

[*No Endorsement.*]

[*N. B. The name of the person to whom this letter is written is omitted.*]

[*Translation*]

you will approve my paying him a part of what is due him, until I receive your orders for the balance; and I shall write to M. d'Aubry, in terms which will put his family and his creditors at ease, and will put him in a position of being able to negotiate immediately for us.

I have the honor to be, etc.

P. S. I shall have M. De la Gauterais paid four or five hundred piasters on account of what is due him.

To all the papers which this packet contains, I am adding a letter from M. Louis Perret, whom I knew at Three Rivers as a very honest man, and who is making all possible efforts to earn a living for his six children, who lost their mother while very young; if your excellency can render him a service, it will be a good action which I truly believe he merits.

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, March 1, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:29—A. L. S.]

PHILL<sup>A</sup> March the 1<sup>st</sup> 1768

DEER SIR

Sence I Wrote you Last by Express a Servant of M<sup>r</sup> Whartons from Fort pitt brought Me two Letters & two packets of Acounts

& vouchers from Co<sup>ll</sup> Cole which I have Examined & find properly Certify<sup>d</sup> by Co<sup>ll</sup> Read amounting to neer £11000 p<sup>ds</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Cole Drue a Bill on Me fer the amount w<sup>h</sup> I Did Nott Chuse to accept Butt tould M<sup>r</sup> Wharton I wold Send the Acounts & vouchers to y<sup>r</sup> honor & Request you to Send them an order on his Excelancy fer the Mony M<sup>r</sup> Wharton preposed to Send an Express att his Expence therefore I agreed to itt I blive they are in Great Want of Mony and will Write you by thire Express.

I find by Co<sup>ll</sup> Coles Leters that he is Nott well plesed with Receiveing any Instructions from y<sup>r</sup> honor threw My hands and I blive when you perruse his Leters you will be of my opinion & I Can aShure you when I Wrote him Last Sumer by y<sup>r</sup> honours orders I Did itt with Great Causion & Respect tho I find he has Taken itt aMiss its True I Did Inform him that the Ginerall thought his Last March Acounts very High & beg<sup>d</sup> of him to Lesen the Expence fer the futer if posable w<sup>h</sup> I think I had in Charge from your honour.

I Must therefere Request the feaver of you what Ever orders you May have to Send Co<sup>ll</sup> Cole for the futer that you will Write him your Self as I Blive he thinks I am Makeing Myself too busey in his Depertment.

I Sent to Co<sup>ll</sup> Cole one Barnay Boner and Boner and his Man two Gunsmiths by y<sup>r</sup> honers orders and thire tould follow<sup>d</sup> them Last Sumer tho Co<sup>ll</sup> Cole Complains they were Nott aRived and I observe that Co<sup>ll</sup> Cole has Nott Made any Charge in his acounts fer thire Salery w<sup>h</sup> was to be £100 Ster<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> anum So that unless your Honer will ad thire pay to M<sup>r</sup> Coles abstract I Supose I Must Louse the Mony as I am ingag<sup>d</sup> fer itt if y<sup>r</sup> honer think itt will be Regular to att thire pay plese to order itt into M<sup>r</sup> Whartons hands with the Rest.

I have Received a Leter from M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kee a Copy of w<sup>h</sup> I inclose you by w<sup>h</sup> you will See what a Noise the Murder & Scalping the Ten Indians by Stump & Servant has Made to the Westwerd I Raly begin to fear the Consequence. the Dallaway & Shannas I know to be a proud & hasty pople Rash & Inconsideratt whare they aperehend themselves Insulted and thire is No prospect of this Goverment being able to give them thet Satisfaction w<sup>h</sup> Might Convince them that this Murder was Nott Committed with Desine fer the

perbetraters of itt is Nott Likely to be brought to Justus, and I fear itt will Nott be a Small Expence that will Make them an attonment in presents.

I Expect your honors orders very Soon to go to fort pitt and am att a Loss how to act, I am Sencable on this ocation if I am to Call the Indians together they will bring as Great a Number as they posably Can unless they Determine to attend a Meeting of thire own which they Cartainly have in agitation & if that Meeting Takes place I fair Hostilitys will be the Consequences.

the Expence of y<sup>r</sup> honors Depertment att the Diferant posts has been So High that I am Determind to Make None on my part Butt Such as you & the Ginerall thinks absoulatly Nesery & unavoidable and Requist orders on that Head by the Return of this Express and Instructions fer My Conduct & in purticklor what I am to Do Should thire own meeting Take place before I gett to Fort pitt.

after I parted your honor Last fall after our Return from the New England bath I Ingag<sup>d</sup> G: franklin Gov Penn M<sup>r</sup> peters & M<sup>r</sup> Gallaway & others to Write to thire frends in England to use thire Intrest with the Ministrey to adopt the Ginerall boundry & Send y<sup>r</sup> honour orders to Confirm & Ratifye itt. w<sup>h</sup> they have Don<sup>t</sup> Lord Shelburn agrees & See the utility of itt So Dose Lord Clair (with this objection that he Dose nott know where the mony will Come from to pay the Expence as he Says itt may Cost £100.000 p<sup>as</sup>) they have hunted all the offises & Cant find one Leter from y<sup>r</sup> honor that Menshons one word about itt. Lord Shelburn Says had you Recom-mended itt in any of y<sup>r</sup> Leters that orders wold have been Sent you by the Decem<sup>br</sup> packitt. Inclos<sup>d</sup> I send you abstracts of two Leters from old M<sup>r</sup>. franklin to M<sup>r</sup> Gallaway & M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Wharton on the Subject Shurly M<sup>r</sup> Pownal Could Nott have Supresst y<sup>r</sup> Leters I know he Neaver was fond of the plan.

I am Sir with Great Respect y<sup>r</sup> honors Most obedient & Most Humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN

TO THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Barr<sup>t</sup>

PS: I aply<sup>d</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Peters & Requested he wold Consult Governor Penn & fix the Sume w<sup>h</sup> they preposed to pay the Six Nations

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 119-120.

for the Lands which the Conistoga Indians Lived on when the Ware Murdred as your honor Desierd Butt have Nott had any answer on that Head therefore I suppose they have or will write you on the Subject themselves.

G: C:

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia March 1<sup>st</sup> 1768 M<sup>r</sup> Croghans Letter 39  
Express rec<sup>d</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> Ans<sup>rd</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1768

BAYNTON TO RUMSEY, March 1, 1768  
[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Ohio Company, 1:53]  
PHILAD<sup>A</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup> 1768

DEAR MR RUMSEY

Your very affectionate Letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> & 23<sup>rd</sup> Fb<sup>r</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>, I have hardly Time to reple to, as the Express by whom this comes must positively be at Pittsburgh by the Tenth Instant at farthest—For Reasons that M<sup>r</sup> Morgan will fully inform you of—The inexpressible Fatigues that you have undergone with the Negroes, & Your prudent Management of them will do you honour, as long as the Facts can be remembered—And the whole of your Conduct respecting them from the Time you bought them at Jamaica, to your landing them at Kaskakia, has so endear'd you to me, that it will be my Ambition to promote your Interest, to the very utmost of my power, at all Times—And barring Fatalities, I shall soon have it in my power, to convince you of the reality of my Esteem & Love for you—The Farmers Losses are to be adjusted finally in May—The Inference You can make—A Civil Government will shortly take place at the Illinois—This you may relye on—I woul'd have you by all means my dear F<sup>d</sup> determine to tarry at the Illinois, One Year after you receive this—Something great in the Companys Affairs, will very probably arise, that may enable them to serve you, as they could Wish—Effectually—The joyous Acc<sup>t</sup> you give of your meeting with my Dear Son,<sup>2</sup> breathes the result of your Attachment to Him—May you forever continue to glow with the same Friendship for each other, that is so apparent in both of your Letters, to have subsisted between You—I most cordially rejoice at it—As hardly any Thing coul'd be

<sup>1</sup> These letters have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> George Morgan was Mr. Baynton's son-in-law.

more exhilarating to me—I have only one Request to ask of you, which is, that you will hereafter consider me, as your F<sup>d</sup> & one who is full as much indebted to you, as you are pleas'd to think you are to me—Then we are upon the Footing, of mutual Obligations—And in no other Manner, I must beg you would treat me—You are altogether worthy of my warmest Affections; & I count it a singular Felicity to have known M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey—And you may assure your Self, that I hold you very Dear to me—To convince you of which, will be a supreme Satisfaction to me—The Moments slide, & the Express cannot tarry, & obliges me to conclude abruptly—And am with the utmost Affection My Dear Rumsey—

Your unalterable F<sup>d</sup>

JOHN BAYNTON

P. S. M<sup>r</sup> Baynton, Molly, Hetty, & Betty &c desires to be affectionately remembred to you—

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, March 4, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.75, f. 57—E.]

Friday, March 4<sup>th</sup>

Present.

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Jenyns. M<sup>r</sup> Eliot.

M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert. M<sup>r</sup> Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]S GENERAL.—The Draught of a Representation to His Majesty upon the Subject of the Earl of Shelburne's Reference of the 5<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> last, was further considered, approved and ordered to be transcribed.

BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL, March 7, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 391.75, f. 58—E.]

Monday, March 7<sup>th</sup> 1768

Present.

Lord Clare.

M<sup>r</sup> Jenyns. M<sup>r</sup> Eliot.

M<sup>r</sup> Fitzherbert. M<sup>r</sup> Robinson.

PLAN[TATION]S GENERAL The following papers were signed, viz<sup>t</sup>:—

Representation to His Majesty upon the subject of the Earl of Shelburne's Reference of the 5<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup>, last, and a letter to Lord Hillsborough inclosing it.

LORDS OF TRADE TO HILLSBOROUGH, March 7, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.69, f. 115—L. S.]

WHITEHALL March 7. 1768.

MY LORD,

In obedience to His Majesty's Commands, signified to us by the Earl of Shelburne in his Lordship's Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of October last, that we should report Our Opinion upon several Memorials, Letters, and Papers, relative to the General State of Indian Affairs, and to the Establishment of certain Posts and Colonies in the interior part of the Continent of North America; We have prepared and herewith transmit to your Lordship our humble Representations there upon.

We are, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servants,

CLARE

SOAME JENYNS

ED ELIOT

WM FITZHERBERT

EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

[*Endorsed:*] Whitehall March 7<sup>th</sup>: 1768 Lords of Trade R 8th March.

REPRESENTATION OF LORDS OF TRADE ON THE STATE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, March 7, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.69, f. 119—D. S.]

(seal)

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

In obedience to Your Majesty's Commands signified to us by a Letter from the Earl of Shelburne, one of Your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of October last,<sup>2</sup> we have taken into our most serious Consideration the several Memorials, Letters, and other Papers therewith referred to us, containing Objections to, and

<sup>1</sup> Printed with incorrect date, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:19 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed, *ante*, 77.

Observations upon the present Plan for the Management of Our Commerce and Connexions with the Indians in North America; stating the great Expense attending as well that Branch of Service, as the present disposition of the Troops for Indian Purposes, and urging the expediency and propriety, in various Lights, of establishing certain new Governments upon the Mississippi, the Ohio and at the Detroit, between the Lakes Erie and Huron: We have also conferred, upon this Occasion, with such of Your Majesty's Military Servants, as have been employed in North America, and with such Merchants and others, as are most intelligent in the North American and Indian Trade.

Whereupon we humbly beg leave to represent to Your Majesty, That the Subject Matter, to which these Papers refer, and the Questions arising thereupon, stated to us in the Earle of Shelburne's letter, appear to us to lead to a consideration of no less Consequence and importance, than what System it may be now proper for Your Majesty to pursue, with respect to that vast and extensive Country in North America, which, on Account of the Indian War raging within it, was made by the Proclamation of the 7<sup>th</sup> of Octob<sup>r</sup> 1763, the Object of mere provisional Arrangement.

The Advantages, resulting from the Treaty of Paris, are in no part of it more distinguished than in those Stipulations, which, by obtaining from France and Spain Cessions to your Majesty of those important Possessions in North America, which, by their Situation, gave most Alarm and Annoyance to the British Colonies, laid the foundation of lasting Security to Your Majesty's Empire in North America, and of relief to this Country by a reduction of that heavy Expense, with which it was necessarily burthen'd for the defence and protection of those Colonies; And, although the unfavourable Impressions left upon the Minds of the Indians by the Event of the War, and the Representations of the French, that we meant to extirpate them, did for sometime involve us in a War with them, that rendered necessary the Continuance of a large Military Establishment; Yet, that War being happily ended, and Treaties of Peace and Friendship, to which all the various Tribes have acceded, having been finally concluded, it is now become of immediate importance to



examine, how far the Alteration, which has thus taken place in the State of Your Majesty's Dominion in North America, may require or admit of any proportionable Alteration in the System, by which that part of your Majesty's Service is to be carried on for the future.

The Parts of the Service, for which we are more immediately called upon by the Earl of Shelburne's Letter to give our Attention, are, First, The present Civil Establishment regarding the Indians. Secondly—The Disposition of the Troops for Indian Purposes; and lastly, the Establishment of certain new Colonies.

With respect to the first of these Points, we are directed to state our Opinion, how far the present Expense of the Civil Establishment regarding the Indians may with Safety and Propriety be reduced, by entrusting the Indian Trade, and all other Indian Affairs to the Management of the several Colonies.

In considering this Question it may be proper to observe, that the Institution of Superintendants<sup>1</sup> for the Affairs of Indians appears to have been a Measure originally adopted principally with a view to counteract the Designs of the French in 1754, who by sowing the Seeds of Jealousy amongst the Indians, and exciting them to resent Injuries, for redress of which they had in vain solicited the Colonies, had well nigh entirely weaned them from the British Interest; and at the same time by uniting the force and conducting the Enterprizes of the Savages, had rendered them Over match for your Majesty's Colonies, standing single and disunited.

In order therefore to balance the Danger arising from this more immediate Union and Co-operation of the French with the Indians it became necessary to provide a more Systematical as well as more extensive plan of defence for the Colonies than had before been requisite; a Plan, which might bear some Proportion to the extent of the Efforts then made by their Enemies, and which, having for it's Object the preservation of all Your Majesty's Colonies from the common Danger, could no otherwise be administred with Safety, or with Effect, than under the immediate Controul of their common Sovereign & Protector: and the Utility of such a Plan, under those Circumstances, was soon manifested by it's Consequences, and by the

<sup>1</sup> General superintendents were appointed in 1756 as the result of the assumption of the control of Indian affairs by the crown in 1755. Consult *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:26, 35, 211.

Share it had in contributing to that Success, which ever after attended the British Arms in America.

From the slight View of the original Causes of the institution of Superintendants, and of the Consequence it produced, it cannot but appear evident, that every Objection both to the expense and difficulty in execution was answered by the Necessity of the Case, and the importance of the Object; but should it appear to your Majesty, that the Alteration in the State of America, since the Peace, has rendered the Measure less necessary at least in it's full extent, every consideration both of expense, and of Difficulty in the execution, must now be carefully attended to, before a right Judgement can be formed, as to the expediency of continuing either the whole or any part of it.<sup>1</sup>

To maintain a good Correspondence with the Indians is undoubtedly an Object of great Importance: and upon a carefull Examination into the State of Indian Affairs after the Conclusion of Peace, it appears, that the two principal Causes of the Discontent, that still rankled in the Minds of the Indians and influenced their Conduct, were the Encroachments made upon Lands which they claimed as their Property, and the Abuses committed by Indian Traders and their Servants;<sup>2</sup> The Necessity which appeared in the then state of our Interest with the Indians of making some immediate provisions against these Two Causes of their Discontent, induced the Proclamation of October 1763;<sup>3</sup> which very prudently restrained all persons from Trading with the Indians without Licence; and forbid, by the strongest prohibitions, all Settlement beyond the Limits therein described as the Boundary of the Indian hunting Ground, putting both their Commerce and Property under the protection of Officers here acting under Your Majesty's immediate Authority, and making their Intervention necessary in every Transaction with those Indians.

These however being, as we have before observed, mere provisional Arrangements, adapted to the Exigence of the time, it is

<sup>1</sup> This is a forecast of the action taken in the same year in partially abandoning the general plan of imperial management by transferring the control of Indian trade to the colonies. Consult index.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Johnson's letters contain repeated references to these same causes for discontent. Many of his communications are printed in these volumes.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I.H.C., 10), 39-45.

become now necessary to consider, what may be more permanently requisite in both the Cases to which they apply.

The giving all possible redress to the Complaints of the Indians in respect to Encroachments on their Lands, and a steady and uniform Attention to a faithful execution of whatever shall be agreed upon for that salutary purpose, is a Consideration of very great Importance: It is a Service of a general Nature, in which Your Majesty's Interest, as Lord of the Soil of all ungranted Lands which the Indians may be inclined to give up, is deeply and immediately concerned, and with which the general Security of your Majesty's Possessions there is in some Measure connected; it is an Object comprehensive of a variety of Cases, to which the separate Authority and Jurisdiction of the respective Colonies is not competent, and it depends upon Negotiation, which has always been carried on between Indians and Officers acting under Your Majesty's immediate Authority, and has reference to Matters, which the Indians would not submit to the Discussion of particular Colonies.

For these Reasons we are of Opinion, that the execution of all Measures and Services respecting the Complaints of the Indians touching their Lands, should be continued to be entrusted to the Superintendants at present acting under Commission from Your Majesty, reserving to the Governor and Council of every particular Colony, which may be interested in any Measure that has reference to this general Service, a right to interpose their Advice, and making their Concurrence necessary to the Ratification of every Compact, that shall be provisionally made, until Your Majesty's Pleasure shall be known upon it.

In a plan for the management of Indian Affairs prepared by this Board in 1764,<sup>1</sup> the fixing a Boundary between the Settlements of your Majesty's Subjects and the Indian Country was proposed to be established by Compact with the Indians, as essentially necessary to the gaining their good will and affection, and to preserving the Tranquility of the Colonies.

This Plan having been communicated to the Superintendants, they have, in the consequence thereof, made the Proposition of such a

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Alvord and Carter *The Critical Period* (I.H.C., 10), 273-281.

Boundary Line an object of their particular Attention, & of Negotiation and Discussion with the several Tribes of Indians interested therein.<sup>1</sup>

In the southern district a Boundary line has not only been established by actual Treaties with the Creeks, Cherokees and Chactaws, but has also, as far as relates to the Provinces of North and South Carolina, been marked out by actual Surveys, and has had the happy effect to restore Peace and Quiet to those Colonies.

In the Northern District the Proposition appears to have been received by the Indians with the strongest Marks of Approbation and satisfaction; and a Line of separation was in 1765 suggested by them, in which Sir William Johnson acquiesced, declaring at the same time, that he could not finally ratify it without Your Majesty's further directions.

The Paper (Appendix A)<sup>2</sup> contains a description of the several Lines as agreed upon in the Negotiations to which we refer; and, to the end Your Majesty may have a more perfect view of them, We have annexed to such description a Map,<sup>3</sup> in which we have endeavoured to trace those lines out, with as much accuracy as the general Maps of America will admit of.

Your Majesty will be pleased to observe, that, although on the one hand the Settlements in the new established Colonies to the South are confined to very narrow limits; yet on the other hand the middle Colonies (whose state of population requires a greater extent) have room to spread much beyond what they have hitherto been allowed; and that upon the whole one uniform and complete line will be formed between the Indians and those ancient Colonies, whose Limits not being confined to the Westward have occasioned that extensive Settlement, which, being made without the Consent of the Indians, and before any line was settled, produced the Evil complained of.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the attitude of the British ministry toward the establishment of a boundary line, see Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2:61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This is not printed here. It will be found in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:31 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Printed *ibid.*

In comparing the Map with the description in writing as taken from the Treaties with the Indians, Your Majesty will observe, that the Boundary Line with the six Nations and their Allies is made upon the Map to terminate at that part of the Ohio, where it receives the Connahway River, instead of continuing it down the Ohio to the Cherokee River, and up that River to it's Source, as described in the Treaty; the reason for which is, that although the six Nations may have pretensions to the Dominion of the Country on the south side of the Ohio lower down than the Connahway River; yet in fact it is more occupied by the Cherokees and other independent Tribes, as their hunting Ground; and therefore the making any Settlements beyond the Connahway River, or at least beyond a line drawn from the Mouth of it, to where the Cherokee line now terminates, as marked on the Map, would be altogether inconsistent with what has been settled and agreed upon with that Nation; for which reason we think, that the line settled with the Southern Indians, and that, which remains to be settled with the six Nations, ought to be united in the manner We have described.

Upon the whole it does appear to us, that it will be greatly for Your Majesty's Interest as well as for the Peace, Security and Advantage of the Colonies, that this Boundary line should as speedily as possible, be ratified by Your Majesty's Authority, and that the Superintendants should be instructed and impowered to make Treaties in Your Majesty's Name with the Indians for that purpose, and enabled to make such Presents to the Indians as the Nature and Extent of the Concessions on their part shall appear to require; Care however should be taken in the Settlement of this Business, that the Agreement for a Boundary line be left open to such Alterations, as, by the common Consent, and for the mutual Interests of both Parties, may hereafter be found necessary & expedient.

If Your Majesty should be graciously pleased to approve what We have here recommended, We humbly submit, whether it may not be further necessary, that the Colonies should be required to give every Sanction to the measure in their power, and to provide by proper Laws for the punishment of all Persons, who shall endanger

the publick peace of the Community, by extending Settlements or occupying Lands beyond such Line.

What We have above stated in respect to the expediency of continuing the Office of Superintendants is confined merely to Negotiation with the Indians concerning the Boundary line; But we humbly submit, that there are other Branches of Duty and Service, which, though they be of less urgency, yet do, both from their Nature and Importance, require the intervention of Officers acting under Your Majesty's immediate Authority; and which, as they have reference to the general Interests of the Indians, independent of their Connection with any particular Colony, cannot be provided for by the Provincial Laws; Such are the renewal of antient Compacts or Covenant-Chains made between the Crown and the principal Tribes of Savages in that Country; the reconciling Differences and Disputes between one body of Indians and another; the agreeing with them for the sale or Surrender of Lands for publick purposes not lying within the limits of any particular Colony; and the holding Interviews with them for these and a variety of other general Purposes, which are merely Objects of Negotiation between Your Majesty and the Indians.

These, may it please Your Majesty, are in our Judgment Services of great Importance, and to which it is essentially necessary, for the preservation of the British Interest with those Indians, and for preventing all foreign Influence and Connection, that strict Attention should be paid.

Antecedent to the Establishment of the present Plan of Superintendants, the Management of these Interests was entrusted to the Governors of those Colonies, which were principally connected with the Indians, but when we consider the dependent State of such Governors; that the other Duties of their Station must interfere with this very important one; how greatly the Objects of this Service are increased by Alliances with those numerous Nations heretofore under the Dominion of France; and how necessary it is, that a constant Watch should be kept upon their Motions and Designs; and that Your Majesty's Servants should be constantly and regularly informed of the true State of Affairs; and of all Transactions in the Indian Country; We cannot but be of Opinion, that these are Reasons,

which, joined to what We have already stated, do make it essentially necessary, that the Office of Superintendants should for the present be continued for these purposes; and that they should be enabled by stated annual Establishment, confined to a certain Sum, to make such Presents as have been usual & customary; and therefore are become absolutely necessary upon all Occasions of Treaties held with the Indians for publick purposes; the Expence of which, including Salaries to the two Superintendants, need not, according to the Calculations and Estimates made by them, exceed Eight Thousand Pounds annually.

Having thus fully stated to Your Majesty the Nature & Extent of those Services, which relate to the Management of Indian Affairs, independent of the Trade with them; we shall in the next place submit what has occurred to Us upon the latter subject.

It must be admitted, that a proper Plan of Trade with the Indians is an object deserving great attention, not only from the Commercial benefit resulting from it, but also from the effect that it's being ill or well governed must have upon the temper, & disposition of the Savages; and as it must consist of Regulations, that depend upon local situation and Circumstances, and which require the authority of law to carry them into Execution, it cannot be conducted with the same facility, or be properly and effectually controlled by Officers having no other authority, than what they derive from Your Majesty's Commission.

Upon the fullest examination into the effect and operation of the several propositions respecting the Indian Trade, suggested by this Board in 1764, and adopted by the Superintendants, it does appear to us, that many of them have, in particular cases, and with respect to particular bodies of Indians, been attended with salutary effect; We are convinced however upon the whole of this Consideration,

First, That no general Plan of Commerce & Policy is or can be applicable to all the different Nations of Indians, of different Interests, and in different Situations.

Secondly, That the confining Trade to certain Posts & Places, which is the spirit & principle of the present System, however

expedient & effectual with respect to the Southern Indians,<sup>1</sup> is of doubtfull Policy with respect to those Indians more particularly connected with New York & Pennsylvania; and that it is evidently disadvantageous, inconvenient, and even dangerous with respect to the much larger body of Indians, who possess the Country to the Westward, and with whom Your Majesty's Subjects in Quebec in particular do carry on so extensive a Commerce.

Thirdly, That, independent of this objection, and of any doubt that might attend the practicability of it's execution in it's full extent, the whole Plan does consist of such a Variety of Establishments, and necessarily leads to such extensive Operations, as to bring on an increasing expence, which, in point of Commerce, may exceed the Value of the object to which it applies, and being greater than the Trade can bear, must, if the present Plan should be permanent, either fall upon the Colonies, in which case it will be impracticable to settle the proportion each Colony should bear, or become a Burthen upon this Country, which, We humbly conceive, would be both unreasonable & highly inconvenient.

For these Reasons therefore and under these Circumstances, we are humbly of Opinion, that the laying aside that part of the present plan which relates to the Indian Trade, and intrusting the entire Management of that Trade to the Colonies themselves, will be of great Advantage to Your Majesty's Service, as a means of avoiding much difficulty, and saving much Expense both at present and in future.<sup>2</sup>

It is certainly true, that while the Management of this Trade was in the hands of the Colonies, antecedent to the Establishment of Superintendants, many Abuses were committed by the Traders, little Care was taken to subject them to proper Regulations, and the

<sup>1</sup> There was a different policy pursued in the northern and southern districts in the matter of fixing the trade. In the North the trade was confined to the posts but in the South it was allowed only in the towns belonging to the several tribes. This differentiation was necessitated because the northern Indians did not have the same settled habits as those of the South.

<sup>2</sup> This is the first formal recommendation to this effect made by the board of trade. For the official order, see Hillsborough to the several governors, April 15, 1768, *post*, 245.



Misconduct of the Colonies in this particular contributed not a little to involve us in the enormous Expences of an Indian War.

If therefore it were propable, that the like Neglect or Mismanagement would again take place, in such a degree as to expose Us to the same Consequences, We should not hesitate in declaring our Opinion against the Propriety of suffering the Management of this Concern ever to revert into the hands of the Colonies.

But we trust, that the Experience, which the old Colonies have had of the ill Effects of such inattention and neglect, will induce all of them to use more caution and better Management for the future; and particularly to adopt such of the Regulations established by the present Superintendants; as have evidently operated to the Benefit of the Trade, and to the giving that Satisfaction and Content to the Indians, from which alone the Colonies can hope to derive either immediate Profit, or lasting Peace and Security.

With respect to the Question, How far the present Expence, regarding the Disposition of Troops for Indian purposes, may with Propriety and Safety be lessened by reducing most of the Posts now subsisting and intrusting others of them to the Provinces themselves, we beg leave in the first Place in general to represent it to Your Majesty as our humble Opinion, that it will be in the highest Degree expedient to reduce all such Posts in the interior Country, as are not immediately Subservient to the Protection of the Indian Commerce, and to the defeating of French and Spanish Machinations among the Indians, or which, although in some degree usefull for these Purposes, cannot be maintained but at an Expence disproportioned to the Degree of their Utility.<sup>1</sup> But before we apply this Observation to the particular Posts now subsisting, it may be proper to take a cursory View of the Interests and Situations of the several Tribes or Bodies of Indians, whose Commerce and Connection are the Objects of whatever Establishments it may be thought necessary to continue.

The Indians included in the southern District consist principally of the Chactaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, the Chickasaws being reduced to a very inconsiderable Number, and the Catawbias in great

<sup>1</sup> Consult index for opinions of various officers as to the utility of the western posts.

Measure domiciliated within the Settlements of North Carolina; the Commerce and Connection with the Creeks and Cherokees have been, from the Situation of their Country principally confined to the British Colonies of Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, whilst the Commerce and Connection with the Chactaws whose Country extends from the Alabama River to the Mississippi, were for that reason altogether confined to the French Colony of Louisiana.

By the Treaty of Paris, France has renounced all Pretensions to dominion in the Chactaw Country, which is thereby become in respect to that Stipulation a part of the British Empire, and consequently all Trade and Intercourse between the Subjects of France or Spain in Louisiana and those Indians is, in fact, illicit and contraband; and yet it is evident from the Reports made by the Superintendant of the Southern District, that such Trade and Intercourse is still continued to be kept up to a very great Degree.

Such, may it please Your Majesty, is the State of Commerce and Connection with the principal Tribes of Indians in the Southern District; and as their Commerce both from Louisiana and the British Colonies is carried on through a great variety of Paths and Routs, and does not depend upon Rivers and Lakes, forming, as in the Northern District, the only passes into the Indian Country, it is evident, that both the Security and Extension of it must depend upon the Effect and Operation of those Regulations, under which it shall be carried on; and that neither the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects can be protected, nor the Connection and Intercourse between Louisiana and the Indians prevented by Forts, or military Establishments.<sup>1</sup>

In the northern District the principal Indians form themselves into two great Confederacies; the one composed of the Six Nations and their Allies and Dependants, the other, called the Western Confederacy, composed of a great Variety of powerfull Tribes, occupying that extensive Country, which lyes about the Lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior, and to the West and North West.

<sup>1</sup> This opinion was contrary to the recommendations of many officials stationed in the West, such as Forbes, Wilkins, Phyn, and others. General Gage and Sir William Johnson also recommended the policy of establishing a military barrier. Consult index.

The Commerce and Connection with the first of these Bodies of Indians was, antecedent to the War, confined chiefly to the Province of New York, upon the Frontiers of which their principal hunting Ground lyes; and the Trade was carried on at fortified Truck-Houses upon the Lake Ontario; Since the Peace a large Share of this Trade is carried on from Pennsylvania by the Channel of the Ohio, and from thence by Venango and Riviere aux Boeufs into Lake Erie.

The Commerce and Connection with those Indians, which form the Western Confederacy, were, both from the Situation of the Country they occupied, and from the Plan pursued by France for Securing the Dominion of it by Posts upon the Lakes, altogether confined to the French in Canada, and is now principally carried on from thence by Your Majesty's Subjects there, through the Channel of the Ottawa River, and by the Lakes.

In this State therefore of the Commerce and Connection subsisting between Your Majesty's Subjects and the Indians in the Northern District, and of the Channels through which the Inter-course is carried on, it does appear to us, that the keeping up Military Establishments at Detroit, Michilimacinac and Niagara, and the having two, or at most three armed Vessels on the Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior may be necessary for keeping up and preserving that good Correspondence with the Indians, which is essential to the Safety, Improvement and Extension of the Trade with them.

Of these three Establishments that at Detroit, which is the great Center of Indian Commerce, situated amongst many numerous Tribes of Indians, and where a considerable Number of French remain under the Faith of the Treaty of Paris, does appear to us to be by far the most important Object, not being confined merely to the Convenience of any particular Colony, but embracing every Advantage, upon which the Safety and Extension of our Indian Commerce do depend.

The armed Vessels, proposed to be kept upon the Lakes, do also appear to us to be of the like general Utility; And therefore we humbly are of opinion that both of their Establishments should be maintained upon a respectable Footing; the charge whereof we do

not conceive needs to be very considerable, as the necessity of any large Supply of Provisions from the settled Colonies, which has always been a great Article of Expence attending distant Posts, will in great Measure be taken off by the Opportunity of their being furnished with Corn and other Provisions raised by Your Majesty's new Subjects settled at Detroit; who as we are informed from the most undoubted Testimony have already made a considerable Progress in raising those Commodities for that very purpose.

These, may it please Your Majesty, are the only military Posts and Establishments, that appear to us to be necessary, solely with a view to protect and promote our Commerce with the Indians; what further may be necessary for public Safety in general, or for preventing that dangerous Intercourse between the French and Spaniards at New Orleans, and the Indians under your Majesty's protection, stated, in the Papers referred to us, to be carried on to a very great Extent; and which has been confirmed by those we have examined upon the Subject, is a Consideration, which, we humbly presume, more particularly belongs to your Majesty's Servants in the military Departments; But we cannot but be of opinion, that all such Forts, as shall be judged necessary to be kept up for the Security of Your Majesty's Dominions against a foreign Enemy, or for enforcing Obedience to, and a due Execution of the Laws of Trade, ought to be garrisoned by Troops in your Majesty's pay commanded by Officers appointed by Your Majesty, as it would, in our humble Opinion, be dangerous to publick Safety, and inconsistent with the true Principles of this Government, that Forts and military Establishments, intended to answer such important Objects, should be entrusted to any other Hands.

Upon the whole, we trust that the Expence of the present Disposition of Troops for Indian purposes, may be reduced, without hazarding either the Safety, or the interest of your Majesty's Subjects; unless indeed it should be thought expedient to adopt the proposition, contained in some of the Papers referred to us, of settling new Colonies in the interior Country; for, in that Case, we should not venture to recommend any reduction of the military Expence in the particulars above stated. This Consideration therefore naturally

leads us to the last Head of Inquiry referred to us by the Earl of Shelburne's letter, Viz<sup>t</sup> How far the Establishment of new Governments on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and at Detroit, would contribute to answer the purpose of lessening either the present civil or military Expence; or would procure the several other important advantages set forth in the Papers referred to us.

Now, although it does not appear from the Papers referred to us, that Propositions have been made for the Establishment of more than three new Governments or Colonies in the interior Parts of America; Viz<sup>t</sup>. One at the Detroit between Lakes Erie and Huron; One at or near the Mouth of the Ohio; And one in the Illinois Country at or near the Mouth of the River of that Name; and therefore by the strict Letter of his Lordship's Reference, the present Consideration seems to be confined to these only; Yet, as it does appear, both from the Nature of the Arguments in favor of this Measure contained in some of the Papers, and from the Manner in which others have been explained by the authors of the Proposals themselves, that they are meant to support the Utility of Colonizing in the interior Country, as a general Principle of Policy; and that in fact they have nothing less in View, than the entire Possession and peopling of all that Country, which has Communication with the Rivers Mississippi and S<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence, it does, in our humble Opinion, open a much wider Field of Discussion, than might at first Glance seem to be necessary.

The Proposition of forming inland Colonies in America is, we humbly conceive, entirely new; it adopts Principles, in respect to American Settlements, different from what has hitherto been the Policy of this Kingdom; and leads to a System, which, if pursued through all it's Consequences, is in the present State of this Country of the greatest Importance.

The great Object of Colonizing upon the Continent of North America has been to improve and extend the Commerce, Navigation and Manufactures of this Kingdom, upon which its Strength and Security depend;

First, By promoting the advantageous Fishery carried on upon the northern Coast;

Secondly, By encouraging the Growth and Culture of Naval Stores, and of raw Materials to be transported hither in Exchange for perfect Manufacture, and other Merchandize.

Thirdly, By securing a Supply of Lumber, Provisions, and other Necessaries for the Support of our Establishments in the American Islands.

In order to answer these Salutary purposes, it has been the policy of this Kingdom to confine her Settlements as much as possible to the Sea Coast, and not to extend them to places inaccessible to Shipping, and consequently more out of the reach of Commerce; A Plan, which, at the same time that it secured the Attainment of these commercial Objects, had the further political advantage of guarding against all interfering of foreign Powers, and of enabling this Kingdom to keep up a superior naval Force in those Seas, by the actual Possession of such Rivers and Harbours, as were proper Stations for Fleets in time of War.

Such, may it please your Majesty, have been the Considerations inducing that Plan of Policy hitherto pursued in the Settlement of your Majesty's American Colonies, with which the private Interest and Sagacity of the Settlers co-operated from the first Establishments formed upon that Continent; it was upon these Principles, and with these Views, that Government undertook the settling of Nova Scotia in 1749; and it was from a View of the advantages represented to arise from it in these different Articles, that it was so liberally supported by the Aid of Parliament.

The same Motives, tho' operating in a less degree, and applying to fewer objects, did, as we humbly conceive, induce the forming the Colonies of Georgia, East Florida and West Florida to the South; and the making those provisional Arrangements in the Proclamation in 1763, by which the interior Country was left to the possession of the Indians.<sup>1</sup>

Having thus briefly stated what has been the policy of this Kingdom in respect to colonizing in America, it may be necessary to take a cursory view of what has been the Effect of it in those

<sup>1</sup> There is no suggestion in Hillsborough's correspondence up to this time that the proclamation of 1763 was a barrier to westward expansion.

Colonies, where there has been sufficient time for that Effect to discover itself; because, if it shall appear from the present State of those Settlements, and the progress they have made, that they are likely to produce the advantages above stated, it will, we humbly apprehend, be a very strong Argument against forming Settlements in the interior Country, more especially where every Advantage derived from an Established Government would naturally tend to draw the Stream of Population; fertility of Soil and temperature of Climate offering superior Inticements to Settlers, who, exposed to few hardships and struggling with few Difficulties, could with little Labour earn an Abundance for their own wants; but without a possibility of supplying ours with any considerable Quantities; nor would these Inducements be confined in their operation to foreign emigrants determining their Choice where to settle; but would Act most powerfully upon the inhabitants of the northern and Southern Latitudes of your Majesty's American Dominions, who, ever suffering the opposite Extremes of Heat and Cold, would be equally tempted by a moderate Climate to abandon Latitudes peculiarly adapted to the Production of those things, which are by nature denied to us, and for the whole of which we should without their Assistance stand indebted to, and dependent upon other Countries.

It is well known, that antecedent to the year 1749, all that part of the Sea Coast of the British Empire in America, which extends North East from the Province of Main to Cançeau in Nova Scotia and from thence North to the Mouth of S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence's River, lay waste and neglected, though naturally affording or capable by Art of producing every Species of naval Stores, the Seas abounding with Whale, Cod, and other valuable Fish, and having many great Rivers Bays, and Harbours fit for the Reception of Ships of War; Thus circumstanced, a consideration of the great commercial Advantages, which would follow from securing the possession of this Country, combined with the evidence of the value set upon it by our Enemies, who, during the War, which terminated at that Period, had at an immense Expence attempted to wrest it from us, induced that Plan for the Settlement of Nova Scotia, to which we have before referred; and which being prosecuted with vigour, though at a very large Expence to this Kingdom, secured the Possession of that Province

and formed those Establishments, which contributed so greatly to facilitate and promote the Success of your Majesty's Arms in the late War.

The Establishment of Government in this part of America having opened to the View and Information of your Majesty's Subjects, in other Colonies, the great commercial advantages to be derived from it, induced a Zeal for migration; and associations were formed for taking up Lands, and making Settlements in this Province by principal persons residing in those Colonies.

In consequence of these Associations upwards of 10,000, Souls have passed from those Colonies into Nova Scotia, who have either engaged in the Fisheries, or become exporters of Lumber and Provisions to the West Indies; And further Settlements, to the Extent of 21 Townships of 100,000 Acres each, have been engaged to be made there by many of the principal persons in Pennsylvania, whose Names and Association for that purpose now lye before your Majesty in Council.

The Government of Massachusetts Bay, as well as the Proprietors of large Tracts to the Eastward of the Province of Main, excited by the Success of these Settlements, are giving every Encouragement to the like Settlements in that valuable Country lying between them and Nova Scotia; and the Proprietors of Twelve Townships, lately laid out there by the Massachusetts Government, now solicit your Majesty for a Confirmation of their Title.

Such, may it please your Majesty, is the present State of the progress making in the Settlement of the Northern parts of the Sea Coasts of North America, in consequence of what appears to have been the policy adopted by this Kingdom; and many persons of Rank and Substance here are proceeding to carry into Execution the Plan, which your Majesty (pursuing the same Principles of commercial Policy,) has approved for the Settlement of the Islands of S<sup>t</sup> John and Cape Breton, and of the new established Colonies to the South;<sup>1</sup> and therefore as we are fully convinced, that the encouraging Settlements upon the Sea Coast of North America is founded in the true

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the activities of the promoters of colonies in West Florida, see Carter, "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 1: no. 3, p. 364.



principles of commercial Policy; and as we find upon Examination, that the happy Effects of that Policy are now beginning to open themselves in the Establishment of those Branches of Commerce, Culture and Navigation, upon which the Strength, Wealth and Security of this Kingdom depend, we cannot be of Opinion, that it would in any View be adviseable to divert your Majesty's Subjects in America from the persuit of these important objects, by adopting measures of a new Policy at an Expence to this Kingdom, which, in its present State, it is unable to bear.

This, may it please your Majesty, being the light in which we view the Proposition of Colonizing in the interior Country, considered as a general principle of Policy, we shall in the next place proceed to examine the several Arguments urged in support of the particular Establishments now recommended.

These Arguments appear to us reducible to the following general Propositions, Viz<sup>t</sup>

First, That such Colonies will promote Population, and increase the Demands for, and Consumption of British Manufactures.

Secondly, That they will secure the Furr Trade, and prevent all illicit Trade, or interfering of French or Spaniards with the Indians.

Thirdly, That they will be a Defence and Protection to the old Colonies against the Indians.

Fourthly, That they will contribute to lessen the present heavy Expence of supplying Provisions to the distant Forts and Garrisons;

Lastly, That they are necessary in respect to the Inhabitants already residing in those places, where they are proposed to be established, who require some form of Civil Government.

After what we have already stated with respect to the policy of encouraging Colonies in the interior Country, as a general Principle, We trust it will not be necessary to enter into an ample Discussion of the Arguments brought to support the foregoing Propositions.

We admit as an undeniable principle of true Policy, that, with a view to prevent Manufactures, it is necessary and proper to open an Extent of Territory for Colonization proportioned to the Increase of People, as a large number of Inhabitants, cooped up in narrow Limits, without a sufficiency of Land for Produce, would be compelled to

convert their Attention and Industry to Manufactures; but we submit, whether the Encouragement given to the Settlement of the Colonies upon the Sea-Coast, and the Effect which such Encouragement has had, has not already effectually provided for this Object, as well as for increasing the Demand for, and Consumption of British Manufactures; an advantage, which, in our humble Opinion, would not be promoted by these new Colonies, which, being proposed to be established at the distance of above fifteen hundred Miles from the Sea, and in places which, upon the fullest Evidence are found to be utterly inaccessible to Shipping, will, from their inability to find returns wherewith to pay for the Manufactures of Great Britain, be probably led to Manufacture for themselves; a consequence, which experience shews has constantly attended in a greater or lesser Degree every inland Settlement, and therefore ought, in our humble Opinion, to be carefully guarded against, by encouraging the Settlement of that extensive Tract of Sea-Coast hitherto unoccupied; which, together with the Liberty that the Inhabitants of the middle Colonies will have (in consequence of the proposed boundary Line with the Indians) of gradually extending themselves, backwards, will more effectually and beneficially answer the Object of encouraging Population and Consumption, than the Erection of new Governments. Such gradual Extension,<sup>1</sup> might, through the medium of a continued Population, upon even the same Extent of Territory, preserve a Communication of mutual Commercial Benefits between its extremest Parts and Great Britain, impossible to exist in Colonies separated by immense Tracts of unpeopled Desart. As to the Effect which it is supposed the Colonies may have to increase and promote the Furr Trade, and to prevent all contraband Trade, or Intercourse between the Indians under your Majesty's protection and the French and Spaniards, it does appear to us; That the Extension of the Furr Trade depends entirely upon the Indians being undisturbed in the possession of their hunting Grounds; that all Colonizing does in it's nature, and must in it's Consequences operate to the Prejudice of that Branch of Commerce; and, That the French and Spaniards would be

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare Hillsborough's attitude at this time, favorable to the gradual western expansion of the colonies, with his later opposition to the Vandalia grant, which in the beginning, 1769, he seemed to favor.

left in possession of a great Part of what remained, as New Orleans would still continue the best and surest Market. As to the protection which it is supposed these new Colonies may be capable of affording to the old Ones, it will in our opinion appear upon the Slightest view of their Situation, that, so far from affording Protection to the old Colonies, they will stand most in need of it themselves.

It cannot be denied, that new Colonies would be of Advantage in raising Provisions for the supply of such Forts and Garrisons as may be kept up in the Neighbourhood of them; but as the degree of Utility will be proportioned to the number and situation of those Forts and Garrisons, which, upon the Result of the present Enquiry, it may be thought adviseable to continue; so the force of the Argument will depend upon that Event.

The present French Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of the Lakes, will, in our humble Opinion, be sufficient to furnish with Provisions whatever Posts may be necessary to be continued there;—and as there are also French Inhabitants settled in some Parts of the Country lying upon the Mississippi between the Rivers Illinois and the Ohio; It is to be hoped, that a sufficient number of these may be induced to fix their abode, where the same convenience and advantage may be derived from them;<sup>1</sup> But if no such Circumstance were to exist, and no such Assistance to be expected from it, the Objections stated to the Plan now under Our Consideration are Superior to this or any other Advantage it can produce; and altho' Civil Establishments have frequently rendered the Expence of an armed force necessary for their protection, one of the many objections to those now proposed; yet we humbly presume there never has been an Instance of a Government instituted merely with a view to supply a Body of Troops with suitable Provisions; nor is it necessary in these Instances for the Settlements already existing, as above described; which, being formed under Military Establishments; and ever subjected to Military Authority, do not, in our humble Opinion, require any other Superintendance than that of the Military Officers commanding at these Posts.

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion of removal of the French inhabitants of the Illinois country was renewed a number of times later on. Consult index.

All of which is most humbly submitted.

CLARE

SOAME JENYNS

ED: ELIOT

THOMAS ROBINSON

W<sup>M</sup> FITZHERBERT

WHITEHALL March 7. 1768.

LAND DEED, March 10, 1768

[Draper MSS., 12ZZ91]

A deed for land 6<sup>m</sup> below Fort Chartres dated March 10, 1768 To Jn<sup>o</sup>. Baynton, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Wharton and Geo. Morgan of the city of Phil<sup>a</sup>. by Chaufour de Louvier of Praire de Rocher, bounded by the bluff on one side & Miss: on the other, on the east by lands of Francis Joubiden on the West by lands of the heirs of Dutisne dec<sup>d</sup> or Jacque Boutillet & Francois Jobiden—31/2<sup>m</sup> long—7<sup>a</sup> front—a large run [?] passes along thro it—contains 750<sup>a</sup> acknol. before Gordon Forbes March 12, 1768.<sup>1</sup>

SALE OF LAND TO BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN

March 10, 1768

[Kaskaskia Record Book, 1-4]

THIS INDENTURE made the tenth day of Mar[ch] one thousand Seven hundred Sixty eight & in the Eight Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the thir[d] by the Grace of God. King of Great Britain France & Ireland, defender of the Faith &c &c—

Between Pierre du Chaufaur de Louviere of Prarie de Roche in the Illinois Country and Marian Richomm[e] his Wife of the one part, And John Baynton Samuel Wharton, & George Morgan of the City of Philadelphia in the province of Pennsylvania, Merchants of the other part, WITNESSETH That the said Pierre du Chaufaur de

<sup>1</sup> This is the first official document available in which there appears the name of Captain Gordon Forbes, the successor of Commandant Reed. He succeeded to the command February 17, 1768 and served *ad interim* until the assumption of control by Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, September 4, 1768. Forbes did not leave Fort de Chartres until September 14, 1768, when he proceeded to Fort Pitt. In 1782, he appears as a colonel in the East India. See index.

Louviere & Marian Richomme his Wife, for & in Conside[r]ation of the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling money of Great Britain to them in hand Well & truly paid by the said John Baynton, Samuel Wharton and George Morgan, the Receipt Whereof is hereby Acknowledged, They the said Pierre du Chauffeur de Louviere and Marian Richomme his Wife, have granted, bargain'd & Sold, & by the presents do grant bargain & Sell unto the said John Baynton, Samuel Wharton & George Morgan, their Heirs & Assigns, a Certain Plantation or piece of Land lying Situate & being About Six Miles from Fort Chartres on the road to Kaskaskie in the Illinois Country Aforesaid—Which Said land is bou[nded] on one End by the Hills Which run through the Country from back of Fort Chartres to the Kaskaskie River, & the Opposite on other end by the river Mississippi, on t[he] Eastermost Side by land now belonging to Francois Jaubid[on] of Prairie du Roche & on the West Side by land now belonging to the Heirs of Dutisne deceased or to Jacqu[es] Boutellet & Francois Jobidon of Praire du Roche Cont[inued] in Length from the before mentioned Hills to the ri[ver] Mississippi About three Miles & a half & in Breadth [*blank in MS.*] Square Acres of Land on the Mississippi & the Afore[said] Hills—The Whole Containing about Seven hundred [and] fifty Acres more or less consisting of meadow Land, [*blank in MS.*] Land having a large run of Water runing Nearly [through] the middle of the said Plantation or piece of land from [the] Hills into the Mississippi, over Which run is a Bridge of Wood near the Hills Aforesaid—Together With all & Singular the Trees, Woods Underwoods, Commons & Common of Pasture, Ways, Water Courses, Profits, Commodities, advantag[es] Hereditaments & Appurtenances Whatsoever to the Said plantation or piece of land Above Mentioned belonging or in any Wise Appertai[n]ing: & the Reversion & Reversions Remainder & Remainders, Rents Issues & profits of the Said premises & of ever part & percel thereof, & all the Estate, Right Title & Interest, Claim & Demand Whatsoever of them the Said Pierre du Chaufa[ur] De Louviere & Marian Richomme his Wife, of in & to the S[aid] Plantation, or Piece of land & premisses & every part thereof. To have & to hold the said Plantation or piece

of land & all & Singular the prmisses & every part & parcel thereof  
 With the Appurtenances Unto the Said John Baynton, Samuel  
 Wharton & George Morgan, their Heirs & Assigns forever,—  
 And the Said Pierre du Caufaur de Louviere & Marian Richomme  
 his Wife for themselves & their Heirs, the said Plantation or piece  
 of land & premisses & every part thereof, Against them, their Heirs  
 & Against all & every other Perso[n] & persons Whatsoever, to the  
 said John Baynton Samue[l] Wharton & George Morgan their  
 Heirs & Assigns, shall & Will Warrant & for ever defend by these  
 presents.

IN WITNESS Whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands  
 & Seals, the Day & year first Above Written

PIERRE LOUVIERE

MARIAN RICHOMME

Femme de Louviere

Signed Sealed & Delivered in the presence of

EDWARD COLE

JOHN JENNINGS

his

FRANCOIS+JAUBIDON

Mark

I do hereby certifie that this twelfth day of March in the Year of  
 our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & Sixty eight—Personally  
 Appeared before me Gordon Forbes Captain in His Majestys thirty  
 fourth Regiment of Foot & Commanding his Majestys Troops in the  
 Illinois Country—Pierre du Chaufaur de Louviere & Marian  
 Richomme his Wife Who being Seperately & Apart examined by me  
 With respect to the Within Indenture, they do acknowledge the  
 Same as their Act & Deed, & desire that the Same may be recorded  
 Accordingly Which I do hereby Admit & Confirm.

Given under my hand at Fort Chartres the day & year Above  
 Written

GORDON FORBES Cap<sup>t</sup> 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

Received the day & year Within Writen, of the Within Named  
 John Baynton Samuel Wharton & George Morgan the Sum of Ten  
 pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain, being the full Considera-

tion Money Within Mentioned to be paid to me—I say receiv'd by me

PIERRE LOUVIERE

Witness to the payment of the Money

EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

JOHN JENNINGS

his

FRANCOIS+JAUBIDON

Mark

A true Copy J RUMSEY Secretary

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, March 12, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 93—A. L. S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 24.)

NEW YORK March 12<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MY LORD,

I have had the honor to receive your Lordship's Letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of December (N<sup>o</sup> 5.),<sup>1</sup> inclosing a Copy of a Deposition of one Potter, taken at Montreal before Chief Justice Hey, a Copy of a Letter to your Lordship from Brigadier General Carleton, and Copys of two Letters from Captain Claus and Commissary Roberts, to Brigadier Carleton and Mr Guy Johnson: All which concern the Conduct of Major Rogers, against whom Crimes are exhibited of a very Serious Nature.

Your Lordship will have known from my Letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> of January (N<sup>o</sup> 23.) that I had been previously acquainted with these Matters, and that Orders had been given to apprehend Major Rogers<sup>2</sup> and all his Adherents; and having received some hints, that the Major had used Means to gain an Ascendency over the Garrison of Missilimakinah, I gave particular Instructions to the Officer Commanding the Troops, about the Precautions which I judged it Necessary he should take in the Execution of his Orders. I have received no further Advice on this head, but that my Dispatches had got safe to the Detroit, and had been forwarded from thence over Lake Huron under the Care of an Officer.

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> See Nevins, Introduction to Rogers's "*Ponteach*"; for biographical notice see Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 159.

Th'o I could not thr'o the common Course of the Service, do otherwise than perceive that Major Rogers was acting in a strange and extravagant Manner, in direct Opposition to his Instructions; for which Reason I first ordered him to the Detroit, that his Conduct should be examined into; and I might also have suspicion of bad Designs, from some Discoverys that I had accidentally made; I got no positive Intelligence of his Intentions to desert His Majesty's Service, till I received Potter's Affidavit with other Papers from Chief Justice Hey. It is somewhat Strange, that the two Traders examined by your Lordship's order in London, should make such a Declaration as they have done in England, without sending Intelligence to me before they left America, of what they apprehended was transacting at Missilimakinak to acquaint me of their Fears for the Safety of their Property, and to desire my Assistance to secure it.

I can say no more on this Subject now, but to assure Your Lordship, that the Strictest Enquiry will be made into it, and every Evidence called upon who can Serve to prove or disprove the Crimes, wherewith Major Rogers stands accused.

Your Lordship's Letter for Sir William Johnson<sup>1</sup> has been forwarded, and found him Surrounded by Indians in great Numbers. I am to hope the Subject of it will enable Sir William to satisfy them on the score of the Boundary Lines between their hunting Grounds, and the Lands yielded to the Several Provinces; which makes one Article of their many Complaints against us.

I have had the honor by former Letters to acquaint your Lordship, of the Methods I had taken to procure Redress for the Indians in their just Causes of Complaint. The Legislature of Pensylvania has seconded my Endeavors, and passed a Law to remove the Settlers who have encroached upon the Indians Land, and Governor Penn has issued his Proclamation<sup>2</sup> agreeable thereto. But after all I must confess my doubts, that either the Law or the Proclamation will have any Weight with that Banditti, unless backed by a strong Military Power, to remove them forceably. Little Assistance in these Matters is to be expected from the Government of Virginia, as your Lordship

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 9481.



will understand by an Extract of a Letter to me, from Lieutenant Governor Fauquiere, which I have the honor to transmit herewith.

It was hoped that the news of the Resolutions taken by Pennsylvania would have worked to our advantage amongst the Savages, but they soon received Advice of the murder of the ten Indians by the German and his servant, and to add to their villany they scalped the Dead, which is a certain mark with Indians of a Declaration of War. The murtherers were apprehended and lodged in the Jail of Carlisle, but afterwards forceably rescued from thence and set at Liberty, by a Body of armed People from the Frontiers. This Proceeding of the People and the Fear of savage Resentment has alarmed the Province of Pennsylvania exceedingly, and has caused great altercation between the Governor and his Assembly. They have voted £2500 to be distributed amongst the Relations of the Deceased Indians, and £500 Reward for the Retaking of the German and his Servant.<sup>1</sup>

The great Congress of the Indians, was appointed to be held about the End of this month near the Plains of Scioto, to which the Deputys of every Nation far and near have been invited. I have received Advice from the Illinois, that Belts had passed amongst all the Nations inhabiting the Lakes even to the Mississippi; and from thence were sent Northward amongst Nations scarcely known to us. What Numbers will attend the Meeting, or what Resolutions they will take cannot be foreseen. The Indians pretend, that they are to meet on Business of their own, which does not concern the English, but the Secrecy with which they have endeavored to transact this Affair of a general Meeting, and the Injurys they have so often received without obtaining Redress, give too much Reason to suspect, that their Congress presages Mischief.

In this uncertainty, th'o I would incurr as little Expence as possible, it is proper to secure some of the principal Posts, particularly those of Niagara and Fort-pitt which are much decayed, by putting them in a state to resist any Attack from Indians; and to provide Fort-Pitt sufficiently with Provisions, that we may not be under the Necessity to risk an Action, merely to victual the Garrison. An

<sup>1</sup> For information concerning these murders by Stump and the subsequent action of Pennsylvania, see *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 414 *et seq.*

Engineer is gone to this Fort, and a second will move with some Artificers to Niagara as soon as the Rivers open. The Commanders of all the Posts upon the Lakes will receive Orders to get the Vessels afloat the moment it is practicable, that they may be secured against all Attempts to destroy them. And supplies of Provision are ordered to be sent from Montreal immediately after the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence is free of Ice.

I have judged the above Precautions to be Necessary whatever may happen; but considering the Presents which have been liberally bestowed upon the Indians, and the Knowledge they must have, of the Pains that have been taken to do them Justice, we ought to have Influence enough over their Councils to delay a Determination of an immediate Rupture with us, till the Effects of our Endeavors to redress them shall appear. And th'o some Nations, from being the most aggrieved, might Act with greater violence than the rest, we should be able by conciliating the minds of others, to divide their Resolves and distract their Councils in such manner, as to prevent a general Confederacy of all the Nations. If they are convinced that they will be Supported by the French or Spaniards, there is Reason to apprehend, that the Nations in general would unite against us; for their Jealousy of our increasing strength, and their former Experience, when the French possessed Canada, have taught the Savages the Policy of a Ballance of Power. They had two Nations to Court them and make them Presents, and when disgusted with the one, they found the other glad to accept their offers of Friendship. Many Letters have given Advice, that Belts have been frequently sent amongst the several Nations, to assure them of Assistance from the French at a proper Opportunity, and to desire them to be in readiness to strike the English.<sup>1</sup> This may be done at all times by any designing Persons, who have Knowledge of Indians and their Customs without Danger of Discovery, either with Authority or without it; but the Savages have been so often deceived in these kind of Assurances, that unless they are hurried away by Jealousy and

<sup>1</sup> During 1768 and the years following, the fear of a widespread Indian outbreak cast a constant shadow over the West. Numerous references to this are made in succeeding documents.

Resentment, it is natural to imagine, that they would not Act in Consequence of them, till they saw a Force ready to support them.

The Detachment of the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment sent in the Autumn down the Ohio and Mississippi to join their Corps in West Florida, and who escorted the Provisions and Stores for the use of the Troops at the Illinois, arrived at Fort Chartres on the third of December. Colonel Reed proposed leaving that Fort for Fort Pitt, agreeable to his Orders, the End of Februrary, with all the Officers and Men of the 34th Regiment above the Complement of four compleat Companys, which Number he was directed to leave, to garrison Fort-Chartres.

The Spaniards have got up to the Illinois Country from New-Orleans, and have ascended the River Missouri, where they propose to erect two Forts;<sup>1</sup> but are disappointed in their Expectations that the French Troops stationed in those Parts would enlist in their Service; on which Account they refuse to take Possession of the Country, and the Troops are to continue some time longer, and in the French Service.

My Dispatches from the Illinois contain little more Intelligence, except some vague Accounts about the Trade of the Country, and proposals of new Forts and Numbers of Troops, more costly to support, than the whole Profits of the Trade, would enable us to defray. There are Complaints also of our Neighbours, that they excite the Savages against us, and trade up the Ohio and the Ouabache. It is to be expected, that we should have an Influence amongst those Indians, as well as the French, else our Management of them must be bad, and our Presents ill-bestowed. The Indian Expences at the Illinois since in our Possession are intolerable, insomuch that I refused Payment of some Bills drawn by the Indian Agent and certified by the Commander of the Troops. Your Lordship will see from the inclosed Extracts from Colonel Reed's Letters to me, what Reasons are given for such great expences.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the instructions of Ulloa to Don Rui, see Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, 1:1 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Reed to Gage, October 28, 1767, *ante*, 101.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF  
SHELburnE one of His Majesty's  
Principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York March 12<sup>th</sup> 1768 Major General Gage  
(N<sup>o</sup> 24) R. 15 April A. 7

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, March 12, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, p. 59—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup> 2)

WHITEHALL March 12<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE

SIR,

Since the Earl of Shelburne's Letters to You dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of December and 5<sup>th</sup> of January last, your Letters to his Lordship N<sup>o</sup> 20, 21, & 22,<sup>1</sup> with the Inclosures, have been received and laid before The King, who observes, with equal Satisfaction and Approbation, the Attention You continue to give to the Duties of the important Trust His Majesty has conferred upon You, and to His Majesty's Interests in general, in that part of His Dominions.

The Orders contained in the Earl of Shelburne's Dispatch to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, referred to in His Lordship's Letter to You N<sup>o</sup> 6,<sup>2</sup> will shew, that His Majesty's Servants have not been inattentive to the Danger that threatens the Colonies from those Jealousies, which seem at present to influence the Conduct of the Savages; and it is hoped that, if what is recommended by the Board of Trade in respect to the final Settlement of the Boundary Line proposed by the 6 Nations in 1765 can be happily completed, it will be effectual to remove the principal Cause of their Discontent, stated in your Letter N<sup>o</sup> 20. As to what relates to the Kayaderosseras Patent, and the Grant of the lower Mohawk Flatts, His Majesty hopes from what you say, that

<sup>1</sup> January 23, 1768, *ante*, 159.

<sup>2</sup> This letter has not been found.

it is a dispute which may be amicably settled between those Indians and the Patentees to their mutual satisfaction.

I have now the Honor to transmit to you a Duplicate of Lord Shelburne's Letter N<sup>o</sup> 6,<sup>1</sup> together with a Copy of the Dispatch to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson<sup>2</sup> therein referred to, to which I have added a Map whereon is delineated that part of the Indian Line already settled with the Choctaws, Creeks & Cherokees & also that part proposed to be settled with the Six Nations, which will, at one Cast of the Eye, give You a clearer Idea of it than can be formd from descriptive Words.

The Directions contained in this Dispatch to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson do consequentially imply the Necessity of holding a Congress with the Indians, for the Execution of what is proposed, but it is not possible To give Orders, as to any other Objects of Negotiation with them, untill His Majesty shall have determined upon the System to be finally adopted in respect to our commerce & connection with the Savages in general in the meantime, I have His Ma[jes]ty's Directions to signify His entire Approbation of what You have done, in the Case of the Repairs of the Barracks at Halifax, and the Attention shown to the Accommodation of the Troops at Pensacola. But as the Extent of the Works to be undertaken there, and the Propriety or Impropriety of the Post, recommended at Tangippaho, depend upon what shall be finally resolved, in respect to the future Station of the American Army; these are Services upon which no determinate Orders can be given at present.

His Majesty reads with Concern the Account, given in your Letter N<sup>o</sup> 21.<sup>3</sup> of the French People murdered by the Indians upon the Ohio; but, when it is considered, that this is a Part of His Majesty's Dominion where no Foreigners without Licence had a Right to come, His Majesty does not see with what Justice or upon what Ground Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry could make this a Matter of Complaint; and His Majesty trusts that a proper Intimation of this will

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found. The substance of the communication is found in Hillsborough to Gage, April 15, 1768, *post*, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently the letter referred to is Shelburne to Johnson, January 5, 1768, printed *ante*, 155.

<sup>3</sup> This letter has not been found.

occasion a greater Caution in the Inhabitants of New Orleans for the future.

His Majesty entirely disapproves the Measures taken by Governor Bruere, for enacting a Law for Punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, that shall in any Case affect the Detachment of Regulars now stationed in the Bermuda Islands; and I have His Majesty's Commands to forbid his Proceeding any further in that Business.

The Observation You made, during your Stay at Philadelphia, of the Increase of Mechanics and Manufacturers, and your Proposal concerning the Mode of discharging Soldiers having Trades, merit Attention, but what You relate of the unworthy Conversation and Threats in the other Provinces of Endeavours to lessen the Importation of British Manufactures, serves only to shew a malevolent & ungrateful Disposition, which I hope however is far from being general in any of them, and seems to be an Object of Contempt undeserving any Notice.

As the Earl of Shelburne appears to have already communicated to You all the Intelligence, that could be obtained on this side the Water, relative to Major Rogers, I have nothing further in Command from His Majesty to say to You upon that Subject, except that His Majesty entirely approves your Conduct relative thereto.

His Majesty having been pleased to direct, that the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment stationed at Quebec should be relieved by the 8<sup>th</sup> Regiment which will embark here in a short Time, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that You give the necessary Directions, that the said 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment be embarked with as little Delay as possible, in order to be brought to England in the same Transports that carry over the 8<sup>th</sup>.

In a Letter from Sir William Johnson to Lord Shelburne received by the last Packet, he mentions some extraordinary Instances of the Treachery of Monsieur Chabert de Joncaire. As the Matter appears to me to be of serious Consequence, I have thought it fit to send you the inclosed Extract of Sir William Johnson's Letter, to the End you may take such Precautions in respect to Monsieur Joncaire, as You shall think expedient.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH.

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 2)

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, March 13, 1768

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4: 424—E.]

The purpose of settling the new colonies seems at present to be dropt, the change of American administration not appearing favorable to it. There seems rather an inclination to abandon the posts in the back country, as more expensive than useful. But counsels are so continually fluctuating here, that nothing can be depended on. The new secretary, Lord H., is, I find, of opinion that the troops should be placed, the chief part of them, in Canada and Florida, only three battallions to be quartered in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and that Forts Pitt, Niagara, Oswego, &c., should be left to the colonies to garrison and keep up, if they think it necessary for the protection of their trade. Probably his opinion may be followed, if new changes do not produce other ideas. The letters from Sir William Johnson, relating to the boundary, were at last found, and orders were sent over, about Christmas,<sup>1</sup> for completing the purchase and settlement of the difference about it. My Lord H. has promised me to send duplicates by this packet, and urge the speedy execution, as I represented to him the danger that these dissatisfactions of the Indians might produce a war.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare November 25, 1767, *ante*, 119 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to estimate the influence of Franklin with the ministry at this period. The letters of British officials such as Sir William Johnson, probably did not carry as much weight as the personal contact of Franklin. As is suggested by this letter the communication of Johnson relative to the boundary had been lost.

JAUTARD<sup>1</sup> TO [FORBES], March 14, 1768

[K.MSS.—A. L. S.]

AUX CAHOQUIAS Le 14<sup>e</sup> mars 1768

MONSIEUR

S'il y avait un Gouvernement Civil je ne prendray pas La Liberté de Vous importuner mais Vous etes aujourdhuy Le Seul a qui je puisse[?] avoir recours j'implore Votre equité & Suis persuadé que vous ne me refuserés pas Les moyens de defendre Ma Cause.

Vû Le peu de reussite que jay eu dans mes entreprises Les pertes D'esclaves D'animaux & autres que j'ay fait j'ay Demandé a mes Créanciers par un acte passe par Devant Viault L'esperance n<sup>re</sup> Lequel acte Se trouve aujourdhuy passé par Richard Wenston aubergiste auquel personne n'a jamais reconnu La qualité De notaire Contre Lequel acte je m' [*MS. illegible*] en faux non pour la teneur & Lacte mais Pour Les Signatures & vous demande justice.

[*Translation*]

CAHOKIA, March 14, 1768.

SIR:

If there were a civil government I should not take the liberty of disturbing you, but you are today the only one to whom I can have recourse. I call upon your justice, and am convinced that you will not refuse me the means of defending my cause.

In view of the scant success which I have had in my enterprises, the losses of slaves and cattle and other things, I asked [three years] of my creditors, in a document drawn up in the presence of Viault L'Esperance, notary. This same document was today drawn up by Richard Winston, innkeeper, whom nobody has ever recognized as notary. Against this act I [protest?] as faulty not as regards its substance and form, but as regards the signatures; and I ask justice of you.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Kaskaskia MSS., in 1765 Valentine Jautard was a merchant in New Orleans. In 1766, business transactions were being signed by him in the Illinois country where he remained several years as indicated by the above document and one of June 11, 1768. In the latter he does not appear in a very favorable light. Several years later the records show him a lawyer, living near Montreal. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2), 497, 505.



J'ay demandé, (Dis je) par ce meme acte trois ans de terme pour pouvoir Solder mes Creanciers & ay Constitué pour mon procureur Le d<sup>t</sup> Viault L'esperance pour ager au mieux de mes interets Bien Loin de Satisfaire a mes intentions il a été Le premier a detourner mes Creanciers de M'accorder Le terme il leur a Signifié Luy meme L'acte etant pris de Boisson ce que j' offre de prouver jay Meme été obligé De Luy défendre de recevoir La Deliberation Des d<sup>tes</sup> Creanciers Le meme jour L'affaire a été renvoyee au Lendemain

Je prouveray de plus que Le Lendemain La Deliberation a mon prejudice a été faite et ecrite Par le meme procureur qui j'avais constitué pour mes interets qui L'a faite Signer par les d<sup>s</sup> Creanciers Dont un partie etaient encore pris de Boisson depuis Laveille & Le Procureur Luy meme & par un autre que L'age a affaibli De Corps & d'esprit & que Je m'attends a poursuivre Suivant toute La rigueur de La Loy.

Souffrirés Vous, Monsieur, Sous Votre Commandement Des fourberies Pareilles souffrires Vous que Sous Le pretexte que je ne

[*Translation*]

I asked, I say, in this same instrument a term of three years to enable me to settle with my creditors, and appointed as my agent the said Viault L'Esperance to act for my best interests. Far from fulfilling my intentions, he was the first to dissuade my creditors from granting me the term of years. He notified them of the document himself, when drunk, which I offer to prove. I was even obliged to forbid him to receive the decision of the said creditors. The same day the matter was postponed until the next day.

I shall prove further that the next day a decision damaging to me was made and written by the same agent whom I had appointed for my interests, who caused it to be signed by the said creditors—part of whom, including the agent himself, were still under the influence of drink from the day before—and by another whom age has weakened in mind and body, and whom I expect to prosecute to the full extent of the law.

Do you permit, sir, such knaveries under your government? Do you permit that, under the pretext that I cannot appear to defend my

puix pas paraitre Pour Defendre Ma Cause que je Sois vexé Dan le gout La je ne Le crois pas; & je m'adresse a vous avec toute La Confiance possible

Je Vous Diray plus Monsieur il est Venu [a] moy a onze heures in Soir Deux Personnes Pour me faire Signer un acte d'abandon pur & simple Par Lequel je paraissais exclure Mes Creanciers Sur La partie Espagnole j'ay refusé Constamment & N'ay point Signe attendu que je dois aussi Legitimement aux uns qu aux autres J 'eclairciray Le tout—

Monsieur, quand je Seray en Liberté de Paraitre & des le moments je declare La procuration que j'ay donné a L'esperance, Nulle, & je La retracte Moffrant de paraitre Moy meme moyennant un Sauf Conduit qui je vous supplie de M'accorder

Jay L'honneur D'etre avec un très profond respect Monsieur  
Votre très humble & très obeissant Serviteur

V. JAUTARD.

[*Translation*]

cause, I be tormented as they may please? I do not believe it, and I appeal to you with all possible confidence.

I will also tell you, sir, that one evening at eleven o'clock two persons came to me to make me sign a release pure and simple by which I should seem to exclude my creditors on the Spanish side. I refused steadfastly and never signed, considering that I owe as legitimately to one as to another. I shall clear up everything, sir, when I am free to appear; and from this moment I declare null the power of attorney which I gave to L'Esperance, and retract it, offering to appear myself, provided you accord me a safe-conduct, which I beg you to grant me.

I have the honor to be, with very deep respect, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

V. JAUTARD

Je Vous prie Mon Sieur De renvoyer mon négre Sur le champ avec une réponse & de Vous Servir pour interpreter [?] de M<sup>re</sup> Votre frere & de votre sergent.

[*Endorsed:*] 1768.

[*Translation*]

I beg you, sir, to send back immediately my Negro with an answer, and to use as interpreters [?] your brother and your sergeant.

CABINET MINUTE, March 18, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.1088, f. 156—C.]

At a Meeting of the Committee of the King's Servants at Lord President's 18<sup>th</sup> March 1768.

Present

Lord Chancellor.

Lord President.

Duke of Grafton.

Earl of Shelburne.

Lord Weymouth.

General Conway.

Earl of Hillsborough.

It is the Opinion of the Lords present humbly to submit to His Majesty that the following Instructions, be sent to General Gage with regard to the Disposition of the Forts and Troops in America.

*First*—that Detroit, Missilimakinac and Niagara be kept up, and garrisoned in such manner as General Gage shall think fit; *Secondly*, The proper Boats upon the Lakes,—*Thirdly*,—keep up either Ticonderoga or Crown Point as a communication, as also Fort Chartres or some proper Post in the Illinois, and Pittsburgh for the present, desiring General Gage to state his Opinion with regard to the continuance of any of these Forts. *Fourthly* To leave to the General's discretion to keep up, or to abandon any, or all, the other Forts; recommending him to abandon as many as he thinks can with safety be given up.

The Disposition of the Troops as inclosed in his Letter<sup>1</sup> N° 6, 3<sup>d</sup> April 1767 is in general approved, subject to such Alterations as the abandoning the Forts may occasion, as also the Regiment intended for West Florida to be placed in East Florida, and the Service of West Florida to be done by Detachment.

It is also humbly submitted to His Majesty as the Lords opinion, That the Boundary as recommended by the Board of Trade be forthwith carried into Execution, and the necessary recommendations sent to the Governors and Superintendants.

That the Offices of Superintendants be continued upon the footing recommended by the Board of Trade.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] Minute of Cabinet 10<sup>th</sup> [*sic*] March 1768. (Copy.)

GAGE TO JOHNSON, April 4, 1768

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK April 4<sup>th</sup> 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your Letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> March and am glad you have got so well thro the very troublesome Business that must have taken up so much of your time for Months past. The Cherokees who return to South Carolina by sea are arrived, and I am told very highly pleased with the service you have done for them As M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is gone to Fort-Pitt, he will be at hand to treat of the Peace between the Delawares Shawnese &c<sup>t</sup> and the Cherokee Deputys, who I understand have taken the Route of the Ohio from your House.

Our own Affairs particularly since the Murders committed upon the Indians by the German in Pensylvania, must doubtless have given you as much trouble to settle, and to pacify the Indians as the Peace of the Cherokees. You will have heard of M<sup>r</sup> Pen's Proclamation in Consequence of the Law passed to remove the Settlers from their encroachments.<sup>3</sup> Whether it will have the desired Effect, unless backed by a Military Force, is perhaps a doubt, if it has not, I shall certainly push the removing them by main Force. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan

<sup>1</sup> Letter and inclosure printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 547, 554.

<sup>2</sup> Compare March 7, 1768, *ante*, 185-187.

<sup>3</sup> See March 12, 1768, *ante*, 208.

stopped at Lancaster upon Intelligence that some of the Banditti upon the Frontiers threatened his Life; and the seizing of all the Goods he should carry up with him, an officer and 30 men are marched from Philadelphia to escort him.

You inclosed me two Accounts from M<sup>r</sup> Cole stationed at the Illinois; the one from Sep<sup>t</sup> 1766 to March 1767, the other from March to Sep<sup>t</sup> 1767 making about a compleat year, and both together amounting to £10,742 7s 11d.<sup>1</sup> This is realy so monstrous an account that I hardly know what can be done with it; I ought to give some Reasons why such an enormous Expence should be incurred in one year at the Illinois,<sup>2</sup> when Missilimakinak and the Detroit together, at the time that prudent People commanded these, did not cost more hundreds than the Illinois has cost thousands, and I can see no Reason why Money is to be lavished so profusely at that Place more than at other places, all the Reason I can procure for it is, that the savages are numerous and may destroy all the Provisions in the Country, of which the same may be said respecting the Situation of the Detroit. I wish you could furnish me with some good Reasons, to serve as a Just Pretence in the warrant to be granted, to answer M<sup>r</sup> Cole's Draughts for the granting so considerable sums for the use of one single Post.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir, Your Most obedient humble servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

Be so good to give the Inclosed for Cap<sup>t</sup> Spicemacher, to M<sup>r</sup> Roberts, to carry with him to Missilimakinak. He set out from hence for your House some Days ago.

T. G.

<sup>1</sup> There is a round blot on the number; it is probably "0" in 10,742.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, Cole to [Croghan], December 19, 1767, *ante*, 147.

## CHAPTER V

MANAGEMENT OF TRADE TRANSFERRED TO COLONIES,  
APRIL 5, 1768—APRIL 23, 1768

MORGAN'S VIEW OF TRADE CONDITIONS IN THE WEST—RELATIONS OF BAYNTON, WHARTON, MORGAN AND COMPANY TO NEW COMMANDANT AT FORT DE CHARTRES—QUOTATIONS OF PRICES—JOHNSON'S VIEW OF WESTERN CONDITIONS—MEASURES TO TURN THE COURSE OF TRADE UP THE OHIO—PHYN'S REPORT ON WESTERN TRADE CONDITIONS—ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TRANSFER OF CONTROL OF INDIAN TRADE TO THE COLONIES—HILLSBOROUGH'S REPORT TO GAGE RELATIVE TO THE NEW POLICY—JOHNSON ON THE SETTLEMENT OF INDIAN BOUNDARY.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, April 5, 1768  
[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA April 5th 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

I have been long waiting with no small Degree of Anxiety for the Arrival of Mr Hollingshead whose tarrying so late after being so long delay'd at Fort Pitt, must cause the Adventure to turn out in a very different Manner to what we had just Reason to have expected. However you may rest assured that if no Accident has happen'd to him & the Meat that he brings in each Boat be equal in Q<sup>ty</sup> & Quality to that which he sent by Thompson, we shall have no Reason to repent the Essay Yet I sincerely hope you have not been induced to fit out another Boat for the Buffalo Hunt as I fear you have, from the inclosed Extract of a Letter from Mr Campbell to the Commissary here<sup>1</sup>—Should you load a large Boat with good strong Salt in Tight Barrels & send her here agreeable to C & Js Recommendation, I shall be much better pleased as we may then be assured of a Preference in supplying the Garrison this Fall as their Salt here will not preserve Beef—I have no doubt but all that came in Thompsons Boat will keep, as it is acknowledged to be the best

<sup>1</sup> This document has not been found.

that ever was brought to the Place—His Load consisted of 18 M W<sup>t</sup> of Beef 60 Venison Hams 55 Buffaloe Tongues &—W<sup>t</sup> of Tallow. The Beef is pack'd in excellent Casks All that We have sold of it yet to the Inhabitants has been at 10 Sols P lb. In the Course of the Summer I shall dispose of all of it At that Rate provided I do not agree with C<sup>t</sup> Forbes for it. He does not at present choose to take it unless I engage it to keep good for twelve Months, as he has been obliged to comply with Col Reeds Contract with Mr Blouin & has now as much Buffaloe Meat in the Store as will supply the Garrison for several Months if it will keep good, Which he very much doubts. When Mr Hollingshead arrives I shall advise with him & the Cooper whether or not we may engage ours to keep for the Time he proposes. But in the Mean While I expect to dispose of a Quantity to the Spanish Comm<sup>t</sup> to whom I have wrote as 'tis said they are in Want of Provisions on the other Side & C<sup>t</sup> Forbes has promised to allow its Exportation.

The Plan I purpose going on the approaching Summer & Fall for the Buffaloe Hunt is as follows—

In the Month of June & July the Bulls are in their Fat & will on an Average yield 75<sup>lb</sup> of Tallow—In August & September they begin to be poor & the Cows are fat & will yield on an Average 60<sup>lb</sup> of Tallow—Blouins Men were near two Months too late last Year, yet from the [*blank in MS.*] of August to the latter End of September last on the River Ohio they killed upwards of seven hundred Buffaloe & renderd their Tallow. Besides which there were twenty large Perriogues employd in the same Trade on the Ohio from New Orleans.

I therefore purpose in the Month of June next to send 2 handy Boats w<sup>th</sup> 12 or 14 proper Men to make Tallow & hunt for Deer Skins untill the Season comes on when Beef may be salted—I shall then send 2 large Boats say the 20th of September to a Place appointed to meet the other two Boats where One may be immediately loaded with Buffaloe Meat & return to this Place—so as to be back to the hunting Ground by the 1st of November—by which Time the first 12 or 14 Men may have the other large Boat loaded & she may arrive here by the 20th of November at farthest When the

same Men with perhaps an Additional Number may return to the Ohio to bring Up the other Boats or they may proceed to New Orleans with their Loads as they would not require any great Number of Men with the Stream—Should the Boat Mr Campbell alludes to in the inclosed Extract be loaded with good Salt in tight Barrels We shall keep a Man or two with her in the Ohio As it will be very difficult if not impossible to get a Boat of her Burden up the Mississippi without extraordinary Sails and favourable strong Winds —We may perhaps load her with Tallow & sell it at New Orleans or ship it to New York or Philadelphia. She is certainly of too large a Construction for these Rivers at particular Seasons.

Mr Gibson assures me that it is taken for granted at Philadelphia & New York &c that an Indian War will inevitably break out this Spring to the Northward & that Mr Croghan whom he met on the Road between Fort Pitt & Carlisle was so confident of it that he declared he was very unsafe in coming here & endeavoured to dissuade him from it.

I am a little anxious to hear from you with respect to Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J's Draft on you in favour of Mr Gibson, which he has brought here with a Protest for Non Acceptance, As he & Mr Callender imagin'd they could immediately recover for it with the Charges for his Journey without any Difficulty—He has found his Mistake but has not yet determind what Method to pursue—Perhaps somebody may put it into his Head to demand Security from the Drawers—If so I shall be forced to the Acceptance of it I cannot conceive your Reasons for not accepting the Bill payable to R Callender When he is so deeply indebted to you & you may rely that all Persons to whom Debts were contracted in this Country & who apply here for what we owe them, will immediately recover their Demands, provided the present & future Commanding Officers follow the Steps of that bad Man Col. Reed Who, as I have already wrote you, notwithstanding our immense property deposited in the Fort & my Offer of Bail for my Appearance the Day he appointed to hear Mr Viviats Demand against us, kept me a Prisoner in the Fort & was so basely Mean as to order me to the common Jail, When several Gentlemen in the Fort were offering me a Chamber & a Bed w<sup>th</sup> every thing they could



afford &c. Upon my determining to rest in the Fort to try to bring Mr Viviate to take Goods or Negroes after Col Reed had orderd me to pay the Money, he said that if we could come to an Agreement for Negroes he w<sup>d</sup> take 6 or 8 of them—but as he afterward insisted on having them at an Under Rate together with 50 PC<sup>t</sup> Damages on the Bills, I was constraind, to prevent our Business suffering to pay the Drafts in Money which I now enclose you instead of Government Bills to their Amount the Damages are to be settled agreeable to the inclosed at P<sup>a</sup>.

As Mr Wharton will be here long before the Protest for the NonPaym<sup>t</sup> of Mr Callenders Bill can arrive I need not be in Haste to determine what Part to act with Mr Gibson—But as I am in Possession of sufficient Proofs of the Propertys being Mr Callenders, although Mr Gibson seriously swears to the contrary, not knowing I have those Proofs, I hope Mr Wharton will bring all Mr Callenders Acc<sup>ts</sup> with him, that we may stop this Bill in Mr Gibsons Hands.

Should any thing happen to prevent Mr Whartons coming this Summer, it will be proper that I have a Power of Attorney from you with yours & B W & M's Acc<sup>ts</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Mr Callender properly proved—that should Mr Gibson attempt to call Mr Jennings to Acc<sup>t</sup> for the Bill, I may attach it in Gibsons Hands on Acc<sup>t</sup> of your Balance.

Whether or not the Report be true Which Mr Gibson brought of the Shawnas, Delawares &c being determin'd on a War against the English this Spring, it is already spread through this Country & some stragling Indians have brought an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Disaffection of the Nations around Detroit & those on the Upper Lakes. Indeed We have heard by different Ways that they have taken Detroit. This Intelligence first arrived in December or the Beginning of January, About w<sup>ch</sup> Time I rec<sup>d</sup> Letters from Mr Croghan & M<sup>o</sup>Kee dated at that Place November 24th<sup>1</sup> So that we may conclude it to be made News which we have a great Deal of There are also reports here, of the Sacks, Renards<sup>2</sup> &c being badly disposed & it is said that the Wiotonans, Piankashaws & other Tribes on the Wabash have Evil

<sup>1</sup> These letters have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> The Sacks or Sauk and the Renards or Foxes, two tribes at this period closely united, lived on the Fox River.

Designs But as a Number of them are just come in & declare it is absolutely false & that they never heard of it untill their Arrival here, I hope there is nothing in the Report more than usual—for you know that ever since We have had Possession of this Country & we have been here our honest F<sup>d</sup> Jennings has been constantly on the Alarm—The Truth is We are much in the Dark with Respect to all those Nations Notwithstanding the great Sums which have been laid out here & we shall be so untill Mr Croghan or a Person of his Address & Penetration visits this Country & tarrys here sometime.

These Reports have occasiond C<sup>t</sup> Forbes to order the Militia<sup>1</sup> of the Country to be review'd & all the Inhabitants to keep their Arms in Order & ready in Case of an Alarm—Every prudent [*sic*] Measure that can be devised is taken to prevent a Surprise—Mr. Rumsay is appointed Captain of the English Militia of whom we shall Muster perhaps sixty active Men—Should there be a Foundation for these Reports & an Indian War really happen, there is not the least Danger of Fort Chartres falling, Were all the Indians in the Woods to come against it How the French Inhabitants would act in Case of a Rupture with the Indians it is impossible to say—but it is most reasonable to imagine that they would behave much in the same Manner those in Detroit did in 1763.

As it is taken for granted here that the first Stroke the Indians make, should they come to an open Rupture, Will be to the Northward, you will have the Intelligence sooner than we can—As long as these Rumours continue I shall keep every thing in the Fort except what is really necessary for our Daily Trade—& indeed at all Times have no more without the Walls than convenient—Not that I myself apprehend any immediate Risque, but 'tis best to take every Precaution in our Power, rather than be too incredulous.

The Peltry we have yet receiv'd is very contemptible Inclosed you have an Acc<sup>t</sup> thereof Value about £ [*blank in Ms.*] The Indians are very backward in coming in & not One Trader is yet arrived. A great deal depends on the Convoy from New Orleans as you have been already repeatedly informd—Should the Voyagers

<sup>1</sup> For Hillsborough's criticism, see Hillsborough to Gage, October 12, 1768, *post*, 423-424; for other references regarding the militia issue, consult index.

come in & no Supplies be arrived from thence, We may yet do something considerable—but tis yet impossible to form a Judgement how this Matter will fall Out, As We never can have any Intelligence of their Cargoes or even the Number of Boats untill they arrive.

I am at present engaged among other things in taking an Acc<sup>t</sup> of our Goods & settling our Books—By the next Opportunity I shall send you an exact State of our Affairs in this Quarter, Which Will not only be agreeable to you but to every Person We are indebted to—At least it will assure them that We want nothing but Time, Peace & proper Assortments to discharge all our Debts agreeable to our Declarations.

I have not positively determind When to send the Peltry I have by Me to New Orleans—for many Reasons I do not choose to entrust Mr Clarkson w<sup>th</sup> it—He has designedly been of more Injury than Service to Us here since My Arrival & will hereafter if in his Power—I do not thus positively affirm without a sufficient Foundation For prudential Reasons I shall ship him off as soon as possible without coming to a Rupture if I can avoid it—He is a cunning, designing & deceitfull Man—This I found soon after my Letter P Silver Heels & have since then been Urging him to a Settlement of his Books Which Were six Months behind hand on my Arrival & he has never posted them up till w<sup>th</sup> in a few Days. However I beg you will not let my Sentiments be known to your nearest Relations Unless his Impertinence obliges you to it. This I make a Point of. The Particulars of his base Conduct I shall fully inform you of on my Arrival

The Report of an Indian War to the Northward may deter me from sending any Peltry to Fort Pitt. The Bills we have depending of Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J. may be attachd for at New Orleans & perhaps some extravagant Damages recover'd thereon should they get hold of our Property there & were I to send them by Mr Clarkson I sincerely believe from his own Declarations of Revenge or Disappointment that he would not move a Finger to save Us from Perdition—This will induce me to endeavour if possible to find out some other Way of Remitting for them to prevent any Advantage being taken to the Prejudice of our indulgent Creditors, Who seek no such

Methods of securing themselves—But should I be obliged to send them to New Orleans, I will endeavour to do it in such Manner as to avoid any bad Consequence of that Kind—So soon as Mr Clarkson has settled the Acc<sup>ts</sup> of Persons he has entrusted here & taken their Notes that I may have no Disputes w<sup>th</sup> Any of them after his Departure, he will leave this & return by the Way of Fort Pitt unless he chooses to visit Orleans at his own Expence.

There is no Prospect yet of getting any thing from Mons Tholouse except about 2800 Livres Worth of Goods—

Inclosed is an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Negroes sold since my last Letter. The Roads have been & are yet so bad as to prevent Monsieur Nicolas sending for those he desired might be chose for him, or any other Persons coming from thence or Kahoki to make a Purchase. I have set Part of those We have left, to Work on a Piece of Land of 1500 Acres which I took for £34 sterling in Payment of a debt. They are building a Log House & getting ready to plant Tobacco & Corn—They shall put in two Acres of the former & fifty or sixty of the latter—One half of this Land is rich Meadow, situate six Miles from Fort Chartres on the Road from thence to Kaskaskia & will be a valuable Place—The Negros being thus employ'd will be no hindrance to their Sale & will not only maintain them but be a considerable Profit—Indian Corn sells for 3 Livres P Bushel, Tobacco we buy a great Q<sup>ty</sup> of for the Indians at a Livre P<sup>lb</sup> & retail it by the 1/2 doz pounds at 3 Livres—From the two Acres We may raise 4 M W<sup>t</sup> of Tobacco & from fifty Acres 1000 Bushels of Corn—I purpose purchasing all the poor Cattle I can get in the Country for Goods & sending them to this Place to fatten as there is Excellent Range & We can immediately procure Bills of Exchange for them—Hogs may be raised here in Abundance at a very cheap Rate & the Price is extravagantly high. I shall next Fall supply the Garrison with £300's Worth at least, from this Place alone. In my first Letter which went P Silverheels, I desired that Col Coles Order, in Respect to remitting £1000 to his Wife, might be complied with. He has now agreed that you shall retain that Money on my promising to give him a Bill for £300 the Remainder he takes Goods for. I allow him 20 Dollars on each Negro for prompt Pay. He is going largely into

the Farming Way & wants Liberty to go down the Country to bring his Wife here. Nothing is wanting but proper Posts at the Illinois River, St. Vincents & Machac—A Civil Government & Encouragement to Settlers from the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland & Virginia, to make this a most flourishing Colony. Without these Measures being taken tis not worth keeping Possession of as to any immediate Advantage resulting therefrom, As the English Nation is now at the whole Expence of maintaining the Country & France reaps all the Benefits from the Trade they formerly did, as I have so often repeated to you.

The Reasons why the Indian Acc<sup>t</sup> is so small, are owing to very few Indians being yet come in—& the Oconomical Scheme which has taken Place—Inclosed is Col Coles Draft on Mr Croghan for the Amount being £1969, 4, 11¼, this Currency that of New York being now establishd here by Order of General Gage—'Tis impossible to form a Judgement What the next Acc<sup>t</sup> may amount to—Be it What it may We shall have the Whole, notwithstanding a Number of French Merchants have combin'd against Us & made Application to Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes therefor & offer'd to supply the Crown at a much lower Rate than We do. He at first seem'd to favour their Proposals but On stating the National Disadvantages which would arrise therefrom although they offerd their Goods at so low a Rate, & for One or two other Reasons Which I cannot now communicate, he has directed the Commissary Who is entirely govern'd by him, to continue taking all he has Occasion of from Us.

What Time Mr Jennings will leave this, I cannot say, but should the Report of an Indian War to the Northward vanish, I apprehend he will depart some time in June or July with Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes' detachment of the 334th Reg<sup>t</sup> consisting of 150 Men, Who are to asscend the Ohio to Fort Pitt, but should there appear to be any Risque, he will no Doubt go by the Way of New Orleans. The Time of my Return will depend on the Letters I may receive from you dated in February or March—Unless I find it absolutely necessary for me to tarry here untill next Spring. In which Case I shall do it without Reluctance. Inclosed are a few Bills as P List at Foot hereof amounting to £ [*blank in MS.*] New York Curr<sup>y</sup> Which

with those already remitted to you make £ [*blank in MS.*] It gives me great Pain not to be able to send you more—Several Persons have disappointed me otherwise I might have made a small Addition—That of Dennis M'Crohans<sup>1</sup> on Col Croghan you will observe is endorsed by Col. Cole & therefore tis good Whether Mr Croghan answers it or not.

Pray dont forget to send the Jesuits Bark by the first Opportunity I expect to eat a pound of it myself if it comes in Time. We are greatly distress'd for Want of Medicines & shall be much more so in two or three Months if Mr Wharton does not bring a small Supply.

I flatter myself that ere this you have forwarded to Fort Pitt A considerable Part of the Goods I sent an Order for P Silver Heels & Mr Young & That that [*sic*] they will be despatchd to this Place before the Fall of the Waters—We shall be in Want of the following particular Articles, Viz

Loaf Sugar	Steel Spurs Short of
Muscovado d°	all Sizes
Hyson Tea	Salt Petre
Bohea d°	Worsted or Cruels
Chocolate	Short Pipes
Pepper	Blotting Cloaths
Shoes <i>very large in the</i>	fine Irish Linnens
<i>instep</i> but not high	fine Chintz & Callicos
quarterd fine &	White & red Flan <sup>1</sup>
coarse Mens Wom-	Swanskin
ens & Childrens	Black Barcelona
Tin Ware	Cravats & Hkdfs
Pitch & Cordage	Bandana d°
Pewter Basons &c	small Gilt Trunks
Brass Candle sticks	Bed Ticken in Pieces
Writing Paper	Table Cloths
Spike Gimblets	Candle Wick &
Tap Bores	Candle moulds
3 Largest Scale Beams	black Kip Hides

<sup>1</sup> Later in 1768, sheriff of the Illinois country, under the appointment of Wilkins.

tannd Sheep Skins	Ginghams & Cott
Beaver Traps	Hollands
Nails & Iron Mongery	Apalachia Hhdfs
for building of	Mens Boys & Womens
Houses	worsted Hose & th <sup>d</sup>
scyths & Sickles	G milld Hose &
scyth Stones	Mitts & Gloves
Knives & Forks	Felt & Castor Hats
Garden Spades	brass Jews Harps
Axes, of the best sort	Castile Soap
W Rs last will not	Playing Cards
stand	6 best Whip Saws
A large Q <sup>ty</sup> of English	2 Mill Saws
Cheese	Bar Iron
12 lb Beeswax	Red Stroud &c &c
Shirt Buttons	principally the Indian
fine y <sup>d</sup> w <sup>d</sup> Cott Checks	Silver Truck as
blue & red striped	wrote for

These are the principal Articles & w<sup>ch</sup> will yield an immense Profit & are what C & J intend to run principally upon Whether they open a new Store or not, the beneficially closing our Adventure depends greatly on keeping ours properly assorted—The Expences of Store Rent, Agents, Servants, Diet &c will be nearly the same Whether We have those Supplies or not, & the having the necessary Assortments will abundantly contribute to the Sale of the Goods We have on Hand—Mr Clarksons apprehending that we shall not be able to keep up those Assortments & knowing the great Profits on the Sale thereof, has induced him I imagine to draw Mr Jennings in to make the inclosed Proposals,<sup>1</sup> knowing that we would not accept of them, & that then he should be at Liberty to offer them to others.

Should any adventurous Persons adopt their Plann, I think they would be still more bold Adventurers than ever B W & M were. Our Trade 'tis true would be greatly injured but would reap no Benefit & I cannot believe that Mr Jennings would undertake such an Affair, provided you comply with the Order of December

<sup>1</sup> These proposals do not appear.

last or even with the principal Articles thereof. As to Mr Clarkson I do not choose at present to say more about him than, "Were he sure to injure Us or our Trade, there are few Things he would stop at. Of this I have of late had too much Experience. He returns home deeply determin'd on Revenge for some Unguarded Expressions of Mr Whartons & for the Contents of some of your Letters to Me & C<sup>t</sup> Smith on which he puts the most forced Constructions—& is now publishing here, particularly to Col Cole Whose Interest he is in Hopes of procuring thereby. But you may rest assured that his End will not be answerd."

I beg & indeed make a Point that you take no Notice of his Baseness not even to your nearest Relations Unless his Impertinence obliges you thereto. The Publishing of it would do neither him or Us any Service. He is a Person who has been unfortunate & has an innocent Family to provide for—I therefore would not, let it be suspected that there Was a Difference between Us if to be avoided—In his Heat he may conceive himself injured & be drove to things he may be hereafter sorry for—But at present he is really full of Mallice Please to send by the first Opportunity two half Bushels Iron bound w<sup>th</sup> Bars & stamp'd—& A good Supply of Garden Seeds. Those you sent in the Fall 1766 never arrived.

Inclosed is Lieu<sup>t</sup> Steels Acc<sup>t</sup>. I could not get him to settle it, as he is in Hopes of recovering the Whole from the General so as he shall be no sufferer. He at One Time proposed paying Us at the Rate of 15/ P Gallon for the Rum but afterwards beg'd I would leave it to you & him to settle on his Arrival at Philadelphia.

Jerard Rhode has been very frequently with me about his Chest of Cloaths Pray by what Boat was it forwarded—or is still at Fort Pitt—He left a Power with you to recover a Sum of Money of Cap<sup>t</sup> Moore on the Force of w<sup>ch</sup> he has taken up Goods here to the Am<sup>t</sup> of £30 & proposes that as Payment Please to be particular in your Advice on this Matter—Also by what Vessel you have remitted Pere Mourrains Money.

8<sup>th</sup> Mr Rumsay sets out tomorrow or next Day for Post Vincent to observe the Situation of Affairs there & to endeavour to dispose of a Number of Negroes for Cattle & Peltry He is vested



with Authority to tender the Oath of Allegiance to the Inhabitants there & to take such Surveys of the Country as he may Esteem for the Benefit of his Majestys Service—Should the Apprehension of Danger Vanish & he finds We can profitably dispose of a Q<sup>ty</sup> of our Goods there, I shall venture to send a Boat.

Maisonville is arrived from thence & says we should do very well there—We are disappointed in Mons Nicholas taking the Negroes that were marked for him as he cannot at present raise the Money & therefore does not incline to buy more than One without we would take Cattle at the Post in Payment—Mr Rumsay may perhaps agree with him for a Number on his Arrival at the Post.

Should We send a Boat up the Wabash John Finney is to take charge of her.

CONTEMPORARY QUOTATIONS, April 8, 1768

[K. MSS.—D. S.]

A Price Current		London 8 <sup>th</sup> April 1768	
Season'd		Damag'd & Stage	
First Sort	Beaver Parchm <sup>t</sup> @ lb....	5/6 @ 6/9	2/3 @ 2/9 fine Hudsons Bay so Tadusac
Second D°	..... D° .....	4/0 @ 5/6	2/0 @ 3/0 Canada
First sort	Beaver Cub .....	4/9 @ 4/11	2/5 @ 2/6 Fine Hudsons Bay so Tadusac
Second D°	D° .....	3/1 @ 4/6	2/ @ 2/4
	Beaver Coat .....	4/6 @ 6/0	mix't .....
	Bear @ Skin	14/ @ 23/6	5/ @ 10/
	D° Cub .....	8/ @ 12/	mix't
	Otter .....	14 @ 18/0	8/6 @ 11/0
	Fisher .....	4/6 @ 5/6	mix't
	Martin .....	4/ @ 5/6	2/6 @ 3/5 South
	D° Fine .....	6/ @ 12/6	3/6 @ 5/10 North Fine
	Wolf .....	9/0 @ 18/6	5/6 @ 6/6
	Wolverine .....	10/ @ 12/6	mix't
	Cat cased .....	4/ @ 5/	Pichon
	D° Fine .....	10/ @ 18/	
	Cat open .....	3/ @ 4/6	
	Mink .....	4/ @ 5/	1/6 @ 2/6
	Fox Silver .....	15/ @ 60/	

CONTEMPORARY QUOTATIONS, April 8, 1768 (Continued)

Fox Cross .....	10/6	@	11/6		
Fox Red .....	4/6	@	6/6	2/	@ 2/6
Fox Verginia .....	2/6	@	3/6	1/	@ 1/6
Raccoons ..	2/	@	3/	7 <sup>d</sup>	@ 1/3
Musquash .....	6 <sup>d</sup>	@	9 <sup>d</sup>	mix't	
Elk .....	15/	@	30/		
Deer in Hair	3/6	@	5/6		
Deer half dressd ₤ lb	2/6	@	3/		
Castoram ₤ lb	7/	@	8/9		
Gensang ₤ lb	8 <sup>d</sup>	@	1/3		
Capilare ₤ lb	.....				
Brown Sperm Oil.....	.....	@		.....	₤ Ton
White { Not of an Amber or Liver Colour					
as that is deem'd brown		@		.....	D°
Whale, Seil, and sea Cow Oil.....		@		£18 @ £19.10	D°
Cod or Liver Oil.....		@		.....	D°
Tar .....		@		.....	D°
Pitch .....		@		.....	D°
Turpentine .....		@		.....	D°
Pot Ashes { Best sort .....		@		£29.....	D°
Ordinary .....		@		£15 @ £28....	D°

CONTEMPORARY QUOTATIONS, April 8, 1768 (Continued)

Whale Fins {	all above 6 feet long clean and good.....	@	£370.....	D°
	all under D°.....	@	£185.....	D°
Logwood {	Honduras chipt .....	@	.....	D°
	D° unchipt .....	@	.....	D°
Fustick .....	.....	@	.....	D°
Brazilletto .....	.....	@	.....	D°
Nicoragua Wood .....	.....	@	.....	D°
Cam Wood .....	.....	@	.....	D°
Mahogany .....	.....	@	.....	foot
Pearl Ash .....	.....	@	£33 @ £38..	Ton
Mill'd Dollars .....	.....	@	5/4.....	oz
Gold in Coin.....	.....	@	78/8.....	oz

Signed, WATSON & OLIVE.

NB we do think that Furs will rather rise than fall in price

Personally appeared before me John Morris and made oath that the above is an exact & true Copy of the different articles above mentioned, and the prices thereof, as certified by Watson & Olive.

J: MORRIS

at KASKASKIAS.

sworn before me this 2<sup>d</sup> day of Feb<sup>y</sup> 1770

DAVID WILLIAMS

[Endorsed:] 1770

JOHNSON TO GAGE, April 8, 1768

[Johnson MSS., '6:65—Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL April 8<sup>th</sup> 1768.

DEAR SIR

Since my last of the 14<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> I have had a very severe attack of a Disorder something different from any I felt before which confined me to my bed for several days as it does still to my Room I attribute it to the severe Cold I caught during the late Congress, being obliged as the Indians were near 800, to meet them & Sit for several hours together amidst the snow in my Court Yard, This indisposition prevented my Answering your favor of the 13<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> sooner.

I now inclose you an Extract of the proceedings at the late Congress and also transmit my Acct of pay, & of such Disbursements &c as are come to hand to the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, for which I beg you will favor me with a Warrt.

Whenever the Traders apply to me again concerning Major Roger's Draughts I shall acquaint them with your reasons for not admitting them.

I thank you for the Extract of Lord Shelburnes Letter concerning the Boundary Line which corresponds a good deal with that to me. I do not know how they have settled the Carolina & Georgia boundarys, but you will find in the Proceedings I send you that the Cherokees have complained to the Six Nations at my House that the Line was very disadvantageous to them which induced the others to speak to me about the boundary to be settled for them, in manner as you will find in the Extract. As the Indians intend to cede Lands to the Provinces they will certainly expect a handsome return. they have no thought of doing with<sup>t</sup> a Gratuity & Indeed from all I could discover this was intended & M<sup>r</sup> Croghan on his return from England mentioned it as declared to him by the Lords of Trade. M<sup>r</sup> Penn will I am certain make them a reasonable acknowledgement for what they add within his Limits, as for the rest of the Colonies concerned which are All Royal Governments (Maryland excepted & that can be little concerned) The Government need not be a Loser by purchasing for them, as it will be afterwards readily paid by the People who will take it up, besides, that by purchasing at once all

within certain Limits, much trouble and Confusion will be saved in future, and the Transactions of Individuals for Small Tracts often attended with disputes will cease.

I have a Letter from Lieut Governor Carleton with a Petition<sup>1</sup> from the Traders to him, and their remarks upon the Regulations I made for the Ind<sup>n</sup> Trade. The Petition sets forth What they call their rights, the Proclamation for the free open Trade & that the Regulations are equally hurtfull to both themselves & Indians, That the Comd<sup>r</sup> Officers, or Commiss<sup>rs</sup> ought not to presume to stop or alter the intent of a Pass, their Remarks are contained under sev<sup>l</sup> Articles amongst which they find great fault with giving an accot of their Goods &c to the Commiss<sup>rs</sup>. That the same Reasons by which the Permission is given to go North of Lake Huron &c will hold good South of L. Erie, &c That every person with a Gov<sup>n</sup> pass ought to be permitted to go where he pleases without Molestation &c This is the Substance & is as much as to say that every Trader be at Liberty to go where, & do as he pleases, for in the first place the Proclamation for the Free Trade Subjects them nevertheless to Certain Restrictions to be made for that purpose, which have been fully approved of by his Majesty and myself directed to persist therein, In the next place the indulgence to those Northward of Lake Huron, arose from their own Representations, of the Peculiar circumstances of those Indian nations often in Want in a Country covered with deep Snow, which must greatly retard their marching & often render it impracticable, Circumstances by no means attending the rest of the Indians, and as to Governors passes they were designed to Express the post for Trade & the permission for Leaving the Province, & can by no means Extend In my opinion to protect them in a Country where his Majesty has thought proper to Subject them to restrictions as the very Tenor of the passes Express. The fact is that if Traders are allowed in the Ind<sup>n</sup> Country the same Libertys enjoyed by Commerce in established Governments & with Civilized Nations it will often be productive of very different Consequences, to the destruction of Liberty & property too, arising from the Peculiar circumstances of

<sup>1</sup> This is similar to petitions dated September 4, 1767, *ante*, 3, and November 26, 1767, *ante*, 121.

the Indians the defects in our Laws for their redress, & the impracticability for them to obtain it in case the Laws made that provision for their relief which some of the most Learned of that Profession declare they do not.

But as extravagant Gain will often tempt people to overlook Consequences, & run all hazards I have long thought it best to Wave every part which co<sup>d</sup> possibly be dispensed with, and Last fall Signified my thoughts & Resolutions thereon to the Secretary of State,<sup>1</sup> and indeed they have no reason to Complain for at the time they first represented these as Grievances there was no Commiss<sup>y</sup> or other officer of the Department Established at Michilimackinack, and since Rogers arrival there they have had free Liberty to go where they pleased. In consequence of what I wrote home on this head I have so far moderated the Regulations as to Admit their going into the Indian Country as in the inclosed Extract On which I sho<sup>d</sup> be glad to have your Sentiments as well as with regard to the Prohibition of Rum beyond the posts, or the Limitting the Quantity for each Canoe, which the Traders are in general very desirous to have settled, and indeed I believe it would be for the best, if the Ind<sup>s</sup> agreed to it.

The very extraordinary Expence attending the Commissaryship at the Illinois, & the Assertions of the Commiss<sup>y</sup> that he cannot retrench them, inclines me to withdraw that officer from thence,<sup>2</sup> Leaving proper Interpreters with the Commanding Officer which will prove a saving, at least tryal can be made whether we cannot do without a Commiss<sup>y</sup> at that place please to favor me with your advice & direction thereon.

Mr Magra mentioned in a Note from you some time ago, is now in this Neighbourhood being returned from Niagara in a very distressed condition & talks of going to Canada, I am a Stranger to his Affairs and do not know what to do with him.

<sup>1</sup> December 3, 1767; printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:997 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This alleged extravagance had likewise incurred the criticism of General Gage, Gage to Johnson, April 4, 1768, *ante*, 221. The same letter contains the first intimation that Johnson was contemplating the withdrawal of the commissary from the Illinois, thereby anticipating the orders from England to withdraw all commissaries. See also letters of Johnson to Gage, April 23, 1768, *post*, 264, and August 24, 1768, *post*, 384. This, however, was not done. Compare also, Morgan to Baynton, October 30, 1768, *post*, 435.

The Bad State of my health makes me agreeably to advice to resolve on taking a Journey to the Sea Side, in order to try what effect that Air may have towards restoring it. As my stay will be uncertain Lieut Johnson, Dep<sup>y</sup> for this District will receive your Commands & discharge the business of the Department here in my absence, I would willingly avoid this Journey did it not appear absolutely necessary & that I have hopes of returning with a larger share of health. L<sup>t</sup> Roberts tells me he took the Liberty to mention his Losses & Expences to you, on which occasion you was pleased to referr it to me I therefore insert them in mine, and hope you will find them reasonable.

HIS EXCELL<sup>CY</sup> GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] Johnson Hall 8<sup>th</sup> April 1768 Letter to Gen<sup>r</sup> Gage w<sup>th</sup> sundry Enclosures.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, April 11, 1768

[George Morgan Letter Book]

[KASKASKIA, April 11, 1768]

Mr Rumsay & Doctor Connelly set out for Post Vincent on Saturday Evening last—On Sunday Night at 8 or ten Leagues from here they were alarmed by two French Men who had been hunting in the Prairies coming to their Camp & informing them they had been fired upon by a large Party of Indians whom they took for Cherokees. But as they were on Horse Back they made their Escape & beg'd Mr Rumsay & the Doctor not to proceed—but return immediately to this Place.

They could not tell what to think of this but however Determind to proceed in the Morning, Which induced the two French Men to think of tarrying With them all Night—But about an Hour afterwards w<sup>ch</sup> was near Nine OClock a third French Man came to their Fire w<sup>th</sup> his Hair on End & ready to faint—He said he was from Post Vincent, Which Place he left in C<sup>o</sup> w<sup>th</sup> three others of his Country Men w<sup>th</sup> 8 Horses loaded w<sup>th</sup> Peltry—That about an Hour before Sun Set that Day they Were all surrounded by a large Party of Indians whom he took to be Cherokees & Who had made Prisoners of his Companions he having escaped by the Goodness of



his Horse tho he was chased & fired at several Times. At this Relation they thought it high Time to decamp & make a forced March back to this Place & arrived here this Morning about ten OClock. They are now reposing themselves after their Fatigue.

This Moment I am told Mr Hollingshead is arrived in a Canoe Which induces me to break off to wellcome him to the Illinois.

FORBES TO GAGE, April 15, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, 301—E.]

Extracts of a letter from Capt. Forbes 34th Regiment Commanding at the Illinois, to General Gage—Dated Fort Chartres 15th April 1768.

"As I am very Sensible of the immense Expence this Country is to the Crown, and the little Advantage the Publick has hitherto reaped by the Trade with the Savages; And the reason is that the Inhabitants have continued to Send their Peltry to New Orleans which is Shipped from thence for Old France and all the Money that is laid out for the Troops and Savages, is immediately Sent to Orleans, for which Our Subjects gets French Manufactures; I Hope, Sir, You will Excuse Me when I Observe to Your Excellency, that the Crown of Great Britain is at all the Expence, and that France reaps the Advantages.

"For the above reasons I have issued a Placart, forbidding the Inhabitants to Send any Peltry down the River, before they Acquainted me with the Number of Packs of Skins they Embarked; At the Same time, to give a Bond of Two Hundred Pounds, that they should land them in a British Fort, getting a Certificate from some of the King's Officers, Specifying that Such a Quantity of Peltry were landed in such a Port, by which means they will be obliged to take British Manufactures in return."<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] Extracts of a letter from Capt. Forbes 34th Regiment Commanding at the Illinois, To General Gage—Dated Fort Chartres 15th April 1768. "In Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's (No. 7) of 17th August 1768."

<sup>1</sup> Furs were on the enumerated list and this order of Forbes was intended for the enforcement of the navigation law.

PHYN TO JOHNSON, April 15, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 25:109—A. L. S.]

MOBILE 15<sup>th</sup> April 1768

SIR

I would much rather be thought troublesome, than deficient in showing and acknowledging that Respect and attention, which your goodness and friendly behavior to me, so much deserves. From that motive therefore, you have now the trouble of this Letter, which, from the circuite I have taken in joining my Regm<sup>t</sup> might, *from a more able pen* be filled with entertaining & perhaps usefull subject. However without ceremonie, I shall take the liberty to give you my sentiments of the very extensive Country I have so latly passed through.

That the lands on the Ohio River are generally Rich & beautifull, covered with variety of fine timber, is indisputable; and they are likewise plentifully watered by a number of commodeous Rivers & creeks: But notwithstanding these advantages of nature, I cannot reconcile to myself the propriety of making settlements there, were the Indians even to admitt of it. The River Ohio can really only be said to be navigable from the braking up of the Winter to the month of June, except with very small Canoes, and the Prodigious land carriage to the sea coast from Fort Pitt, must, but bring a very small profit to the Planter. Should they take the Port of New Orleans, *for by no other communication can we carry produce to sea*, the distance is too great, as the whole summer months would be employed in such a Voyage, besides it is a forreign Port.

The acquisition of the Country of the Illinois I am affraid will turn out to be but of small advantage to us; we by no means command the Indian Trade there; as the French & Spanish Subjects can go & does, without interruption among the Indians every where, in the Country: owing to there not being Posts made at the mouths of these Rivers leading to their Towns particularly the Illinois River & Ohio: But really at present it is not very material, for as long as New Orleans is in the hands of an other Power, the whole produce of that country must center there, For our Merchants will always dispose of their Peltry or whatever the Country produces at Orleans,

because they get as good a price there, as if they were to ship them off. So little attention has been paid in order to render the Country in any means servicable to us, for the expence it costs in keeping it; that you would emagine pains had been taken to enduce the Inhabitants to remove from our side. There is no settled administration of justice,<sup>1</sup> but the whole depends upon the mear will & fancy of the Off<sup>r</sup> Commanding the Troops; and whose disposition is displeasing to all Ranks under his command, as well as an ensaciable desire to get money by any means ever so low. It's displeasing to me to give such a Character of a Man of his Rank, but I am affraid it will be found to be too just,<sup>2</sup> and from the treatment the French inhabitants there received, most of them has left us; And those who remains seems to be in a state of suspense whether to go off, or waite for a more favorable change. About Fort Chartres, where there was on our taking possession of that Country, a very pretty settlement, there is not now three family's, & them wretchedly poor. At the Village of Kaskaskia there is indeed several, who supports themselves chiefly by Hunting & in performing Voyages to & from New Orleans, but none of those would I believe, reamain, if their property & interest were not so materially concerned. The Inhabitants of the Village of Caho which lyes about forty miles above fort Chartres are circumstanced in the same manner: But sure I am had that Country fallen under the Command & inspection of a sencible & moderate Man, we would have had, many of the French settlers come over to us in place of Deserting us.

In general the lands of the Illinois are pretty good, and no doubt capable to produce many necessary articles, if proper attention is paid to the Climate; yet perhaps there is not a River in the World, *for its extent*, less supplied with water falling into it; which induces me to believe it will never be thoroughly settled unless on the banks of the Rivers. And that will never happen with any advantage to England, unless we can procure the Ideal Island of New Orleans; I call it Ideal, because we have never yet been able to find water enough along

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the legal position of the West, see Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, ch. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Compare letter of Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, December 10, 1767, *ante*, 129-130.

the North East side of it, to transport a Canoe into Lake Ponchartrain, Except for about two months of the Year when the Mississippi overflowes its banks, and furnishes many Gully's of the same sort with Water. Yet could we find a passage, *for even small craft*, to go to sea, the Country of the Illinois would be worthy of attention: But had we the Island of New Orleans, that Country in a very short time would I believe be equal to any of our Colonies. At present we are allowed the free Navigation of the River Mississippi, but the Spaniards may prevent us from Landing & we cannot Anchor a Vessell in the River, but is obliged to make them fast alongside the Bank to trees. And from the Iberville *where the Island of Orleans begins*, to the Town, it is near two hundred miles.

From the above confused scetch you may easily conjecture what the Illinois will turn out to be. The only Port for exportation, a foreign one, lyable to be put under many regulations to our disadvantage, besides the encroachments they have it in their power to make, to the prejudice of our Colonie. On the other hand were we in possession of New Orleans we would have a fine harbour in the Bay of Mexico, & secure to ourselves the produce of a large & Extensive Country, happy in a Luxurient Soil, and which would not fail to be cultivated from the River Illinois to the Sea; And by the cultivation of the Fertile lands of the Mississippi, the Sea coast of this province would be of consequence and the Ports of Pensacola & Mobile would become I do believe flowrishing places of Trade when on the conterary, they will remain inconsiderable in every Respect, and only a Reseptacle for Men of broken fortunes.

But I have dwelt too long on this subject, to one who knows these circumstances much better, and who can judge with much more accuracy & perspecuity, than I dare pretend to. The Court Martial for the Tryal of Major Farmer has been sitting ever since my arrival in the Province, I heard the whole prosecution when I was at Pensacola, And there was not one Evidence said a thing in support of any of the many & heavy charges exhibited against him. And if I may be allowed to judge, I think Major Farmer has been greatly injured, by the mear surmise & chimera of a mans brain.

Give me leave Sir to congratulate you on the safe arrival of Sir John, to whom I beg you will present my most Respectfull Compliments, as also to Cap<sup>t</sup> Claws and Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson and their Families.

General Haldimand is well and made very kind enquiry for you, and expressed the satisfaction he had in hearing from you.

I am sure I have tired your pacience & ought to be ashamed for troubling you with so long a Letter, but your known Goodness embolden'd me. Who has the Honor to be Sir your much Oblieged and very Obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

GEO PHYN

[*Endorsed:*] Mobile 15th April 1768. From Lieut Phyn to S<sup>r</sup> W Johnson.

HILLSBOROUGH TO THE SEVERAL GOVERNORS, April 15, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.673, f. 75—C.]

WHITE HALL April 15. 1768

SIR,

I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you that in Consequence of a report made to His Majesty by the L<sup>ds</sup> of Trade the plan for the managen<sup>t</sup> of Indian Affairs adopted by the Superintendants has been fully laid before His Majesty.

Upon mature consideration of the present Regulations the great Expence of the Variety of the Establishments far Exceed<sup>s</sup> the Value of the Object & the Difficulties which have attended the execution of that plan in General for want of due Authority in the Superintendants. His Majesty has thought fit that it shall be laid aside that the regulation for the trade shall be left to the Colonies whose Legeslatures must be the best Judges of what their several Situations & Cercumstances may require.

That the Office of Superintendant shall however be continu'd for such Matters as are of Immediate Negotiation between H. M. and the Savages, and cannot therefore be regulated by Provincial Authority, and that the Boundary line between the Indian and the Settlement of H. M. Subject, (every where negotiated upoun, and in

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:55; and *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 9:552. Compare with the representation of the board of trade, March 7, 1768, *ante*, 183.

many parts settled and ascertained), shall be finally ratified and confirmed.

As the Grounds reasons for the several Regulations are in general sett forth in the report of the Board of trade, and as that report will inform you, what will be expected and required of the Collonies, and what will be hereafter the nature of the office of Superintendant, I have thought fit to send you the enclosed extract of last part of it, as relates those objects, and I have it further in comand from H: M: to acquaint you, that in concequence of the resolution H. M. has taken for the future direction of this Branch of His service, He has given necessary orders to the Comander in Chief of His Forces, for the reduction of all such Posts in the Interrieur Country that are not absolutely necessary for Public safety in General, and for giving Protection and facillity to the Commerce of His subjects.<sup>1</sup> But as the Fort of Niagarra the Detroit and Missilimakinac do not appear, does not apear [*sic*] to H: M: to fall within this description, H: M: has thought fit that they shall be continued, and that a proper Naval force shall be kept upon the Lakes. The Objects which upon this occasion will principally demand the attention of the several Collonies, are, to provide by the most effectual Laws for preventing any settlem<sup>t</sup> being made beyond the line that shall be agreed upon with the Indians, and for the Contrroll and punishment of those Atrocious Frauds and Abuses which have been practised by the Traders, and have been one principal Cause of the dis-affection of the Savages.

It is unnecessary for me to use any argument to shew how greatly both the Interest and Safety of the Collonys depend upon a close attention to these Objects, and as many of the regulations of the present plan of Super-Intendancy have evidently operated to the benefit of the Trade and to the giving that satisfaction and content to the Savages, by which alone the Colonies can hope to derive either imediat profit or lasting peace. H: M: trusts that they will be adopted, as far as local Circumstances and peculiar situations will admit, always having regard to the Freedom of trade with the

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the partial or complete abandonment of western posts consult index to volumes of the series.

Indians, which H: M: has graciously granted to all His Subjects by his proclamation of 1763. As the execution of the Measures which H: M: recommends to your attention will principally depend upon the nature and extent of the reduction which the Comander in Chief of H. M. forces shall think proper to make, of the Military Establishm<sup>t</sup> in the interieur Country, H: M: has given the necessary directions that he should Communicate to you as soon as possible the arangem<sup>t</sup> proposed to be made in respect to thes Establishments, and H: M: trusts that after such Intimations, no time will be lost in carrying His Royal Intention into full Execution. I have the greater Sattisfaction in comuniquating to you H: M: directions upoun the subject, as I conceive that H: M: gracious Condescention in Comiting the Regulation of those important Objects to the Care of His Colonies cannot but be very acceptable to them.<sup>1</sup>

I am with great trust and reg[ard] Sir Y<sup>r</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

TO THE SEVERAL GOVERNORS.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, April 15, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 73—Draft]

WHITEHALL, 15th April 1768

(N<sup>o</sup> 3)

HONBLE MAJOR GENERAL GAGE.

SIR,

In my Letter to You dated the 12th Instant (No. 2)<sup>2</sup> I acquainted You that I had taken the earliest opportunity of submitting to the Committee of His Majesty's Servants, some Propositions respecting the System to be finally adopted for the Management of Our Interests with the Savages in America, and for the future Disposition of His Majesty's Troops in consequence thereof; and

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it may be observed that the government was emphasizing its own interpretation of its authority in such matters as taxation and the enforcement of navigation laws. From the statement in the above document it seems probable that the government expected the colonies to look favorably on the plan of transferring to their control a branch of commerce formerly under imperial management.

<sup>2</sup> March 12, 1768, *ante*, 212.

that it was intended to enter into a full Discussion of this Business in the ensuing Week.

The opinions formed upon the fullest Consideration of this very important Matter have been laid before His Majesty, who has examined them with the deepest attention, and with the greatest Sollicitude for the Interests and Welfare of His Subjects both in this Kingdom and in His Colonies.

Upon this Occasion His Majesty has had recourse, not only to such of your Letters as relate to those Points which were the Subject of this Deliberation, but also to a Report thereupon made by the Lords of Trade in Consequence of a Reference from the Earl of Shelburne; And as His Majesty does in general approve, not only the Propositions contained in that Report; but also the Principles on which they are founded, I have thought fit, in order to avoid unnecessary Repetition to send You herewith a Copy of it for your Information.

It appears to His Majesty that in the present State of the Kingdom, its future Safety and Welfare do in great Measure depend upon the relieving it from every Expence, that is not of absolute Necessity, and therefore though His Majesty applauds the Motives which induced the first Institution of the present Plan of Superintendency for Indian Affairs, which was evidently calculated to regain the Confidence, and combine the Force of the Savages against a then powerfull Enemy, yet, as in the present State of America, the main objects of that Plan, if not entirely removed, are at least greatly diminished, His Majesty trusts that the Continuance of it is rendered the less necessary, at least in it's full Extent, and that whatever Regulations may be proper, they are more desirable for the Sake of Commerce, than necessary for publick Security.

Upon this view of the State of this Service, His Majesty has given the fullest attention to every Circumstance that accompanies the present Plan, as well in respect to the Expence, as to the Difficulties that have been represented by the Superintendents to attend the Execution of it; and, when His Majesty considers that the One is as far beyond the Value of the Object to be attained, as the other is out of reach of any effectual Remedy, His Majesty concurs in opinion



with His Board of Trade, that the laying aside that part of it which relates to the Indian Trade and entrusting the entire Management of that Trade to the Colonies themselves will be of Publick Utility & Advantage, as a means of avoiding much Difficulty and saving much Expence to this Country, both in present and in future.

As His Majesty observes however that both yourself and Sir William Johnson have in several of your Letters expressed some apprehensions of ill Consequences that might follow from a Neglect in the Colonies to establish those Regulations which might prevent or correct the Frauds and Abuses of private Traders, and that such Neglect might operate to endanger the Publick Peace, His Majesty has not been wanting in a due attention to so important a Consideration.

His Majesty is convinced from the Experience of former Times, that antecedent to the Establishment of the present Regulations by Superintendents, the Traders were guilty of the grossest Frauds and Abuses; that little Care was taken to correct those abuses, and that this Neglect occasioned the Indians to break out into frequent Hostilities. The same Experience however serves to show that these were Evils merely of a local Operation, and would have produced their own Remedy, perhaps at no other Expence than the temporary Abandonment of a few straggling Settlements upon the Frontiers, had not the Consideration of the Safety of the Posts in the interior Country, which from their Situation necessarily became the first Objects of the Resentment of the Savages, involved this Kingdom upon every Rupture between them and the Colonies in the Necessity of carrying on a War in the Indian Country at an enormous and ruinous Expence.

The Propriety therefore of entrusting the Management of the Trade with the Indians to the Colonies, does, in this view of the Case, appear to His Majesty to depend in great measure upon a Reduction of such Posts in the interior Country, as are by their Situation exposed to the Resentment of the Savages, it being evident, that in Proportion as the Number of such Posts is diminished, the Necessity of carrying on an Indian War at the Expence of this Kingdom, will be the less, and the Colonies themselves will be more

attentive to their own Security by adopting such of the Regulations established under the present Plan of Superintendency, as have evidently operated to the Benefit of the Trade, and to the giving th<sup>at</sup> Satisfaction and Content to the Indians from which alone the Colonies can hope to derive either immediate Profit or lasting Peace. It is not however from this consideration alone that His Majesty is induced to wish for a Reduction of the Posts in the interior Country, The great Expence of these Establishments, and the Effect they have to destroy all usefull Discipline, by keeping the Troops divided into small Parties, are Inconviences which have been severely felt and strongly represented; But at the same time it is not His Majesty's Intention, that any of these Reasons, however just and cogent, should operate to induce such a Reduction in the Military Establishments, or a Reform in the Plan for the Management of Indian Affairs, as shall be inconsistent with Publick Safety, by withdrawing that Protection which may be thought necessary to give Facility to Commerce or may weaken those alliances between His Majesty and the Indians, which, both His Majesty's Honor and the Publick Interests required to be preserved.

His Majesty therefore concurs in opinion with His Board of Trade, that the Offices of Superintendents of Indian affairs should be continued for all those Purposes enumerated in their Report to His Majesty.

That Provision should be made by a stated Estimate for a Salary of £1,000 per annum to each Superintendent, and for an Allowance of £3,000 per annum to each for annual, or occasional Presents to the Indians, and to answer all other contingent Expences, which allowance is on no account to be exceeded.

That all the Establishments made with a View to the Execution of the Regulations for the Trade (which is now to be left to the Management of the Colonies) be discontinued.

That the Line between the Settlements of His Majesty's Subjects, and the Indian Country as described in the Report of the Board of Trade, be everywhere finally ratified and confirmed, and that the several Colonies be required and enjoined in the strongest manner to provide by Provincial Laws for the Punishment of any

Persons who shall make Settlements beyond such Line, or be guilty of any Frauds or abuses in carrying on the Trade with the Indians.

That the Forts of Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimakinac be kept up and garrison'd in such manner as You shall think fit; and that such a Naval Force be maintained upon the Lakes as You shall judge necessary for keeping up a proper Communication and giving all reasonable Facility and Protection to the Trade of His Majesty's Subjects, taking Care that the Establishment be so formed as that the Expence be reduced to some certain annual Estimate, and in this You will have Regard to the Report of the Board of Trade and to any Contracts already made.

His Majesty has not failed in this great and extensive Consideration to give due attention to Propositions, which have been made, with regard to Establishments on the Rivers Mississippi, Ohio and Illinois; But as His Majesty has Doubts concerning the Utility of Establishments in such remote Situations, which consequently cannot be kept up but at an immense Expence, it is the King's Pleasure that you should report your Opinion with regard to the Continuance of any of the Forts in those Situations, & in the mean Time, that you should keep up for the present Fort Chartres, or some other proper Post in the Illinois, & Pittsburgh, as also either the Works at Ticonderoga, or the Fort at Crown Point, as a Communication between New York & Quebec, and that you should in like manner report your opinion upon the necessity of this last.

These, Sir, are the only Establishments in the interior Country, of the utility of which His Majesty has sufficient Information to give any directions. As to all other Posts & Establishments, as well in the interior Country, as in the settled parts of the Colonies, and the Islands dependent thereon, which you shall think not absolutely necessary for publick Safety in general, His Majesty trusts that the present State of His Colonies, under the Security they derive from the important Cessions made to His Majesty by the Treaty of Paris, may with Propriety admit of their entire Reduction, and that the 15. Battalions employed for the Service of North America, may be so stationed in large Bodies in the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, East Florida, and the middle Colonies, as to be in a proper State,

with regard to Discipline and Situation, to serve effectually upon any Emergency whatever.

The Disposition for the Troops transmitted with Your Letter to The Earl of Shelburne N<sup>o</sup> 6.<sup>1</sup> tho' formed upon a Supposition that all the Posts now occupied were to be continued, yet seems to have had a View to this important Object of keeping the Army together in large Bodies; In that View of it, It is entirely approved by His Majesty; And His Majesty thinks, that if the Reduction of the Posts above suggested can be effected, the whole of the 15. Battalions may be formed into 4. Bodies, and the Duties of the Posts upon the Lakes, in Newfoundland, and in West Florida, performed by Detachments from the principal Stations; In which Case the Battalions destined for these Services in your Disposition above referred to, may be placed in one or Other of those Stations, & consequently the Plan of keeping the Army together in large Bodies, rendered more perfect and complete.

The Time and Manner of effecting this important Reduction & Disposition, and the Arrangements in Consequence thereof, as well in respect to the Posts which are to be reduced, as the placing of the military Stores, and the Preparation necessary to be made for the Reception and Accommodation of the Troops, in the middle Colonies, & in Quebec, at Halifax, and at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine, tho' They are Considerations of Importance, yet are so much matter of Detail, that no particular Directions can be given from hence upon them.

As to the Manner of disposing of the Forts from which the Garrisons will be withdrawn, it appears to His Ma[jes]ty to depend so much upon the Situation of Each Fort, and other local Circumstances, as not to admit of any general Rule; For, as on the One hand, some of these Forts, situated on those Passes thro' which particular Colonies carry on their Commerce with the Savages, may be useful as Truck-Houses to those Colonies, & consequently may be put into their Possession for that purpose; So, on the other hand, such of them as You think might be of Service in Case of any future Operation, may be entrusted to the Care of particular Persons, in the

<sup>1</sup> See letter of April 3, 1767, in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 544, 551.

Manner, and under the Regulations, adopted in the Case of Fort Stanwix, whilst those which from a Change in Circumstances, are rendered altogether useless, may be dismantled, and entirely abandoned.

I have now, Sir, gone thro' the several Directions I have in Command from His Ma[jes]ty in this important Arrangement, and have endeavoured, as well as I am able, to explain to You the Grounds & Reasons of the several Resolutions which have been taken, from which you will observe, that the great Objects are 1<sup>st</sup> To lessen the present heavy Expence incurred by the Continuance of Establishments which the Removal of the French & Spaniards from their most important Possessions, has rendered unnecessary. 2<sup>dly</sup> To preserve the Army so united, and in such a State of Discipline, as that it may be complete and effectual to answer any Exigency, and so situated that it may be transported to whatever Places may require It's Service, with as little Trouble and Expence as possible; And lastly to secure the Affection of, and consequently to avail Ourselves of the Advantage of a beneficial Commerce with the Savages, by fixing a permanent Line of Separation between their Country and the Settlements of His Ma[jes]ty's Subjects, and thereby removing from their Minds those Apprehensions, which the unwarrantable Attempts to take Possession of their Lands had created, and which have operated so much to the Prejudice of the Interests and Safety of the Colonies in general.

His Majesty trusts that there is nothing in the present State of His American Possessions that can prevent the immediate Attainment of these desirable Objects; At the same Time His Majesty is sensible that the Propriety of the whole, or any part of what is here suggested, as well as the Time for It's Execution, may depend upon many Events of which it is impossible at this Distance to have complete and perfect Information; And therefore these are Circumstances under which the Execution of the Service recommended to Your Consideration, must be left to Your Judgment and Discretion, in which His Majesty has the firmest Confidence and fullest Reliance.

As it is necessary that the Governors of several of the Colonies, as well as the Superintendants for Indian Affairs, should be informed

of His Ma[jes]ty's Intentions with regard to the Arrangement proposed to be adopted, in order that they may severally take such Steps with regard to the Indian Department, as are recommended by the Board of Trade, I have received His Ma[jes]ty's Commands to write to them upon this Occasion, & to signify to them His Majesty's Pleasure, for carrying His Royal Intentions into Execution,<sup>1</sup> so soon as they shall have been informed by You of the measures taken for reducing the Posts, & withdrawing the Troops from the Interior Country, and therefore You will not fail to correspond with them upon this Occasion, and to give them from Time to Time such Intelligence of Your Proceedings as You shall think His Ma[jes]ty's Service may require.

I have nothing further to add, but to signify to You His Ma[jes]ty's Pleasure, that the Companies stationed in the Islands of Bermuda, and the Bahamas, which His Majesty understands are Detachments from the 15. Battalions employed in the Service of North America, should be withdrawn; It not appearing to His Majesty that the Situation of these Islands does require the Continuance of such Establishments, & some Inconveniences having arisen in Cases respecting these Detachments, to which the Regulations of the Mutiny Act cannot apply.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gage. (N<sup>o</sup> 3) N<sup>o</sup> 5.

MEMORANDUM, 1767<sup>2</sup>

[George Morgan Letter Book]

A Skinner to come down with [*MS. illegible*]

mention Mr. Phynns Disappointment note Dollars

Red Stroud

Dr Steels Acct.

1/2 Bushels

<sup>1</sup> This circular letter immediately precedes this document.

<sup>2</sup> In the original this fragment, dated 1767, preceding the items of April 18, 1768, was placed out of its chronological order.

COLE TO JOHNSON, April 18, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:70—A. L. S.]

DEAR SIR

I have this day wrote to Mr Croghan, inclosing my accounts for the last six months, which he doubtless will forward to you, and to which I refer you,—I think there is an absolute necessity of Establishing a Post, at Post Vincennt, and to have Some one there, in the Indian department it being the great path throw which all the northward Indians pass, and a Great place of Trade.

There is now here Mr Rumsey who was formerly in the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> and came with Cap<sup>t</sup> Sterling when he took possession, he is now a going to Post Vincennt, I hav desired him to make all the observations he possible can with regard to the Trade being Carried on there, and the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not he would gladly accept of any Employment for that place—from his Knowledge of the Country and being well Acquainted with the Manners & Customes of Indians, much benefit might arrise from a more Cirtain Intelligence, and puting a Stop to the Illeicet Trade carryed on in the Ouabach and priventing bad people Sowing Sedition among the nations by haveing Such a person there. My Compliments to Sir John and your Family and Belive me to be Dr Sir with the Utmost Respect Your mos<sup>t</sup>

Obe<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>le</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

FORT CHARTRES Ap<sup>l</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1768

EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

[Endorsed:] Fort Chartres 18<sup>th</sup> April 1768 Comis<sup>ry</sup> Coles Letter

MEMORANDUM, April 18, 1768

[George Morgan Letter Book]

1768 April 18th

Charge Col. Cole with the following Drafts Viz.

Jas. Campbell on James Robinson at N York in favour of Edw<sup>d</sup>

Pownall dated the 17th Feby New York 1768 at 30 Days Sight

for - - - - - £27..3..

Jos<sup>a</sup> Moore on Commissary Lake of the same date & Sight

in favour of John Nash - - - - - 8..0

Ditto on ditto dated Jan<sup>ry</sup> 28th 1768 160..

30 Days Sight in favour of D Blouin £190 3

Mcs brought by Thomas Fry	
351 - - - - -	Beaver
31 - - - - -	Small ditto
51 - - - - -	Otter
104 - - - - -	Bears
45 - - - - -	Buck
104 - - - - -	Racoons
14 - - - - -	Fox
9 - - - - -	Cats
Beaver - - - - -	212
Bucks - - - - -	402
Bears - - - - -	51
Cat - - - - -	18
Fox - - - - -	14
Otter - - - - -	51
Racoon - - - - -	167
Panthers - - - - -	3
Coffee - - - - -	4/6 P <sup>lb</sup>
Bohea Tea - - - - -	15/
Chocolate - - - - -	4/6 & 6/
Loaf Sugar - - - - -	4/6
best muscovado d <sup>o</sup> - - - - -	3/9
Pepper - - - - -	15/
Mens best Shoes - - - - -	22/6
Common d <sup>o</sup> - - - - -	15/
Womens Shoes - - - - -	18/9
Girls & Boy d <sup>o</sup> - - - - -	15/
Quart Jacks - - - - -	15/
Pint d <sup>o</sup> - - - - -	11/3
Pint Pewter Basons - - -	7/6
large Pewter Porringers -	7/6
small d <sup>o</sup> - - - - -	4/6
Large Pewter Plates - - -	75/ P dozen
Chintzes, muslins & Irish Linnens	100 P C <sup>t</sup> on an average
Nails - - - - -	4/6 P C <sup>t</sup>



such Iron ware as we have ordered 300 P C<sup>t</sup>  
Brass Candle Sticks 200 P C<sup>t</sup>  
In short every thing We have Wrote for will sell to a  
great Profit

Thompsons Acct.

Wm Gillilands d<sup>o</sup>

J. Biles

Rudder Irons, Rivets & Burs.

Write to

C<sup>t</sup> Edmondstone

Mr Croghan

J. Campbell

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, April 18, 1768

[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA April 18<sup>th</sup> 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

This will be forwarded to you from Detroit by Mr Maisonville,  
Who sets out for that Place in Half an Hour.

Mr H's last Boats arrived last Night—The Meat appears to be  
in excellent Order.

By Indians just come up the Mississippi, we are informd that  
there are Boats in the River from Fort Pitt, & that there is a Woman  
on board One of them. I conclude that it must be Mr Ws<sup>1</sup> Boat,  
with Doctor Connollys Wife on board—I hope therefore to see Mr  
W well, tomorrow or next Day at farthest—It gives me great Pain  
not to be able to send you more Bills than those inclosed as P List at  
Foot hereof, amount to £ [*blank in MS.*], Illinois Curr<sup>y</sup> Mr  
Maisonvilles Departure being sudden & my being much engaged at  
present obliges me to refer you to a Letter w<sup>ch</sup> I have wrote & shall  
send off tomorrow or next Day & which you may perhaps receive  
before this comes to Hand—I hope it will not be long after, as I  
know you must be very anxious to hear particularly from me of this  
Date. It is impossible for me to gratify you by this Opportunity—

There is no particular Alteration in our Affairs here & all is  
well as to the Disposition of the Indians, tho' a Cloud appead [*sic*]  
to hang Over Us some time past.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Wharton.

I am w<sup>th</sup> the utmost Affection Dear Partners, Yours sincerely

G MORGAN

P Maisonville.

MORGAN TO HIS WIFE [April, 1768]

[More MSS.—A. L.]

MY DEAR MOLLEY

I well know I need make no excuse to you for writing so short a letter as this will be, if I only assure you I am well, which I have the Happiness perfectly to be. W. Gilliland or W. McComb, will deliver you this. They have been obliged to wait the greater part of this Day for these few Lines. I have constantly had twenty or more Indians with me since they informed me of their sudden Resolution to depart. So soon as I have dismissed one Band, another comes in, & I have nobody but myself to attend them at present. I sincerely wish I could be kept so constantly and so profitably employed every Day.

I yesterday or rather last Night dispatched a boat to Fort Pitt, by which I wrote you a short Letter & our dear Father a long one. But not a line to any other Person in Philadelphia except Mr. Croghan. My Brothers I believe will think I am very negligent. It is impossible for any One to attend to Ceremony where Business forbids, and with so uneasy a mind as I have at present, principally on account of Mr. Wharton's Delay & my Anxiety to hear from you &c However they cannot ascribe it to want of affection. On the 18<sup>th</sup> inst I also wrote to you by Mr. Maisonville who had charge of Letters from Capt. Forbes our Commandant, & Col. Cole, which he is to send by an express from the Miamis. These Letters and those by the Boat to Fort Pitt will most probably reach you much sooner than this, especially as Gilliland and McComb are not certain but they may tarry some considerable Time at Pensacola or Carolina. They were both of them too fearfull of the Report of an Indian War, to ascend the Ohio in my Boat. I have given them orders to keep this letter, unless they meet w<sup>th</sup> a very safe Opportunity. Gilliland says he shall be ashamed to look anybody who knows him in the Face, as he has behaved so very ill to Mr. Rumsey & Myself.

Mr. Rumsey is now at Fort Chartres but I expect him here before Night. He did not write to Mr. Baynton by my Boat, but

desired his Compliments to you and him. I Inclosed his letter to Mr. Baynton with others I received from him on the Ohio, which as the Danger is now all over, you may safely venture to read. - - - - - The Suspense I am in, whether I shall leave this Country or not, must add to my Anxiety. However as I now begin to take for granted that I cannot see you this Fall or in 1768 I must reconcile myself to it, as well as I can. Mr. Baynton will no doubt fall on the most prudent steps to relieve me. But this one thing I make point of with him, that after my return Home, it shall not be expected of me to come here again. Now I am on the Spott, I would far rather<sup>1</sup>

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, April 23, 1768

[George Morgan Letter Book]

[KASKASKIA,] April 23 1768

To my very great Mortification I must inform you that all the Meat Mr Hollingshead has brought Up with him in his last Boat is but 20 M W<sup>t</sup> besides a few Kegs of Tallow & Bears Oil. I refer You to him for the Particulars of his Winter Campaign—he says, that had he been out twenty Day's sooner down to the Hunting Grounds he would have loaded all his Boats & been here some time before the Winter set in—The Sudden Rise of the Waters after he got there drove all the Game back into the Country—However What Meat he has brought back appears to be in excellent Order—He & Mr Rumsay are gone to Fort Chartres to agree with Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes for the Whole of it—I every moment expect his Letters to his Wife which shall be forwarded herewith if they come in time but I cannot possibly detain the Boat farther as there Will shortly be an Opportunity of Writing by Mr Clarkson by the Way of New Orleans—I also expect M C & J. Letters Which shall also be forwarded herewith if they come in time.

Inclosed is a Copy of a few Lines I wrote to you Via Detroit P Maisonville with 2<sup>d</sup> Bills of Exchange remitted by him.

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the letter is lost. The context of this document, considered in connection with the letter of Morgan to the partners of April 23, which follows, determines the approximate date. It may be observed also that Captain Forbes, mentioned in this letter, was commandant in the Illinois country from February to September, 1768. The letter is in the possession of Mrs. H. C. More, of Gaviota, California, a descendant of George Morgan.

Mr Kennady set out with him for Post Vincent to endeavour to bargain for the Sale of 10 or 12 Negros to be deliverd here for 12 Head of Cattle each which will be equal to 2000 Livres. If he compleats my Order he is to be allowd £20 sterl<sup>s</sup> if not he is to receive no Pay—Maisonville says I may depend on his doing it.

Inclosed is a List of the Balance due to the Hunters & Batteau Men for Which I have drawn on you—£100 will pay them all.

It gives me great Pain that I cannot now inclose you more Bills.

I have yet heard no News of Mr Wharton & cannot imagine the Cause of his Delay. I now take it for granted that I shall be obliged to tarry here another Year—Make yourselves as easy as possible & I will be content

Mr Hollingshead undertakes a second hunting Adventure w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will turn out more prosperous than the first—We shall carry the Whole of it on from this Place without expecting any Assistance from you, except you can obtain a fix'd Contract.

When John Biles Wife calls please pay her Eight or ten pounds over & above her Monthly Allowance should she have Occasion of that Sum.

Inclosed is William Gilleland Acc<sup>t</sup> which please to settle as may appear just from the Information you therein have of his bad Behavior. I send my Boat up to Fort Pitt under the Care of Hugh Thompson w<sup>th</sup> twenty Batteau Men—You have his Acc<sup>t</sup> inclosed. Pray never employ him again—I have sent up in the Boat three Barrels of Rudder Irons, Rivets & Burrs &c Which Were by Mistake markd at Philad<sup>a</sup> for the Illinois.

There are none of the Batteau Men return on Pay except Martin & MacNeale & Mullen—Those others Who were promised to be taken to Fort Pitt, requested their Discharge here, w<sup>th</sup> an Intention to stay here or go to New Orleans—some of them have since changed their Minds & go up with Thompson but not at our Expen<sup>c</sup>e.

A single Boat has just arrived at Misiere<sup>1</sup> loaded w<sup>th</sup> Wine, Taffia & Brandy except four Bales of Merch<sup>d</sup> only—four other Boats were to leave New Orleans Eight Days after her—what their

<sup>1</sup> Ste. Genevieve.

Cargoes will consist of I cannot exactly learn but I hear chiefly of Liquors—On their Arrival & their Cargoes Will greatly depend the Sales We shall make this Spring—I will make a Push if tis possible to do any thing—[*in MS.*: Continued One Leaf over—]<sup>1</sup> you have inclosed the following Persons Notes of Hand Viz

James McNeale Whose Wages will pay the Balance due on  
the Settlement here - - - - - £ 2, 15, 3½  
W<sup>m</sup> Moore for Balance overpaid him on his Acc<sup>t</sup>—As he has  
some Property in Philad<sup>a</sup> he promises to pay you immediately  
on his Arrival there - - - - - 8, 13, 8

---

£ 11, 8, 11½

I have also inclosed several Notes to Mr Campbell that he may if possible recover the Money at Fort Pitt, or employ the Men to come back here should they be immediately wanted Or to forward them to you.

Callenders Note for £,4,5,0 In One of Mr Jennings Letters you will find a Note inclosed, for Balance overpaid a Batteau Man last Year who is returnd to Philadelphia.

Mr Hollingshead informs me that he had One Philip George on board his Boat whom he strongly suspected to be Mr Odenheimers Servant Eberhard Kirshman & intended to have secured him but he being jealous thereof ran away from him.

Should W<sup>m</sup> Millford apply to you, if you do not choose to put him in Goal, do not at least pay him any Wages—He stole Goods out of our Store to a considerable Amount I got Part of them back from him, but he being let out of Prison to shew where they all were Made his Escape to New Orleans.

I have this Moment settled with W<sup>m</sup> Gilleland & paid him £ 4, 3, 4 in full for his Wages — some Cash he paid to Mathew Kannady. He requested his Discharge & intends going to New Orleans.

<sup>1</sup> In the original letter book, this portion of the letter follows the letter of April 18, 1768.

List of Bills remitted to Philadelphia April 1768 in the foregoing Letter by Hugh Thompson & Alexander Maisonville:

Date	Days Sight	By whom drawn	On whom	Philad Curr <sup>y</sup>	New York Cur <sup>y</sup>
1768 March 31, Feb <sup>y</sup> 26,	30 "	D M <sup>c</sup> Crohar J Moore	G Croghan for R Lake Esq <sup>r</sup> sterl <sup>ls</sup>	L 382, 10, 0	L 408
17	"	ditto	ditto L 32, 5 11		256, 18, 0
17	at Sight	S Benezet	on his father	59, 15, 0	55, 7, 3 1/2
17	30	W Wood	Thos Fisher L 20, 7, 3 sterl <sup>ls</sup>	Ex 80P <sup>ct</sup>	63, 14, 8
March 25 1766 Dec <sup>r</sup> 31 <sup>st</sup>	60	E Cole on	G CroghanEsq <sup>r</sup>		36, 13, 0 3/4
	60	C & Jennings	B W & M	L 1000	1969, 4, 11 1/4
		N <sup>o</sup> 1 to 10 for No. 11.....	L 100 each		1193, 9, 11 1/2
		Add sundry Bills P Col Reed ditto by Silver Heels		118, 18, 1	3983, 7, 11
					400, 19, 5
					12816, 12, 0 5/4
					L 17200, 19, 4 5/4

JOHNSON TO GAGE, April 23, 1768  
[Johnson MSS., 16:71—Draft]  
GUY PARK April 23<sup>d</sup>, 1768

DEAR SIR,  
When your favor of the 4<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>1</sup> arrived I was Very unwell and incapable of Answering it, but having Just recovered Strength enough to proceed on my journey I was this day met at this place by your Express with your favors of the 18th Inst<sup>2</sup> and the inclosures.  
Lord Shelburne has inclosed me a Copy of the Letter from the Lords of Trade which is a recital of the several Reports transmitted

<sup>1</sup> Printed, *ante*, 220.  
<sup>2</sup> This letter has not been found.

to them, at different times, with regard to the Limits therein described they are pretty Exact except their beginning at Owegy, which on a reperusal of my Letters to their Lordships, they will find was not so Easily agreed to, there being much opposition made to it by some of the Nations, on accot of their Tribes living within these Limits. Nevertheless I hope to obtain their general agreement to it at the final settlement of these matters.

The only method I know of for carrying this Plan into Execution will be to Assemble all the Indians concerned in which Number besides the Six Nations & the Senecas of Ohio the *Shawanese*, & *Delawares*, tho' their dependants should be considered, as some of the Lands actually belonged to them formerly as their Vicinity to *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*, makes their perfect agreement necessary. at the same time I think the Govern<sup>ts</sup> Concerned (which are those you have mentioned, *Maryland* having no concern in it) Should be apprized of this General Congress, & consulted on such points as may affect them & may if they please Send Commissioners to be present & ratify it under the seals Of their respective Provinces, Tho' I think it is best for me to Conclude the Affair on behalf of the Crown for the whole & afterw<sup>ds</sup> when Ind<sup>s</sup> are appointed to See the Line Run, each Prov<sup>co</sup> can send com<sup>rs</sup> to be present & ratify it on their parts, by this Means Provic<sup>l</sup> Disputes & difficulties ab<sup>t</sup> each Provinces share will be avoided & afterwards that due regard may be paid to the Limits so Agreed upon the Legislature of each Province may Enact Laws describing such Limits making it felony to any one should Transgress by encroaching beyond them, I cannot see anything farther to be done by the Colonies as all the rest is I presume to be Transacted by the SuperIntendant. You will doubtless write upon these heads to the Governments concerned, as I purpose to do, I have already received a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Blair who at present holds the Administration of Virginia relative thereto which I have answered And desired a map or survey of that frontier, as I shall require of the Rest, it being Extremely necessary at the Settlement of the Affair with the Indians; that Province is desirous to have its Line terminate at the S.W. corner of Pennsylvania which will be agreed to, as to determining the parts to be assigned to this or that

Province I am intirely of your opinion that it w<sup>d</sup> be very difficult to bring it to a Conclusion, however if the Virginia Line terminates where I have mentioned, it may be adjusted with the others they taking the parts which fall within their respective Claims.

The Provinces can be soon Consulted, but it will take at Least *three months* to Assemble all the Indians necessary by which time I am in hopes I shall be returned and able to attend it, if not my Dep<sup>y</sup> here will conduct the affair as he will Likewise transact all other business during my absence.

At present I cannot think of anything farther on that head necessary Except as to the place of Meeting, and the Sum which may be requisite, As to the former It will certainly be Cheapest to meet them in this Province, for the latter, it must be a large sum as it will be an important Transaction but it is difficult at present to say how much. I am happy to find that you approve so much of the Transactions at the late Congress, and am fully of your Opinion that it will be impossible to make Regulations for the Indian Trade agreeable to the Wishes or Interests of every Trader. The General Interests of the Whole, and the Security of Peace on the frontiers is what alone should be Pursued. My Deputy has directions to address you on these heads, and is acquainted with all the affairs of the Departm<sup>t</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> Cole's account is great indeed, and since I find by one of his Letters that there is no Prospect of his retrenching I think it is best to withdraw him, as to what may be given as Reasons for admitting them unless the Securing the Numerous Tribes in that Quarter to our interest, preventing them from withdrawing, and receiving & entering into Treatys with So many Nations who were before Strangers to us, or something like that may be Considered as such, and the Governm<sup>t</sup> may be advised that such Expences will Abate for the future.

I am advised to go by way of N. England for the benefit of Exercise in travell<sup>s</sup> by Land, & so to the East end of Long Island, or some place that way in order to enjoy the benefit of the Air as well as some Ease & Retirement, It would be a real pleasure to me could I wait upon you, But in case I am deprived of an opportunity, The



Affairs of the Department here are placed in such a manner in the hands of Coll Johnson<sup>1</sup> that I persuade myself nothing will be neglected, and you will be pleased in Answer to this, or on any other Subject to signify your thoughts & directions to him.

Be assured Dear Sir, that I am always with the most Cordial Regard Your &ca

P. S. Magra is gone for Canada. I wish he had Left this Continent entirely. A Princip<sup>l</sup> Cause of my going the Rout I mention, is to avoid too much Company which in my present state w<sup>d</sup> greatly Exhaust my spirits.

HIS EXCELL<sup>CY</sup> GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] April 23<sup>d</sup> 1768. To Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Guy Johnson.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE EFFORTS TO STOP CONTRABAND TRADE APRIL 24, 1768—JULY 7, 1768

GAGE'S SURVEY OF THE SITUATION—SPANISH DESERTERS—INDIAN ATTACK ON KASKASKIA—EXPENSE OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—COMPETITION BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH TRADERS—FURTHER DIRECTIONS TO EXPEL FRENCH TRADERS—GAGE'S OPINION AS TO THE ABANDONING THE WESTERN POSTS—RETIREMENT OF REED AND APPEARANCE OF WILKINS AS COMMANDANT OF FORT DE CHARTRES—COURSE OF TRADE CONTINUES TOWARD NEW ORLEANS—JOURNAL OF A MISSISSIPPI RIVER VOYAGE.

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, April 24, 1768  
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 129—A. L. S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 25)

NEW YORK, April 24<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MY LORD,

I have the honor to inclose your Lordship a Copy of a Letter, translated from the Spanish, from Don Antonio de Ulloa, and a Copy of a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry to the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Fort of the Natchés on the Mississippi; together with Extracts of two Letters from the Commander of said Fort to Brigadier General Haldimand at Pensacola. This Correspondence has been occasioned by a Spanish Commissary and some Soldiers of the same Nation, who mutinied against their Commander, at a new Post which the Spaniards are erecting near the Junction of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers; and carried away a sort of Sloop laden with Provisions and other Effects, and took Refuge at the Natchés.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to ascertain by the stile of the above Letters of Don Ulloa and Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry, whether the Province of Louisiana belongs to Spain or France; the Don Ulloa only has wrote to me upon

<sup>1</sup> For Ulloa's official report concerning this see Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, 1: 32.

this Business, to desire my Determination thereon; and before he knew what Resolution Lieutenant Lovell would take upon his and Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubrys joint Requisition to deliver up the People Boat, &c<sup>a</sup> to the Commander of the Post of S<sup>t</sup> Louis, which is a few Leagues below the Natchés. Your Lordship will perceive by Lieutenant Lovell's Letter to Brigadier General Haldimand of the 29<sup>th</sup> of January, that he had complied with the Requisition without waiting for Orders; So that I could say little in my Answer<sup>1</sup> to Don Ulloa, but have followed the Example of the Brigadier, who tells me, that he had judged it best, considering all Circumstances, to make a Merit of what Lieutenant Lovell had done.

I have however taken this Opportunity, to make Complaint of the Settlers and Traders from the Spanish Side of the Mississippi, who go up the Rivers Illinois, Ohio and Ouabache, to trade with the Indians in His Majesty's Territorys, and to hunt upon their Lands; And who use all means to raise Jealousys amongst the Several Nations, of bad Designs in the English, destructive of their Lives and Properties; And in order to encourage them the more to Mischief, they desire them to keep their Hatchets ready to strike, and promise them upon the Faith of Belts that they shall receive Assistance from both French and Spaniards at a proper Opportunity. After representing to Don Ulloa the Necessity of our Mutual Endeavors to preserve Peace and Tranquility throughout the Indian Country, and the hurt that both Nations must equally receive by raising Commotions amongst the Indian Tribes; I have desired he will be pleased to send his Orders to the Commander on the West Side of the Mississippi, to prohibit the Inhabitants, Traders or others by public Notice, from going up the beforementioned Rivers; and to acquaint them, if any shall be found raising Disturbances, they must expect to receive the Treatment which the Laws of Nations permit in Such Cases.<sup>2</sup> And I have sent Directions to the Officer Commanding at Fort-Chartres, to Scour the aforesaid Rivers with armed Boats, and

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> For Ulloa's reply see Ulloa to Gage, August 29, 1768, *post*, 386.

to make Prisoners of all People whom he shall find acting contrary to these Orders and to convey them to Fort-Pitt.<sup>1</sup>

Since the Mutineers with the Effects they carried off have been delivered up, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ulloa and Aubry, have permitted General Haldimand to publish a Proclamation at New-Orleans to bring in the Deserters from His Majesty's Regiments, who are Scattered over Louisiana, to which they both signed their Approbation; and sent the Proclamation into all Parts of the Colony. Thirty Deserters have surrendered already, and the Brigadier hopes to recover above one hundred. I sent him Orders some Months ago, to forward them all to Grenada, to be incorporated in the Regiments in the ceded Islands; His Majesty's Regiments in North America, being at that time compleat, and not thinking it right that such a Number of Soldiers should be entirely lost to the Service. I wrote at the same time to Governor Melville upon the Subject, but I have not yet received his Answer.

The Garrison of Tombecbé has got down to Mobile without any Accident, And Brigadier Haldimand thinks himself happy, that the mutual Complaints of the Creeks and Chactaws, that the Garrison had supplied their Enemies with Ammunition, had furnished him with so good a Pretence to get these Hostages out of both their Hands. The Detachment of Recruits for the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment, which went by the way of the Ohio and Mississippi to join their Corps at Mobile, is arrived, but the Officer found it impracticable to go down the Ibbeville agreeable to his Orders; therefore proceeded to New-Orleans where he hired a Vessel to transport his Detachment to West Florida.

Captain Hodgson of the 31<sup>st</sup> Regiment, who with a Detachment of Volunteers from this Port for Pensacola, was wrecked on an Island called the Grand Commander, is at length safe arrived, thro' the assistance given him by Admiral Parry, who detached the *Adventure* [*sic*] Frigate from Jamaica to receive the Detachment on Board, and to transport them to the Place of their Destination. The above Detachment, with the Recruits who went down the Mississippi, and others from England, will be more than sufficient to compleat

<sup>1</sup> The directions have not been found. Compare Hillsborough to Gage, June 11, 1768, *post*, 298-299; Wilkins to Gage, September 13, 1768, *post*, 388-390; and Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, October 30, 1768, *post*, 440.

the three Regiments in East and West-Florida to their full Establishment, and Brigadier Haldimand proposed, if any Supernumerarys remained, after discharging some bad Men, to send them with the Deserters from Louisiana to the ceded Islands. The Regiments in West-Florida being so much increased by the Junction of these Recruits, occasioned Difficultys in providing Sufficient Quarters. The Brigadier has been obliged to encamp some, and lodge others in the Hospital, till he should be able to erect some Building for their Reception. The Recruits from England had a Disorder amongst them, which made it prudent to encamp them at a Distance from the rest, least some contagious Disorder should Spread through the whole.

The frequent Depredations of the Chactaw Indians of the Six Villages, who hunt upon the Borders of the Lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, where they plunder the Inhabitants, kill their Cattle, and introduce the French Traders into that part of the Country; has required that some Person of Authority and Confidence, should be sent amongst them, to put a stop to those Disorders—Brigadier General Haldimand and M<sup>r</sup> Steuart the Indian Agent, have pitched upon a Mons<sup>r</sup> La Gauterais, who some time ago abandoned Louisiana to Settle in West Florida, after refusing to enter into the Spanish Service, as the properst Person for this Duty. The Proximity of that part of West-Florida to New Orleans, and the antient Connections, not yet wore out between the French and the above Indians, are circumstances which require a Person of Resolution, as well as Knowledge of the Indians and of the Country, to be employed on this Occasion. M<sup>r</sup> La Gauterais was employed in the service on former occasions by M<sup>r</sup> Steuart the Superintendant, and behaved to his Satisfaction; and is by this time set out to execute his new Commission, with Orders to warn all the French Traders immediately to quit the Country, and to demand satisfaction of the Savages for having lately pillaged two Familys settled at the Bay of Biloxy, and killed their Cattle. The Brigadier has also once more desired Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry to give publick Notice at New-Orleans, that all French Traders found on the English Side of the above Lakes would be sent Prisoners to Pensacola.

Five or Six Spanish Schooners have been lately at Pensacola laden with Cotton and Dye-woods, but brought very little Bullion. This has however raised the Hopes of our Merchants who have complained of the great Scarcity of Silver at New-Orleans.

The Indians of the Six Nations with the Chiefs of all the Tribes from Canada, amounting to above 760, have been assembled at Sir William Johnson's. On the Opening of the Congress they appeared sullen, and gave publick Marks of Discontent and Dissatisfaction. They have been brought to agree to a Peace with the Cherokees, whose Deputys are returning home very much pleased with their Success. Part of them have been embarked here for South Carolina, the rest were to be escorted by Partys of the Six Nations to Fort-Pitt, in order to conclude a Peace at that Place with the Shawnese and Delawares.

Some of the Relations of the Indians lately murdered in Pennsylvania were present at the Congress, and the usual Ceremonies of Condolance on like Occasions on behalf of the Publick in general, and of Pennsylvania in particular were observed. Sir William having informed them of the Laws passed in Pennsylvania, for removing the People settled upon their Lands, and of the other Steps taking to redress their Grievances, they appeared better reconciled to us. Sir William thinks upon the whole, that he has given a Check to their Measures for the present, but that they are not fully satisfied in their Minds; and that their future behavior will entirely depend upon the Redress of Grievances, removing Encroachments, and putting a Stop to Murders. If this is done, he will be answerable for them.

By Desire of Governor Penn, a Detachment of Troops consisting of one Officer and 30 Men have marched from Philadelphia to escort M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, a Deputy of Sir William Johnson's, to Pittsburgh, in order to protect him from the Frontier People who have threatened his Life, and to plunder the Indian Presents he was carrying with him. An Express from Fort-Pitt Meeting him on the way, with the news that the Savages were retiring privately from the Fort, and holding Conferences in the Woods; he left his Escort and is gone forward in haste. He has been followed by two Gentlemen appointed Commissioners by the Province of Pennsylvania to condole

with the Indians in the Neighbourhood of Fort Pitt, and to make them Presents on Account of the Murders that have been committed upon some of their Tribes. It is hoped that by these Means the Savages will be Softened every where, and their Designs at least protracted; which will afford time to fall upon Measures to restore a perfect tranquility.

I have received Letters from M<sup>r</sup> Steuart His Majesty's Superintendant of the Southern District, to the 30<sup>th</sup> of March. Indian Affairs were peaceable with respect to us, but a new war was breaking out between the Creeks and the Chikesaws. A skirmish had happened, in which the Creeks had 21 Men killed or wounded: The Party of Creeks who went to the Havanna some months ago, upon an Invitation they had received from the Spaniards, are returned to their Country, with rich Presents. It is reported, that they had offered the Spaniards a Tract of Land upon the River Apalachicola, and that most part of the Nation was desirous, that the Spaniards should live near them.

Very few Accounts have been received from the Forts and Posts in the Indian Country, since the Beginning of winter: a Letter only from Fort-Ontario to give Information that the Magazine had fallen, and that it was expected a part of the Fort would tumble on the breaking of the Frost. The Engineer who is gone up with some Artificers to repair the Fort of Niagara, has been directed to secure some Place in Ontario for the depositing about thirty Barrells of Powder, and the remainder is ordered into the Magazines in Canada. The Forts are all in a ruinous Condition, but I am unwilling to make Repairs, till I receive His Majesty's Commands on the Disposition of his Forces in this Country: and that I am informed, what Posts His Majesty Judges proper to maintain: In the mean time, I only endeavor to secure the Garrisons in some of the principal Forts from the Danger of Indian Attacks, at as little Expence as it can be done.

The Hutts and Houses in which the Troops have been quartered at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine, being private Property and bought over the Soldiers Heads, or entirely rotted and tumbling to Pieces; Colonel Tayler of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment has represented, that he was obliged to fit up and

make Additions to the old Church of S<sup>t</sup> Francis, which Governor Grant had given some time ago for the Purpose of quartering the King's Troops.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's, Most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF SHELBURNE, one of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Principal Secretarys of State &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>.

[*Endorsed:*] New York April 24<sup>th</sup> 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 25) R 1<sup>st</sup> June A. 10.

GAGE TO HALDIMAND, April 26, 1768

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.663, f. 221—L.S.]

NEW YORK April 26<sup>th</sup> 1768

R the 1 of June

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of February, inclosing letters from Don Ulloa, and Mons<sup>e</sup> Aubry, to you, and to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lovell, also two letters to you, from L<sup>t</sup> Lovell from the post of the Natchés. Together with a printed Copy of a Proclamation published by you at New Orleans, to bring in the Deserters from the several Regiments in His Majesty's Service, who have taken refuge, in several parts of the province of Louisiana.

The subject of the above letters, relate chiefly to a Spanish Commissary, who with twenty Soldiers of the same nation, mutinied at a new Fort, at the Mouth of the Missouri River, and came away from thence, taking a Boat, and Eight thousand weight of Flour, with some Indian corn, and other trifles, and delivered themselves up as Deserters to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lovell, who commanded for the King at the Natchés and being claimed by Don Ulloa, and Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry, as people guilty of Disobedience, and Conspiracy against their Commander, also of theft and Leze Majesty, and alledging, for the above reasons that they were not entitled to the protection, that is usually given simple Deserters; Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lovell had upon such representations,



delivered them to the Spanish Officer, who commanded at the Spanish Post of S<sup>t</sup> Louis.

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lovell has taken too much upon himself, to deliver up those people in the manner he has done, without hearing from you, and receiving your Orders; As the Affair is related by Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lovell, the Commissary, and the Soldiers, seem to be, to all intents, Deserters; they took nothing away with them, but a Boat, and Provisions, and their Arms, all necessary to facilitate their Escape; But Don Ulloa relates a different Story. Every Soldier who deserts, turn traitor to His King, Have not many of our Deserters gone off with their Arms, and Accoutrements, which is as much a theft as any thing the Spaniards have brought away with them, and yet none have been delivered up, or indeed claimed, under pretense of being guilty of theft, or treason.

It's not necessary to say more upon this Business, as it is over, The Spaniards are deliver'd up, and I am of opinion with you, that the best thing we can do now, is to make a merit of it.

I shall answer Don Ulloa's Letter, which you will know was wrote, when the delivery of the Deserters was doubtfull, so I need only touch lightly upon the Subject. I shall take occasion to mention to him, the Complaints I have received, of the French traders and Hunters going up the Illinois, Ohio, and Ouabache Rivers; The disturbances which they occasion, by spiriting up the Indian Nations against Us, and giving them assurances, upon the faith of Belts, of receiving assistance, at a proper opportunity, from The French and Spaniards. I must desire M<sup>r</sup> Ulloa, publickly to forbid the Settlers on the West side of the Mississippi, going up those Rivers, as their Conduct will create animosities between the Subjects of our respective Masters, and raise Jealousies of a dangerous tendency, amongst the several Indian Tribes, which can not fail in the end, to be injurious, and hurtfull to both Nations, as it is our mutual Interest, to encourage peace, and unanimity amongst all the Indians.

I am glad to find that you are likely, to manage the Business relating to the Firewood, so much to your satisfaction; you will be so good to observe, that the expence of all those Affairs, is to be defrayed by The Barrack Master General; and the Bills to answer

them, drawn upon him, in the manner directed in the Regulation for the Barracks, and Orders respecting the Same.

I have the honor to be with great Regard, Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

BRIG<sup>D</sup> GENERAL HALDIMAND COMM<sup>G</sup> HIS MAJ<sup>S</sup> FORCES in the S<sup>o</sup> DISTRICT.

[*Endorsed:*] G<sup>l</sup> Gage 68 26<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1<sup>st</sup> of June

MORGAN TO FINNEY, May 3, 1768

[George Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA May 3<sup>d</sup> 1768

MR JOHN FINNEY

You are to leave this Place immediately & proceed up the River Ohio with the Boat under your Command, untill you meet the Batteau Three Friends—Patrick Roberts Commander.

Should you meet with the said Boat before you arrive at the Ohio Falls, you must make her secure in as safe a Place as possible & bring to this Place in your Boat all the Cargo of the said Batteau Three Friends, taking out of her all the Men on board of her to assist you up the Mississippi. Should you be obliged to put any Part of the said Boats Cargo in a Canoe, let it be the Barr<sup>a</sup> mark'd on the Heads L S & those markd S C, as they will be the least liable to receive Damage altho' they contain Coffee & Sugar, being in Water tight Barrels.

Should you not meet w<sup>th</sup> said Batteau untill you get to the Falls, where she is now supposed to be fast on the Rocks, You are to act in like Manner, only leaving her there with, as good a fastning as possible—being Carefull that you bring to this Place all the Cargo of every kind of the said Batteau three Friends & all her Crew to assist you therewith to this Place.

Be particularly carefull of the Three Negro Men. Let none of the People abuse them.

I depend on your making all possible Dispatch in this Undertaking. I should Write to Patrick Roberts by you—but your shewing this Letter to him Will answer the End, as I do hereby desire that

he & all the Men under his Command may conform themselves hereto.

Mr Roberts informs me "that should he be so unexpectedly fortunate, as to get over the Falls, he will erect a particular Mark or Sign, at the Mouth of such River as he may go up to hunt that you may know where to find him. I make no Doubt but he will also Write a Letter & leave it in a Place easy to be found, therefore keep a strict Look out & act accordingly.

I am your Friend &c

G MORGAN

JENNINGS' JOURNAL May 5—May 10, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[P. H. S.—A. D.]

Fort Chartres, May 5th. 1768

This afternoon Mr Rich<sup>d</sup> Winston<sup>2</sup> of this Village, received a Letter from one Mons<sup>r</sup> Longvall at Caho, acquainting him that several Tribes of Indians, consisting of Sotie's or Chippewa's, Otawas, Poutewatimies, & Cecapous, had been at Paincourt. The Poutewatimies informed Mons<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Ange, the french Commandant that they were going to War against the chickesaws, but he perceiving that was not their design, for that they intended to attack the English at this place, endeavoured to dissuade them from their expedition. A Party of the Peoria Nation of Indians who are friendly to the English being out a Hunting, met with Sixty of the Poutiwatimies who told them they were going to attack the English, they immediately gave intelligence to the above Mons<sup>r</sup> Longvall, who could speak their language. In consequence of these advices the Commanding officer, gave the command of the Village to Cap<sup>t</sup> James Campbell, late of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment he appointed me first Lieu<sup>t</sup> Mr Rich<sup>d</sup> Winston second Lieu<sup>t</sup> & Mr Wills Escott Ensign. Immediately the inhabitants were muster'd together all armed, &

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 31: 304.

<sup>2</sup> He is referred to, in this year, as an innkeeper at Cahokia. See petition of Jautard, March 14, 1768, *ante*, 216. For a sketch of Winston, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I. H. C., 2), lxxxv.

regulations fixed for the Night.<sup>1</sup> Centinels were placed at the Avenues of the Village & it being my duty to go out with the first Command. I patrolled round the Village till Sun Rise. On the preceding evening about eight O'Clock a soldier named Stuart, with his wife were both taken prisoners, by a party of the aforementioned Poutiwatimies, out of the Village, a small distance from where I lived, as soon as it was discovered, a party of the Mitchigamie Indians, who are our friends, & twenty Soldiers went in pursuit of them, but to no purpose, as they had lost their tracks.

Friday the 6th

At two O'Clock this afternoon a party of ten Indians belonging to the Nation that took the prisoners came here, as they said from War against the Cherrokee's Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes having received Intelligence of their approach, sent an Officer & twenty Soldiers into the Village; the Indians had just arrived, & asked for Commissary Cole, where they intended to stay the whole Night. He sent them to the Indian House near the fort, with some provissions, but being alarmed at seeing the Troops, & inhabitants under arms they seemed uneasy. Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes intending to keep two of them prisoners, sent for them to come into the Fort to have a conference but being suspicious jumped out of the windows & ran off, some friendly Indians was sent after them, to come back, but they could not be prevailed on to return. In the evening double Centinels was placed at the avenues of the Village, and the Alarm Word King George was made known to all the inhabitants, that if the Centinels should call it out, they were all to repair armed instantly at the place of Rendevouz. about Nine O'Clock at Night an alarm was given, one of the Centinels said he saw three Indians creeping close to Commissary Coles fence, and immediately fired at them, the drums beat to Arms, & another party of Soldiers were instantly sent out of the Fort under the command Ens<sup>n</sup> Gleadowe, the inhabitants all repaired to the place of Rendevous with the greatest alacrity, the whole being joined, patrols were sent round the Village, & double Centinels continued the whole

<sup>1</sup> Forbes had made preparations for a probable attack some time before, by organizing the English into a militia and requesting the French to form themselves into companies. Consult index.

Night. about eleven O'Clock another alarm Gun was fired by the Centinel at the Church who said he saw an Indian advancing towards him. The Guards & Centinels continue in the Village both Night, & day.

Saturday the 7th

Commissary Cole sent for the Kuskuskia nation of Indians to go in pursuit of the Poutewatimies & if they could overtake to bring back the prisoners, they immediately came, & agreed to comply with his request.

Sunday the 8th

This Morning the Kuskuskia Warriors set of in quest of the Poutiwatimies, & another party was sent to reconitre the Country ajacent, as we was informed the enemy was still hovering about the Village. The Guard & Militia still continue to do duty.

Monday the 9<sup>th</sup>

This Morning the Guards & Centinels in the Village were ordered into the Fort. At noon an Account came that a party of Indians was coming down the River, the drums beat to Arms, the Guards from the Fort, & Militia turned out again. Tomera the Kuskuskia Cheif & some of his Warriors went to see who they were, & at the Mitchigamie Village about three quarters of a Mile from the Fort they met with Seven Chippewa Men & two Women, who had just come from Paincourt being part of a Tribe which they left their, not chuseing to trust themselves among the English as they said, but we rather suspected them as Spies, the Troops & Militia continue to do duty at Night in the Village I requested Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes wou'd send three Soldiers to guard the store in case I should be obliged to continue on duty which he readily comply'd with.

Tuesday the 10th

The Kuskuskia Warriors returned from their pursuit after the poutewatimies having lost their tracks by the heavy Rains that fell, & the reconitring parties also came in, & assured us the enemy Indians were gone off, & believed they would not return, as they see we was upon our Gaurd, & well prepared to Receive them. The Troops

went to the Fort, & the Militia dismissed, & to appear at the place of Rendezvous, on the first alarm.

MATURIN TO BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN, May 7, 1768

[P.D.P.R.—A. L. S.]

NEW YORK May 7<sup>th</sup> 1768.

GENTLEMEN—

I have been lately favored with a letter from you without date, and in consequence of your request contained therein, take this opportunity of acquainting you, that the General has received from Sir William Johnson, The Accounts, I suppose you mean, being for Disbursements made by M: Cole at the Illinois, part, on the whole of which may very probably be due to your Company.

The General having been much dissatisfied with the enormous expence of that District, which amounts to more than half of the Indian expences in the Northern District, has I believe, as yet prevented his ordering Warrants to be made out for the amount. I have upon receipt of your letter, addressed him upon the Subject, and He seems inclinable to grant a Warrant to Sir William Johnson for the payment of these Disbursements; You must manage with Sir William the availing of Yourselves of the Warrant when granted.—For as the Money is made Payable to Sir William Johnson or his Assigns only, The Authority for recieving it must come from him.

I am sorry M. Wharton has been so ill, and hope very sincerely, he may meet with the advantage he expects, from the Penance he has been obliged to undergo.—

I am, with much Esteem, Gentlemen Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

GO. MATURIN.

BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON, May 8, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 16:77—A. L. S.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> May 8th 1768

SIR

One of Us expected to have been in New York immediately after the receipt of your last Favor, In Respect to Mr. Cole's two

<sup>1</sup> In handwriting of Samuel Wharton.

accounts,—But He was taken very ill and has Ever since been confined to his Chamber; Wherefore we wrote to M<sup>r</sup>. Maturin, The General's Secretary, to know Whether his Excellency the General would be pleased to give us a warrant for the amount of Them, as we were in extreme Want of money, Just now, we have been favored with an answer from M<sup>r</sup>. Maturin, Wherein He is pleased to inform us—"I have upon Receipt of your Letter addressed the General upon the Subject and He seems inclinable to grant a warrant to Sir William Johnson for the Amount of those Disbursements, You must Therefore settle with Sir William Johnson the availing yourselves of the warrant, when granted; For as the money is made payable to Sir William Or his assigns *Only*, The authority for receiving it, must come from Him."<sup>1</sup>

Your Honor knows Our Situation. We shall not Therefore trouble you with a Repetition of Our very urgent Demand for money—But Only beg, as a most singular Favor,—That you will be pleased, if practicable, by the Return of the Post, To be so kind, as to send us your Order for receiving the amount of the General's Warrant And That you will transmit your Letter and Order to us, Under Cover to Robert Leake Esquire Commissary General of Provisions, There to be left, *until called for*, as One of us shall the last of this week, proceed to New York to receive the money.

We have no news as yet from M<sup>r</sup> Croghan.

We are with the highest Respect & Esteem Sir Y<sup>r</sup> most Obedient And much Obliged Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON BART

[*Endorsed:*] Philad<sup>a</sup> May 8<sup>th</sup> 1768

From Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton & Wharton &c concerning cash &c Ans<sup>rd</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>.

MORGAN TO HIS WIFE, May 8, 1768

[More Collection—A. L. S.]

MY DEAR MOLLEY:

I have this moment heard of two mens' intending to get out, this morning, on a canoe for New Orleans & I cannot resist a Chance, of

<sup>1</sup> The document here referred to is just preceding.

letting you hear I am well in every Respect, except my Thumb and Fore-Finger of my Right Hand, which I cut excessively bad w<sup>th</sup> a small Glass Bottle which broke in my Hand, as I was Corking of it very tight.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> Instant, I was made a very happy Man, by your Letters. May my Heart be ever full of Gratitude for the infinite Mercys bestowed on us. May that dear Pledge of our Love live long to be our Comfort & Joy. May She and we have that Favour from our God, which will lead us to eternal Happiness.

I must not tell you I long most earnestly to see the dear Innocent, as well as its dearest Mother. I must neither tell you how often I read over your Letters, & those from Mr. Baynton, my Brother Lawrence, Hetty &c. They all have something to say in favour of you and your dear little Fellow. So much that I am never tired of reading over what they say, & I every Night spend from 10 O Clock to 12 with the [*MS. mutilated*] Pleasure. I must say that next to yours my Brother Johnnys is that which delights me most, but seems as if he could fly over a House with Joy whilst he is writing. God bless them all for their Goodness.

But stop—I must recollect that there is ten Chances to One against your ever receiving this Letter, as I send it to seek its Fortune at New Orleans.

I have already wrote you seven Letters in this Way besides those by certain Opportunitys. H. Thompson set out in my Barge for Fort Pitt the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Ulto. I then wrote very fully to Mr. Baynton on Business, of which I shall not now say a Syllable, except that nothing material has since occured—as should any Person be so kind as to open this Letter—it may be a means of their detaining of it—but when they see 'tis only a few Lines from a poor banished Fellow, to his wife, they may out of Compassion forward it to you.

Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Jennings & Mr. Hollingshead are all well as is Mr. Rumsey. Mr. Hollingshead and I shall return Home together in the Spring 1769, provided Mr. Wharton arrives here any time this Summer. As it is necessary I should be with him here a considerable time to make him acquainted with the People Customs and Trade of the Country.



By several Letters I have received it seems as if our view upon the Farmers Lands was to determine whether Mr. W. should visit this Country or not. This is a Condition I never till now heard of. The Words made Use of were "*Whether or not.*" I have begun a Letter to Mr. Baynton in w<sup>ch</sup> I am particular on this Subject. Had it not been for the Cut on my Thumb & Finger I should by this Time have got to the 20<sup>th</sup> page—but my Fingers get so cramped in writing with my Hand muffled that it is with Difficulty I write this.

I have much Pain in hearing that Our dear Mother has been so unwell. I pray to God for her better Health. Kiss her and all our dear Family for me—and Ten thousand Times our dear little Betsy—I am greatly pleased that you have had her baptized & that our dear Mother our Brother and Sister are to be Sponsors for her.

I am my dearest Molley with the Utmost Affection, Your ever loving Husband

GEO: MORGAN

KASKASKIA May 8<sup>th</sup> 1768 To MRS. MARY MORGAN

W. FRANKLIN TO B. FRANKLIN, May 10, 1768

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 2:126—A. L. S.]

PERTH AMBOY, May 10<sup>th</sup> 1768

HONORED FATHER,

I receiv'd your Favors of Jan<sup>ry</sup> 9, 29, Feb<sup>ry</sup> 13 & Mar. 13. I think I before acknowledg'd the Receipt of the Remainder of the Postscript of Dec<sup>r</sup> 19. It is not in my Power to give such particular Answers to them as I could wish, being now busily engag'd with the Assembly, who are just on the Point of Rising. Besides I am in doubt whether this will find you in England or not, as Sally writes that in your last Letters to her Mamma you mention that you shall embark for Philad<sup>a</sup> in May or June. I was so hurried here that I could not write by the last Packet. If on my Return to Burlington I should find that you are likely to stay another Year, I will write more fully by one of the Ships that are to sail soon from Philadelphia.

M<sup>r</sup> Morgann is not arriv'd, but probably he may come in a N. York Ship which is daily expected, & in which, I am told, there are several Gent<sup>n</sup> Passengers. After all, I am somewhat dubious

whether it is worth M<sup>r</sup> H's while to accept of a Deputation, as the Rent of the Office is so very high.

As to your coming Home by the Way of Halifax, I am at a loss what to say. The Company<sup>1</sup> you are concern'd with at Philad<sup>a</sup> requested me to give them a Meeting when I was last there, which I did; & they laid before me a State of their Transactions. They seem to have taken a great deal of Pains in adjusting each Man's Share, &c. but not much in Settling the Lands. However, they have lately advertis'd for Settlers, & seem determin'd to carry on the Settlement with more Spirit for the future.<sup>2</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Hall is anxious to be employ'd by the Co<sup>y</sup> you are concern'd with in England, & thinks he can render you very great Services in procuring Settlers, &c. I send you enclos'd Copies of some Papers which he left with me. They will serve to give you some Idea of what has & may be done with your Lands in Novia Scotia. He has some disputes with the Company at Philad<sup>a</sup> which I am told are left to Arbitration. I know not who are in the right, but you will be able to judge when you return.

Goddard said he would publish your paper on Smuggling in the Chronicle, but he has not. The One relative to the Disputes in America he has printed. They are both much admired, & the latter is thought by many to be more to the Purpose than all the Farmer's Letters put together. They indeed, are in many Parts extremely absurd & contradictory, but being wrote in a smooth, easy flowing Stile they pass very well with great Numbers of the common People in America, and with some others.

You may rely on the Truth of the Experiment you mention in yours of Dec<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> as I have often heard it attested by Gentlemen of whose Veracity there can be no Dispute. It is not, however I imagine, the Surface of the Water which is set on Fire, but a Vapour which is Stirr'd up from the Mud at the Bottom of the River, & which rises in Bubbles to the Surface. About 2 Years ago I tried the Experiment in some muddy Creeks near Burlington, but it did not succeed. Judge Berrien, who has often perform'd the Experiment with Success in Millstone River, said he was sure he could make it

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the company of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Morgan to Baynton, October 30, 1768, *post*, 435, wherein Morgan intimates that the firm is still interested in obtaining western lands.

do in the Creek at Burlington as it had just such a Bottom as the Millstone. We went together to the Place, but notwithstanding he took a great deal of Pains in Stirring the Mud, &c, it had no Effect that I could observe, tho' some that were present said that they could distinguish a small momentary Flame at Times. If I mistake not I have read of some such Effect having been observ'd on Stirring the Bottom of a River in England, & that it was thought to be near a Coal Mine. I purpose as I return to Burlington to make some further Enquiries concerning it &, if possible, to make the Experiment myself at Millstone. At present it is my Opinion, that it is nothing but an inflammable Vapour which arises out of the Earth on its being stirr'd, & which tho' it passes thro' a Body in its Passage to the Surface does not lose its Inflammability. As to the Water itself I dare say that if it is put into a Vessel & shook ever so much it cannot be set on Fire in the least. However, I hope I shall soon have it in my Power to make the Trial, which, If I do, I will acquaint you with the Results by the first Opportunity.

The Four Guineas you paid for Transcribing the Indian Accounts for Capt. Trent, I expect to receive of him. M<sup>r</sup> Swinton of Edinburgh owes me Four Guineas which I have paid here to some Council for their Opinions on his Case. I have desired him to pay it to you, or, in case of your Return, to M<sup>r</sup> Strahan, on my Account. If my Letter to him should come into your Hands you may open it & read the Papers enclosed, & then put them under a new Cover & forward them. Perhaps they may afford you some Lights with regard to what M<sup>r</sup> Galloway propos'd to you some Time ago.

I hear it has been reported at Philadelphia, by M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft, that you were to be appointed one of the Under Secretaries of State to Lord Hillsborough, but I am far from believing it will take Place, for the Reasons you have mention'd in Several of your Letters. It is, however, much wish'd for by most People of all Parties here.

M<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Read has rec<sup>d</sup> both the Opinions you sent; & your Letter of Aug<sup>st</sup> 28 to me did get safe to hand. I thought I had acknowledg'd the Receipt of it before.

I am very sorry that you think I am too apt to listen to Whispers & Makebates, & that there is any Danger of my being concern'd in a Family Quarrel. It is not at all my Disposition; on the

contrary, I can safely say, it has been the constant Endeavor of my Life to avoid all such Quarrels, and I have not only pass'd over quietly what I have been told by others, but Things of the most provoking Nature which I have seen & heard in Person. A regard to your Peace & Happiness has prevented your being acquainted with these Matters, & the same Regard will alone be a sufficient Inducement for me to persevere in the like Conduct. Be assur'd, Sir, that you are greatly mistaken in Thinking that my Mother was not "angry with our Friends for not approving the Mal [*MS. illegible*]" &c. Whatever may be in her Letters on the Subject, you may if you think proper to make the Enquiry, easily be convinc'd, that it not only was but is the Case at present. However, I sincerely wish that you may on your Return find that every Thing has been conducted to your Satisfaction, for as to what other People may think it is a Matter of no Consequence.

You mention in your Letter of Feb. 13<sup>th</sup> that you were to see the Sec<sup>y</sup> of State on Paper Money Affairs, which gave me hopes that something would have been done on that Head at the last Sessions of Parliament; but your subsequent Letter has not a Syllable on the Subject. From thence & other Circumstances I suppose that the Ministry decline making any Alterations in the late Act. A vast Number of Petitions are presented to the Ass<sup>y</sup> here for a Paper Currency to be emitted on Loan, & the Ass<sup>y</sup> & Council pass'd a Bill for Striking 100,000£ for that Purpose, without making it a legal Tender. But as they declin'd Passing it with a Suspending Clause I was under a necessity of refusing it my Assent; my Instructions requiring me not to pass *any* Bill whereby "Paper Currency may be issued *in Lieu of Money*, for the Discharge of Publick Debts or other Purposes, without a Clause suspending its Effect until his Majesty's Pleasure should be known.

I am much surpriz'd that the Ministry should think of abandoning the Posts in the Back Country, & leave them to the Colonies to garrison & keep up. They are not in any Colony, & it will be impossible to get the Colonies to agree about the Expence of maintaining them, so that they must be drop'd, the Indians will take Possession of them, & having such Strong Holds in their Country, a War will soon be the Consequence. I am glad, however that the Ministry

have at length sent over Orders for compleating the Boundary, as I think it will be attended with great Benefit to the Publick, as well as be a Means of procuring some Retribution to the Sufferers by the late Indian Depredations.

Your Sentiments on the Subject of the Farmer's Letters gave me great Pleasure, particularly as they are very similar to what I have often expressed among our Friends here since their Publication.

It astonishes me that M<sup>r</sup> Grenville should complain in the House, that I had not transmitted an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Manufactures carried on in this Province; for immediately upon receiving the Orders I set about making the necessary Enquiries, & in less than a Month after, I sent an exact Account of them to Lord Shelbourne, and, if I mistake not, I have a Letter at Home mentioning the Receipt of it. However, as soon as I return I shall transmit another Copy of the Account. It is much such a One as I find by your Letter has been transmitted by the other Governors. I have one Circumstance, however, to add, that strongly confirms the Opinion which some entertain of the Colonies not having Wool enough to make every *Person* in them a Pair of Stockings. There has at this session been laid before the Assembly an exact Return of all the Slaves, Cattle, Sheep, &c in the Province, whereby it appears evidently upon Computation, that even in the Counties where there are the most Sheep, there are not Three Pounds of Wool for every *Householder*. So that if we consider the Number of Women, Children, & Servants &c. we shall find that there is not enough to make each of them a Pair of Garters.

I could not prevail on the Assembly to make their Act for Supplying the King's Troops exactly conformable to the Act of Parliament. But tho' the Mode is different from what is therein directed, yet Provision is made for furnishing the Troops with all the Necessaries required. We have had a quiet Sessions, & I expect to return Home in a Day or two.

Last Monday I din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Bayard at his House in this Province, just opposite to New York. Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage & Sir Henry Moore came over to meet me, & we spent a very agreeable Day together. They press'd Betsy & me much to go to N. York & spend some Days with them, but it was not in our Power, I being oblig'd to return to finish my Business with the Assembly.

I see by a late News Paper from S. Carolina that you are chosen Agent for Georgia, by the Council & Assembly, & I should be glad to know what occasion'd it, & whether you purpose to accept of the Office.

I had no suspicion I should have been able to have wrote so much when I first began, but I am now oblig'd to conclude, having only Time to add that Betsy joins in Love & Duty to you with Hon<sup>rd</sup> Sir,  
Your ever dutiful Son

WM FRANKLIN

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, May 15, 1768

[P. R. O., C. O., 5.86, p. 169—A. L. S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 2.)

NEW YORK May 15<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MY LORD,

I have been honored with your Lordship's Letter (N<sup>o</sup> 2.)<sup>1</sup> with the Inclosures, and am greatly flattered in His Majesty's gracious Approbation of my Endeavors, to support his Interest in this part of his Dominions.

Sir William Johnson hopes in about three Months to convene the Six Nations, Shawanoes and Delawares, and Senacas of the Ohio; who will comprehend all the Nations that have either Claim or Pretensions to the Lands, which are to be ceded at the final Settlement of the Boundary Line, between the Provinces and the Indian hunting Grounds. The Governors of the Provinces concerned, have been made acquainted with His Majesty's Intentions in this respect, and will be consulted on such Points as may particularly affect their respective Provinces in the Adjustment of this Business.

Your Lordship giving me Reason to expect His Majesty's Resolutions on many important Objects, and amongst others, on the future Disposition of his Forces under my Command; I shall deferr the changing any of the Garrisons, except that of Fort Chartres; the Relief of which has been fixed, in Case Colonel Reed, who has been ordered from thence to Fort-Pitt with part of five Companys of the 34th Regiment, should arrive before the Waters fall; and bring with him Boats sufficient to transport other Troops down the Ohio. If the Relief should be delayed till the Autumn, to wait the Rising of the

<sup>1</sup> March 12, 1768, *ante*, 212.

Waters, the four Companys left at Fort Chartres, will not be able to move from thence till next Spring; which with other Inconveniences, will demand Supplys for a double Garrison during the Winter, and occasion too great a Consumption of Provisions in that Country. I propose, that all the rest of the Troops shall remain in their Present Stations, till I have the honor to receive His Majesty's Commands for the future Disposition of them.

Brigadier General Carleton has been informed, of the King's Intention to relieve the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment stationed at Quebec, by the Eighth Regiment from England, and will have every thing necessary prepared to disembark and embark them respectively, as soon as the Eighth Regiment arrives. The Brigadier has also been made acquainted, with the Instances of Mons<sup>r</sup> Chabert's treacherous Conduct, related in Sir William Johnson's Letter to Lord Shelburne of the 3<sup>d</sup> of December. The Commanders of the Forts have likewise received Orders to watch Mons<sup>r</sup> Chabert, and I shall take every other Precaution that can tend to defeat any bad Designs he may have proposed to execute.

I have received Information from the Interior Country, that two English Traders have been killed in the Course of the winter, by the Pouteatamies of S<sup>t</sup> Joseph: one of them named Rogers, carried Goods to the Village of these Indians to trade with them, but receiving some ill treatment removed to the Theakiki,<sup>1</sup> a Branch of the Illinois River, where he was soon afterwards killed, and his Goods plundered. The other trader, named Hombach, was killed at the Miamis by five Pouteatamies, who went there with that Design.

The vagabond French who have sheltered themselves in the Indian villages, are suspected to have excited the Savages to these Acts of Cruelty. They excuse themselves, by laying the blame entirely on the Indians, and write that at a Council held at S<sup>t</sup> Joseph's in the House of one Chevallier a French Trader, the Indians had declared they would not suffer any Englishman to come near the Place. This Chevallier was greatly indebted to Hombach and th'o part of Hombach's Effects were saved after his Death, the Indians refused to return his Papers: which Circumstances have thrown a suspicion upon Chevallier, that he abetted the murder. These Indians shewed several

<sup>1</sup> Kankakee river.

Belts at the Miamis which they said they had received from the Spaniards, desiring them to kill all the English Traders whom they should find wintering amongst the Nations, that they left their village with that Intent, is very plain.

There has been a Competition for the Indian Commerce, and a strong Jealousy of the Canadian Traders from the time the English first ventured upon the upper Lakes. Their long Connections with those Indians, and their better Knowledge of their Language and Customs, must naturally for a long time give the Canadians an Advantage over the English, which it is not improbable they will endeavor to improve, and use every Artifice to keep the Trade in their Hands as long as they can. And there are some Tribes of Indians in that Country who are ready to execute any mischief they are put upon, so very licentious and savage that they frequently butcher each other. It was a Party from these Tribes who killed the ten men navigating a Trader's Boat upon the Ohio, as also the two Traders above-mentioned.

It becomes highly Necessary to fall upon some Methods to put a Stop to the frequent Murders they are guilty of. I have therefore desired Sir William Johnson not to let them pass unnoticed, but to send Directions to his Deputys, to demand Satisfaction; At the same time recommending it to him, to gain some of the more civilized Nations to assist us, in case those Tribes should continue their Hostilities, so as to make it a Measure of Necessity to Chastize them. The French pursued the like Policy with Success when they possessed that Country, and found it the best to restore Peace and Tranquility. And in order to shew the Canadians and Indians that the Projects of the former to obtain an exclusive Commerce by their Artifices, would be ineffectual; I have directed the Commander of the Detroit to acquaint them publicly that no Trade would be permitted with any Nation, where the English are refused the same Liberty of trade as the French.

The vagabond Canadian Settlers in the Indian Villages do a great deal of hurt, and should if possible, be removed. It will be difficult to do, as it is a Rule of all Indians, neither to deliver up, or send forceably away, any Persons who Seek their Protection. But I propose, whenever Sir William Johnson shall have any material Business to



settle with the Nations upon the Lakes, to desire he will make it a Point with them to remove those Settlers, as the surest means to prevent Disturbances in their Country.

It had not been discovered at the Forts that the Savages had taken any bad Resolutions, th'o there were Reports of their discontent: which must have been occasioned by the Complaints made to them by the Six Nations; with whom they would have joined; th'o none of the Nations in those parts, have had any Reason to be dissatisfied with our Conduct towards themselves. Those Reports had put the Commanders of the Forts upon their Guard, who acquaint me, they should prepare against all Attempts. I have received a Return of the present State of the Settlement of the Detroit, which I have the honor to transmit to your Lordship; which contains the Number of Souls, Acres cultivated, yearly produce of Corn, and of Cattle and Hogs in that Settlement.

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan Sir William Johnson's Deputy, and the Commissioners from Pensylvania are arrived at Fort Pitt; to which Place the different Tribes of Indians in that District have been invited, and a very large Meeting was expected. A Number of the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanoes are already there, who appeared Sulky and very much discontented, being perswaded that we intended to make war upon them. They have notwithstanding told M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, that their Nation and the Delawares are determined to preserve the Peace, th'o they have been called upon by different Nations to strike, and revenge the Murders committed upon their People by the Inhabitants of the English Frontiers.

A terrible Fire has happened again at Montreal, by which Misfortune about one hundred and twenty Familys have been dislodged. A House converted into a Barrack for a Company of Foot was consumed amongst many others, but the store-houses having been preserved thr'o the indefatigable Labor of the Officers and Soldiers, the Commanding Officer has contrived to lodge the Company therein for a time, till a better place can be found for their Reception.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretarys of State &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] New York 15<sup>th</sup> May 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 2) R 15<sup>th</sup> June. A. 13.

BUTRICKE TO BARNSLEY, May 22, 1768

[*Historical Magazine*, 8:258]

TO CAPT. THOMAS BARNSLEY,

PHILADELPHIA, the 22d May, 1768.

DEAR SIR:

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that five Companies of our Regiment Rec<sup>d</sup> orders yesterday morning to be ready to march at six hours warning, under the Command of Col. Wilkins for Fort Pitt, and as I am to proceed with them it prevents me having the pleasure to see you at present, and to prevent there being any mistake betwixt us I have sent my Servant, with the things I mentioned to you when you was here, Vizt: Seven hatts, 20 yards of furniture Chintz and Lace, Powder, flints, Ball, &c.

I shall leave my Large Chest behind, with every thing in it I Cannot Carry, and as I know no person I can so well depend on as our Butcher Kirker, I propose to Leave it with him, with orders to deliver it to you should any thing happen to me, and before I Leave Town I will send you a list of what it Contains.

JOHNSON TO BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN,<sup>1</sup> May 23, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 5:88—Draft]

NEW LONDON May 23<sup>d</sup> 1768

GENTLEMEN

Your favour of the 8<sup>th</sup> Cur<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup> was delivered to me yesterday by an Express from Johnson Hall.

I am extremely sorry for the Disappointments you have met with in y<sup>r</sup> dealings with M<sup>r</sup> Cole, owing chiefly to the Irregular method he at first pursued.

I now flatter myself, that, as his last Acc<sup>ts</sup> were Vouched by the Commd<sup>e</sup> officer, there will be no objection made by the General to the Granting a Warr<sup>t</sup> for the Amt of both but depend upon it that such large, Acc<sup>ts</sup> will not be allowed of for the time to come.

<sup>1</sup> Copy in the handwriting of Sir William Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 278.

I shall write the General again by the Next Post from Hence, for a Warr<sup>t</sup>, w<sup>h</sup>, according to the Form kept up by him must be made payable to me or my Assigns, then the Warrant, with Sets of Receipts will be sent by M<sup>r</sup> Mortier to me to Endorse & Sign, & as that will occasion some delay, & Probably a disadvantage to You (which I would by all means in my power prevent, I now enclose You an order on M<sup>r</sup> Mortier,<sup>1</sup> & Shall write him also on the Subject,<sup>2</sup> So that I am hopefull You will not longer be disappointed but receive the Money as soon as the Warrants are granted, which would afford me much Satisfaction, as I am with much Esteem

Gen<sup>t</sup> Y<sup>rs</sup> & <sup>ca</sup>

W J.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, & MORGAN

[*Endorsed:*] N London May 23<sup>d</sup> 1768 Letter to Baynton Wharton & Co & Abr<sup>m</sup> Mortier Esq<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Copy of an order on the latter.

JOHNSON TO MORTIER, May 23, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 5:88—Draft]<sup>3</sup>

NEW LONDON 23 May 1768.

SIR

M<sup>r</sup> Edward Cole Comis<sup>ry</sup> for Ind<sup>n</sup> Trade at the Illinois Drew upon me some time ago favour of Messrs Baynton Wharton & Morgan Merc<sup>ts</sup> of Philadelphia, for the Am<sup>t</sup> of two halfyears Acc<sup>ts</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>br</sup> last, these Acct<sup>s</sup> are now in General Gages possession As Soon as he passes Warrants for the payment of them, I shall sign one & the receipts here. As the above mentioned Gentlemen must have Suffered a good deal of inconveniency by the Detention of so considerable a Sum for so long a time, I have (in order to enable them to receive it as soon as possible) now given them a Draft upon You for that Sum, w<sup>h</sup> I hope You will soon be enabled to discharge. I shall be glad to hear that my last letter from hence got safe to y<sup>r</sup> hands, and also that You provide the most portable Cash for paying to my Son the Ball: of my Acc<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> you. I am with the most cordial Esteem

Sir Y<sup>rs</sup> & <sup>ca</sup>

W J.

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 292.

<sup>2</sup> See the following letter. It was written on the back of this letter.

<sup>3</sup> Copy in the handwriting of Sir William Johnson.

ABR<sup>M</sup> MORTIER Esq<sup>r</sup>

least I should fall short here of money, I have drawn upon Y<sup>r</sup> fav<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wetherhead for £100 w<sup>h</sup> Please to Send me in York Bills

JOHNSON'S ORDER ON MORTIER, May 23, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 5:88—C.]<sup>1</sup>

NEW LONDON, May 23<sup>d</sup> 1768

SIR

Please to pay unto Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton Wharton & Morgan of Philadelphia, or to their order, the Amount of M<sup>r</sup> Edward Coles two halfyears Acct<sup>s</sup> of Disbursements to Ind<sup>s</sup>, His own Salary as Comis<sup>ry</sup> there, & that of the Smith Interpreters & <sup>ca</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> of last September, & that, as Soon as convenient, after General Gage has granted Warrants for the Same; & charge it to Acc<sup>t</sup> of Your Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Copia Vera

W J.

ABR<sup>M</sup> MORTIER ESQ<sup>R</sup>

#### MURRAY POWER OF ATTORNEY TO B. GRATZ

[P. H. S., Etting Collection, Gratz Papers]

Know all Men by these Presents, That I William Murray of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania Conveyancer have constituted, made and appointed, and by these Presents do constitute, make and appoint, my trusty and loving Friend Barnard Gratz of the same City Merchant my true and lawful Attorney; for me and in my Name and Stead, and to my Use to ask, demand, sue for, levy, recover and receive, all such Sum and Sums of Money, Debts, Rents, Goods, Wares, Dues, Accounts, and other Demands whatsoever, which are or shall be due, owing, payable, and belonging to me or detained from me any Manner or Ways or Means whatsoever by any person or persons whatsoever or wheresoever, and also to ask Demand, sue for Levy Recover & receive all such sum or sums of Mony due to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Wochrow & Comp<sup>y</sup> of Virginia for which I have a Letter of Attorney from them to recover and further to Sell & Convey for such price as my said Attorney shall think reasonable a Certain Tract of Land of mine situate in Sheerman's Valley in Cumberland County & province aforesaid and Conveyances

<sup>1</sup> In Johnson's handwriting.

for me & in my Name for the same to make & execute giving and granting unto my said Attorney, by these Presents my full and whole Powers, Strength and Authority, in and about the Premisses, to have, use and take, all lawful Ways and Means in my Name for the Recovery and Conveying thereof, and upon the Receipt of any such Debts, Dues, or Sums of Money aforesaid, Acquittances or other sufficient Discharges, for me and in my Name to make, seal, and deliver; and generally all and every other Act and Acts, Thing and Things, Device or Devices, in the Law whatsoever, needful and necessary to be done in and about the Premisses, for me and in my Name, to do, execute and perform, as fully, largely and amply, to all Intents and Purposes, as I myself might or could do, if I was personally present, or as if the matter required more especial Authority than is herein given; and Attorneys one or more under him, for the Purpose aforesaid, to make and constitute, and again at Pleasure to revoke. ratifying, allowing and holding, for firm and effectual, all and whatsoever my said Attorney shall lawfully do in and about the Premisses, by Virtue hereof. IN WITNESS whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Twenty fifth Day of May in the Eight Year of his Majesty's Reign, *Annoque Domini* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty eight

Sealed and delivered in  
the Presence of us,  
AUG. SALSAMAN  
ROBERT INNEZ

W. MURRAY

[MEMORANDUM ON BACK OF W. MURRAY'S POWER OF ATTORNEY TO BARNARD GRATZ, May 25, 1768.]

1 ps fine Linnon 25 Yds.....	4/7.....	£ 5 .. 14 .. 7
1 Doz Barcelona Hank <sup>s</sup> .....		3 .. 18 .. 6
6 lb Col <sup>d</sup> Thread.....	4/6.....	1 .. 7 .. ..
1 lb White do Scotch N <sup>o</sup> . 6.....		7 .. 6
1 lb Do " Do 7.....		8 .. ..
1 lb do .. .. do 10.....		10 .. 6
1 ps Cambrick.....		3 .. 8 .. ..
1 ps do .. .. ..		4 .. 1 .. ..
		<hr/> 20 .. 5 .. 1

BISHOP BRIAND TO GIBAULT, May 30, 1768.

[A. A., Q., Registre de l'évêche de Quebec, C., f. 249 ro.]

JOANNES OLIVARIUS BRIAND

miseratione divina et Stae Sedis aplicae gratia Eppus Quebecensis, insignis metropolitanae ecclesiae Turonensis canonicus honorarius, Sedis aplicae suffraganeus immediatus, Dilecto nobis in Xto Magistro Petro Gibeau nostrae dioecesis presbytero, salutem et benedictionem in Dno.

Gaudemus in Dno vere et exultamus quod te in terras longinquas et ad populos sapientia ineruditos, gravibusque, ut nobis relatum est, oneratos peccatis, multoque tempore carentes pastoribus, mittendi nostrae sollicitae voluntati non obstiteris sed e contra pro tua in praedictos populos benignitate Dnumque nostrum Jesum Xtum apud ipsos honorificandi non satis laudando zelo spontanee et libenter acquieveris. Quapropter nos, de tuis scientia, probitate et honestis moribus probatum in Dno fiduciam obtinentes, ac spem quod ea quae commiserimus tibi exercenda fideliter conaturus sis exequi et adimplere indubiam gerentes, tibi facultates extraordinarias ad regendos et

[*Translation*]

Jean Oliver Briand, by the divine mercy and the grace of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Quebec, honorary canon extraordinary of the metropolitan church of Turin, direct suffragan of the Apostolic See, to M. Pierre Gibault, priest of our diocese, dear to us in Christ, greetings and benediction in the Lord.

We truly rejoice in the Lord and exult because you have not opposed our earnest wish of sending you into distant lands and to folk unlearned in wisdom and heavy laden—as has been told us—with grievous sins, and deprived for a long time of pastors; but on the contrary, by virtue of your benevolence toward the aforesaid folk and your zeal—which can not be sufficiently praised—of honoring our Lord Jesus Christ among them, have willingly and freely acquiesced. Wherefore we, having confidence in the Lord as to your knowledge, probity, and upright habits, and having certain hope that those things which we commit to you to be carried out you will faithfully perform, endeavor to pursue, and to fulfill, have decided and determined to grant you extraordinary powers for directing and governing the

gubernandos praedictos populos concedere statuimus et decrevimus, tibiue per praesentes concessimus ac concedimus melioribus omnibus modis via jure et causa quibus melius et efficacius potuimus ac debui-  
mus possumus et debemus. Poteris igitur ex et sub nostra autoritate omnes ecclesias capellasque ac tota sacra in regionibus vulgo *les Illinois* et *les Tamarois* nuncupatis sita visitare et omnia quae ad hujus-  
modi visitationis munus pertinent gerere et exercere, nec non ea quae necessaria aut utilia videbuntur statuere ac decernere, verbum Dni inibi annunciare et ad illud annunciandum confessionesque fidelium excipiendas deputare, confessarios quoscumque seculares vel regulares examinare et approbare et approbationes a te vel aliis etiam a nobis concessas revocare, censuras ecclesiasticas infligere et ab iisdem cen-  
suris nec non a censuris aut casibus nobis et Stae Sedi reservatis per te vel per alios quibus hanc facultatem concedere volueris, absolvere; sacramenta quaecumque (confirmatione et ordine exceptis) adminis-  
trare aut ad illa administranda licentiam ac facultatem concedere; in

[*Translation*]

aforesaid folk, and have granted and do grant, can grant and ought to grant them to you by these presents, in all the better ways, in the manner, with the right and reason with which we have been able and obligated to grant them more effectively and effectually. You will be able therefore, by virtue of and under our authority, to visit all churches, chapels, and all sacred places in the regions commonly called Illinois and Tamarois, and to carry out and fulfill all things which pertain to the performance of this sort of visitation, and to determine and decide besides the things which may seem necessary or useful; to preach therein the word of the Lord, and to make arrangements for preaching it and for receiving the confessions of the faithful; to examine and approve any confessors, either secular or regular, and to revoke approvals granted by you or by others or even by us; to inflict ecclesiastical penalties and to absolve, either by yourself or through others to whom you may wish to grant this power, from these same penalties, even from penalties or cases reserved to us and to the Holy See; to administer any sacraments (confirmation and ordination excepted), or to grant license and power for administering them; to grant dispensations from vows and oaths, when just

votis ac juramentis, cum justa subest causa, dispensare; ecclesias, oratoria et coemeteria aliaque loca cultui divino dicanda, benedicere, aut ea polluta et profanata reconciliare, omnes et quascumque benedictiones etiam nobis reservatas facere, in omnibus impedimentis matrimonium prohibentibus aut dirimentibus (excepto consanguinitatis et affinitatis secundo gradu) nec non super bannorum publicatione dispensare; denique omnia gerere, dicere et exequi poteris in praedictis locis quantum ad seculares et regulares clericos et laicos, quae nos ipsi si praesentes adessemus gerere, dicere, decernere et exequi possemus. Promittentes nos ratum habituros quidquid per te dilectum nostrum Magistrum Petrum Gibeau quem Vicarium nostrum generalem in dictis locis fecimus ac facimus, actum gestumque fuerit.

Quia tamen jam fecimus et creavimus constituimusque Dilectum nostrum Reverendum Patrem Meurin e societate Jesu sacerdotem, Vicarium nostrum generalem pro omnibus illis locis supra dictis ac omnibus aliis adpacentibus, quin etiam et pro regione tota vulgo *La Louisianne* nuncupata, quae ex nostra dioecesi huc usque dependere a

[*Translation*]

cause exists; to bless churches, oratories, and cemeteries, and other places to be consecrated to divine worship, or to restore those that have been polluted or profaned, and to give any and all blessings, even those reserved for us; to grant besides dispensation from all impediments prohibiting or unfavorable to matrimony (except consanguinity and relationship to the second degree), over and above the publication of the banns; lastly, you will be able to do, to say, and to carry out in the aforesaid places, with respect to the secular and regular clergy and laics, all things which we ourselves if we were there present should be able to do, say, decide, and carry out. And we promise that we shall hold to whatever shall be done and carried out by you, our beloved M. Pierre Gibault, whom we have made and do make our vicar-general in the said places.

Inasmuch as we have made, created, and constituted our beloved Reverend Father Meurin, priest of the Society of Jesus, our vicar-general for all these places aforesaid and for all others adjacent—even for all the region commonly called Louisiana—which have been clearly known hitherto to belong to our diocese; we desire that you



prime nota sunt, volumus ut his praedictis facultatibus non utaris nisi dependenter a praedicto Patre Meurin aut ex ejus consensu.

Poteris autem in omnibus locis nostrae dioecesis superioribus ad quae iter faciens deveneris in quibus o [non?] erit vicarius generalis praedicta exercere; in aliis vero munia omnia sacerdotalia exercere, confessiones excipere et a censuris et casibus nobis et Stae Sedi reservatis absolvere. Praesentibus usque ad revocationem valituris.

Datum Quebeci sub signo sigilloque nostris ac secretarii nostri subscriptione die tertia maii 1768.

J: OL: Eppus Quebecensis.

De mandato Illust. & Reverend. DD. Eppi Quebecensis.

HUBERT, Pter, Secr.

[*Translation*]

do not use these powers aforesaid except as dependent on the aforesaid Father Meurin or with his consent.

You will be able besides to carry out the aforesaid in all further places in our diocese to which you may come in your travels into which the vicar-general does not go; to fulfill in others indeed all sacerdotal functions, to receive confessions, and to absolve from penalties and cases reserved for us and the Holy See. These presents shall be valid until their revocation.

Given at Quebec under our hand and seal and the endorsement of our secretary the thirtieth day of May, 1768.

J: OL, Bishop of Quebec.

By command of the illustrious and reverend Doctor of Divinity, the Bishop of Quebec,

(Seal)

HUBERT, priest, secretary.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, June 11, 1768.

[P. R. O., C. O., 5.86, p. 163—Draft]

WHITEHALL June 11<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE.

(N<sup>o</sup>. 8.)

SIR,

Since my last Letter to You N<sup>o</sup> 6, I have received two from You addressed to the Earl of Shelburne numbered 25<sup>1</sup> & 26; I have also

<sup>1</sup> April 24, 1768, *ante*, 266.

had the Honor to receive one addressed to myself marked N° 1, and have laid these Letters, together with their Inclosures, before the King.

His Majesty entirely approves the Steps taken as well by Yourself as by Brigadier Haldimand and Lieutenant Lovell, upon the joint Requisitions made by Don Ulloa and Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry for delivering up the People who had deserted from Missouri, and taken Refuge at the Natchés. The clandestine Trade carried on with the Indians living under His Majesty's Protection, and within the Territory belonging to Great Britain, by French and Spanish Settlers from the Western Side of the Mississippi, has certainly operated very much to the Prejudice of the Commerce of His Majesty's Subjects;<sup>1</sup> and the false Reports and idle Tales propagated by these contraband Traders, with a View to excite Jealousy in the Indians of our Proceedings & provoke them to Hostilities, have had apparently but too great an Influence upon their Councils and Measures, and therefore His Majesty very much approves your having availed Yourself of the Correspondence opened with Don Ulloa and M. Aubry to represent the Injustice and Illegality of such Commerce and Communication.

His Majesty trusts that Your Representation on this Subject, accompanied with the very proper Directions, You have given to the Commanding Officer at Fort Chartres, will have the desired Effect to check a Communication and Correspondence equally inconsistent with the Law of Nations, and with those Laws made for the Regulation of the Trade of the Plantations, and which are intended to confine it to the Subjects of Great Britain only.

I observe from Your Letter that this is not the only Advantage which has been procured to His Majesty's Service by this Correspondence, the Recovery of so large a Number of Deserters from His Majesty's Troops, who had taken Shelter under the Spanish Government, is a very considerable Acquisition, and under the Circumstances You mention of the Regiments in North America being complete, His

<sup>1</sup> There was a great amount of illicit trade carried on by the French and Spanish traders, but they were not entirely to blame. English merchants frequently dealt with the traders from the other side of the Mississippi river for immediate profit. The Spanish officials should be exonerated, if we may judge from the explicit orders issued by Ulloa, to prevent Spanish traders crossing the river. These orders were referred to in Ulloa to Gage, August 29, 1768, *post*, 386.

Majesty very much approves your having sent these Deserters to Grenada, to be incorporated in the Corps stationed in the ceded Islands.

The other Parts of your Letter appear to relate entirely to the Measures You have taken for disposing of the Detachment and Recruits, sent for the Augmentation and Completion of the Regiments in West Florida; for the Accommodation and Lodgement of the Troops in that Station, and for checking the Disorders committed by the Chactaws; In all which Cases I have nothing more in Command from His Majesty than to express His Royal Approbation of your Conduct, and to recommend to You to have a careful Attention to the Correspondence which, You say, has been opened between the Creek Indians and the Spaniards at Havanna, which appears to be a very extraordinary Transaction, and if there is any Foundation for the Report of the Offers, made to the Spaniards by the Indians, of a Tract of Land upon Apalichicola River, the suffering this Communication to be carried on to any great Degree may be as dangerous as the Correspondence itself is unjustifiable, these Indians being, by the Spirit and Provisions of the Treaty of Paris, Subject to the Crown of Great Britain, and their Country become a Part of its Possessions.

The Congress with the Indians, held at Sir William Johnson's, appears from the Effect of it to have been a judicious and well-timed measure, and gives good Ground to hope a favourable Issue to the farther Negotiation with them for the final Settlement of the boundary Line, and for the adjusting those Matters, recommended in my Dispatch of the 15<sup>th</sup> of April.<sup>1</sup>

I am &c<sup>a</sup>  
HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Draught to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. (N<sup>o</sup> 8.)

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 247.

MEURIN TO BRIAND, June 11, 1768

[A. A., Q., Mission des Illinois f. 9]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Je reçus le 26 du mois d'aout 1767 vos premières lettres par lesquelles vous me faites l'honneur de me constituer votre grand vicaire dans cette partie cy de votre diocèse. Je reçus en même temps vos mandemens de jubilé et de préface de la Ste Trinité &c. J'ay reçu le 29 janvier 1768 vos secondes lettres en confirmation des premières.

Je voudrois presque que mon amour propre put m'empêcher de vous déclarer, Monseigneur, que je suis aussi indigne que l'on puisse être de l'honneur que vous me faites et incapable plus que jamais d'une telle commission dont je ne connois que le nom. Je n'ay jamais scu de jurisprudence ny de parfait notaire, ny de pontifical &c. Depuis trop longtemps abandonné à moi meme je connois à peine le devoir de simple prêtre. Il ne m'est plus possible d'en apprendre davantage.

Mes lettres du printemps dernier auroient-elles oublié de vous instruire de mon âge, de ma caducité de corps et d'esprit. Je n'ay plus qu'un petit reste de foible jugement, plus de mémoire et encor moins

[*Translation*]

MY LORD,

On the twenty-sixth of August, 1767, I received your first letters, by which you did me the honor of constituting me your grand vicar in this part of your diocese. At the same time I received your mandates for the jubilee and the preface of the [mass for] Holy Trinity, etc. On the twenty-ninth of January 1768, I received your second letters, confirming the first.

I could almost wish that my self-esteem might prevent me from telling you, my lord, that I am as unworthy as anyone can be of the honor which you confer on me, and more than ever incapable of such an office, of which I know but the name. I have never been acquainted with any jurisprudence, either notarial, pontifical, or any other. Having been too long left to myself, I barely know the duties of a simple priest. It is no longer possible for me to learn anything else.

My letters of last spring must have omitted to inform you of my age, and of my decrepitude of body and mind. I have no more than a slight remnant of weak judgment, no more memory, and still less firmness. I need a guide for both soul and body, for my eyes, my

de fermeté. J'ai besoin de guide pour l'ame et pour le corps car mes yeux, mes oreilles et mes jambes sont très foibles aussi je ne suis plus bon qu'à être mis en terre. J'espère Monseigneur que vous voudrés bien me pardonner de n'avoir pas porté ni envoyé vos grâces et faveurs à la nouvelle orléans selon vos lettres et instructions que j'ai cru devoir laisser ignorer à nos chères Ursulines mêmes, de peur de leur attirer du chagrin qu'elles ne méritent pas.

Comment y aurois-je été reçu après avoir signé (pour obtenir la permission de revenir aux Illinois) que je m'y comporterois toujours en vicaire des révérends pères Capucins sujet à leurs visites, réprimandes, et corrections, et jurisdiction &c, laquelle devoit être seule dans tout le mississippi &c. quoique je n'eusse souscrit à tout cela par devant Mr le procureur général du Roy que pour le temps que la future jurisdiction seroit réel et constatée, les forçant de convenir devant le magistrat qu'ils ne l'avoient pas encore et ne pouvoient m'en communiquer aucune partie, je n'eusse pas été mieux reçu. En voicy la preuve: c'est qu'à la première nouvelle qu'ils ont eus par les voya-

[*Translation*]

ears, and my legs are likewise very feeble. I am no longer good for anything but to be laid in the ground. I trust, my lord, that you will be good enough to forgive me for having neither carried nor sent your pardons and favors to New Orleans, according to your letters and instructions, of which I have thought proper to let even our dear Ursulines remain ignorant, through fear of drawing on them some vexation which they do not deserve.

How should I have been received there after having stated over my own signature (in order to obtain permission to return to Illinois) that I should always act as vicar of the reverend Capuchin fathers, subject to their visits, their reprimands, and corrections, and to their jurisdiction, etc., which was to be the only one throughout the Mississippi country? Even had I subscribed to all that, before the procurator-general of the king, solely for such time until the future jurisdiction should be real and established, compelling them to admit before the magistrate that as yet they did not have it, and could not convey any portion of it to me, I should not have been better received. Here is the proof: on the first intelligence they had through travelers that you had honored me with the appointment of

geurs, que vous m'aviés honoré du grand vicariat, l'arrêt de proscription a été lancé contre moi et eut été exécuté si averti par un ami en place, je ne l'eusse évité en me retirant sur la partie angloise ou, en prestant incontinent serment de fidélité comme encien domiciliér, je me suis mis à couvert des poursuites espagnoles qui me déclarent criminel d'état pour avoir reçu la juridiction de Quebec si contraire aux intentions et intérêts de l'Espagne &c.<sup>1</sup>

Autre contradiction à vos lettres, Monseigneur, et que je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer, d'autant plus qu'on m'assure en porter plaintes à son excellence Monsieur de Gages gouverneur général pour sa majesté Britannique. Il y a un mois qu'ayant appris que le Sr Jautard (second acquéreur des biens de la mission de la Ste Famille aux Kaokias, vendus au Sr Lagrange par monsieur Forget vicaire général de votre prédécesseur et curé missionnaire en la ditte paroisse &c.) étoit en marché pour les revendre à un anglois, j'y allai former opposition de la part de messieurs de votre Seminaire qui revendiquent ce bien comme leur appartenant encor, ayant été vendu sans leur

[*Translation*]

grand vicar, a warrant of proscription was issued against me; and would have been executed if, warned by a friend in authority, I had not escaped from it by withdrawing to English territory, where by forthwith taking the oath of allegiance as a former resident, I secured myself against the Spanish prosecutions, which declare that I am a criminal because I received from Quebec jurisdiction so opposed to the intentions and interests of Spain, etc.

There is another instance of opposition to your letters, my lord, of which I must not allow you to remain in ignorance, especially since I have been assured that a complaint would be made to his excellency, M. Gage, governor-general for his Britannic majesty. Having learned about a month ago that M. Jautard (second purchaser of the properties of the mission of the Holy Family at the Cahokia, sold to M. Lagrange by M. Forget, vicar-general of your predecessor, and missionary curé in the said parish, etc.) was bargaining to resell them to an Englishman, I went there to oppose the sale on behalf of the gentlemen of your seminary, who claim this property as still belonging to them, through its having been sold without their power of

<sup>1</sup> Consult index to series for other references to this transfer.

procuration et à leur insçu par celui qui n'en étoit qu'économe, je voulus encor appuyer mon opposition de votre nom, Monseigneur, pour la conservation de tous biens appartenans aux églises pour leur en (tre)tient et celui des missionnaires que vous daignés employer. Mr. Forbes commandant (il n'y a pas encor icy de gouvernement civil) ne demandat mes lettres de commission. Je lui montrai vos lettres et celles de monsieur le Superieur. Aux lettres de vicariat général il me répondit que Monsieur de Gages ne leur ayant donné aucune instruction sur l'épiscopat et grand vicariat ils n'en pouvoit reconnaitre, et que cela paroissoit une pure entreprise de votre part et de la mienne; conséquemment me foisoit expresse deffense d'user de ces lettres et de prendre le titre de grand vicaire dans aucune lettre, ni acte, ni en public jusqu'a ce qu'il ait réponse de son général, et pour votre jurisdiction dans ce pays et pour le bien de Kaos, me promettant néanmoins qu'il ne seroit pas mis en vente jusque là. Le Sr Jautard passe en Canada et de là à la nouvelle york ou à Londrs pour avoir main levée et jouissance du dit bien. Celui du fort de

[*Translation*]

attorney and without their knowledge by the person who was but the steward thereof. I undertook also to support by the use of your name, my lord, my contention for the preservation of all property belonging to the churches for their maintenance and that of the missionaries whom you deign to employ. M. Forbes, the commandant (there is no civil government here as yet), asked me for my credentials. I showed him your letters and those of the superior. As regards the letters conferring the appointment of vicar general, he replied that inasmuch as M. Gage had given no instruction respecting the episcopacy and the office of vicar general, he could not take cognizance of them, and that this seemed a downright scheme on your part and mine; he therefore expressly forbade me to use these letters, or to assume the title of vicar general in any letter or document, or in public until he should receive an answer from his general regarding both your jurisdiction in the country and the Cahokia property, promising me, however, that the latter should not be offered for sale until then. M. Jautard goes to Canada and thence to New York or London to take oath and obtain possession of the said estate. The church property at Fort de Chartres is again, for the same reason (as

Chartres est encor par la même raison en danger d'être emporté par le fleuve. J'en ai fait lever et porter à la prairie du rocher les corps de Mr Gagnon et du père Luc récollet dignes missionnaires. C'est tout ce que j'ai pu.

Il y a encor dans le village des Kas les biens des Jésuites injustement saisis confisqué et vendu par le gouvernement françois depuis la cession du pays a l'Angleterre. Si votre grandeur ou nos missionnaires de Canada veulent le revendiquer, pour moi je n'y demande rien je suis trop vieux, mais jy verrai toujours avec peine la chapelle et le cimetierre profanés servir de jardin et de magasin aux anglois qui les tiennent à loyer du Sr Jean Baptiste Bauvais qui selon l'arret de confiscation et le contrat de vente et d'achapts des biens &c. étoit obligé de démolir la chapelle et d'en laisser le terrain et celui du cimetierre inculte sous les débris. Il dit que depuis le subdélégué exécuter de l'arrêt le lui a vendu—par quel droit? Les armoires qui servoient aux arnemens et vases socrés, servent dans ses apartemens ainsique les vitres autel et plancher &c. Les reproches constans que

[*Translation*]

before), in danger of being carried off by the river. I have caused to be disinterred and conveyed to Prairie du Rocher the bodies of M. Gagnon and Rev. Father Luc, the Franciscan friar, worthy missionaries. This is all I could do.

There are still in the village of Kaskaskia the goods of the Jesuits which were unjustly seized, confiscated, and sold by the French government after the cession of the country to England. If only Your Grace or our missionaries in Canada would claim them! For myself, I ask nothing—I am too old. But I shall always see with grief the chapel and the cemetery profaned to serve as a garden and storehouse by the English, who rent them from M. Jean Baptiste Beauvais, who according to the decree of confiscation and the contract of sale and purchase of the property, etc., was obliged to demolish the chapel, and to leave its site and that of the cemetery uncultivated under the debris. He says that the subdelegate, the executor of the decree, has since sold the property to him—by what right? The wardrobes used for the vestments and sacred vessels are now used in his apartments as well as the windows, the altar. and the floor, etc. The continual reproaches that I make to him on that



je lui en fais le tiennent éloignés de moi et des sacremens depuis trois ans. Je vous supplie de me decider ladessus et si, en cas qu'il se présente à moi, ou à un autre, on peut l'absoudre et le dispenser de remettre cela à l'église paroissiale, c'est toute ma demende. Il achepté le reste à ce que je crois en bonne foi, mais non la chapelle et les meubles qui par l'arrêt devoit être détruite et consommé. Je vous supplie de décider en juge ou dispensateur souverain.

Depuis quatre ans que desers les paroisses angloises je n'en ai tiré aucune dixme. Je n'y ai vécu que de la charité de quelques uns et des rétributions de messes. Je les ai toujours exhorté à remettre la dixme à la fabrique pour l'entretient des églises et missionnaire lorsqu'il y vient. Ils ont toujours (je dis les riches) prétendus ne rien devoir lorsqu'il n'y a pas de curé resident. Je vous prie de décider le cas, faute de quoi trois missionnaires ne pouroient subsister honêtement ou seroient obligés de laisser quelques villages abandonnés. bientôt je ne pourrai plus rien faire, menace par avance d'etre rejeté lorsque d'autres seront venus je ne les en désire que plus ardemment

[*Translation*]

score keep him alienated from me, and have kept him from the sacraments for three years. I beg you to give me a decision on this, and to say whether, in case he presents himself to me or to another, he can be granted absolution and be exempted from handing over the said articles to the parish church: that is my whole request. He bought, as I believe, the remainder in good faith, but not the chapel and its furniture, which, according to the decree, were to be destroyed and burned. I beg you to decide as judge or sovereign dispenser.

During the four years that I have ministered to these English parishes I have received no tithes therefrom. I have lived only on the charity of some and the fees for masses. I have always exhorted them to pay the tithes to the vestry board for the support of the churches and the missionary when he comes. They (I mean the rich ones) have always claimed not to owe anything when there is no resident pastor. I beg you to decide the case; otherwise three missionaries would be unable to live decently, or would be compelled to leave some villages abandoned. I shall soon be unable to do anything more; but threatened beforehand, as I am, with being cast out when others shall come, I wish all the more ardently for them. I have

j'ai toujours eu les pauvres pour moi. Des prêtres seront au moins aussi charitables qu'eux et Dieu m'aidera par eux, ou s'il aime mieux, ce qui seroit bien plus avantageux pour moi, il me fera participant de son abandon. Vous m'assignerés, si vous le juges à propos, une place ou coin dans quelou'un des presbytères du pays, dont je vous fais par avance mes très humbles remerciemens. Heureux si (je) puis recevoir la consolation des chrétiens mourans avec Jésus christ entre les mains de quelqu'un de ses ministres.

Cela suppose que le gouvernement m'y souffriroit: car le père Harding supérieur à Philadelphie m'écrivoit l'automne dernier qu'ils avoient avis et indices qu'on alloit traiter les Jésuites en Angleterre comme en France, Espagne, Portugal et Prusse et me faisoit ses adieu dans la crainte de ne le pouvoir plus. Que ne suit-je assés ennemi du diable pour mériter pareil traitement pour la 3<sup>e</sup> fois.

J'oubliai l'année dernière de vous demender si dans les prières publics, saluts &c. on dit l'oraison *pro rege* &c *Te Deum* si raison echeoit, ou demende, ce qui n'est pas icy jusqu'a présent. Si dans les

[*Translation*]

always had the poor on my side. Priests will be at least as charitable as they, and God will assist me through them; or if He prefer (which would be more advantageous for me) He will cause me to share His abandonment. You will assign me, if you think it proper, a place or a corner in one of the clergy-houses of the country, for which I tender you in advance my most humble thanks. [I shall be] happy if I can receive the consolation of Christians, dying with Jesus Christ in the hands of one of his ministers.

This is on the supposition that the government would suffer my presence there; for Father Harding, the superior in Philadelphia, wrote me last autumn that there were warnings and signs that the Jesuits were going to be treated in England as in France, Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, and he bade me his farewells, fearing that he would have no other opportunity of doing so. Am I not a great enough enemy of the devil to deserve such a treatment for the third time?

I forgot to ask you last year whether in the public prayers at benediction, etc., the orison for the king, etc., is said, and the *Te Deum* if occasion arise, or a demand (for it)—this has not happened

sermens, les romains peuvent jurer sur la bible protestante à cause des falsifications qui s'y trouvent &c. Les protestans assistent souvent à nos sts mystères, messes et saluts, debout dans les temps d'adoration, élévations, bénédictions du st sacrement, ainsi quand on le porte aux malaods &c. Les deux premiers commandans Mrs Sterling et Farmar, à ma prière, avoient deffendux de s'y trouver à moins qu'on ne voulut faire comme les romains. Vous pouriés peut être obtenir du gouvernement le même ordre. Nos deux derniers commandans ne ressemblent en rien aux deux premiers.

Ils m'ont fait deffense de marier sans un permis que Mr Reed faisoit payer 6 piastres dont cinq pour lui et une pour son secrétaire. Celui d'aujourd'hui ne fait payer que le secrétaire. Est-ce la coutume en Canada de ne pas marier les catholiques sans permission du magistrat ou du commandant qui en fait fonction.

Depuis que les Anglois ont pris possession de ce pays cy il n'y a pas encor eu de procession du St Sacrement (je residois de l'autre bord

[*Translation*]

as yet; (also whether,) when oaths are administered, Roman Catholics can swear on the Protestant Bible, on account of the falsities which are found there, etc. The Protestants are often present at our holy mysteries, masses, and benedictions, standing during the time of the adoration, the elevation, and the benediction of the blessed sacrament, and also when it is carried to the sick, etc. The first two commandants, MM. Stirling and Farmar, at my request, had forbidden their people to attend—at least unless they were willing to do as the Roman Catholics did. You can perhaps obtain the same order from the government. Our last two commandants in no wise resemble the first two.

They forbade me to celebrate a marriage ceremony without a license; for which M. Reed charged six piastres, five being for him, and one for his secretary. The present one charges only for the secretary. Is it the custom in Canada not to marry Catholics without the permission of the magistrate, or of the commandant who performs his duties?

Since the English have taken possession of this country, there has been as yet no procession of the blessed sacrament (I had been living on the other side, the Franco-Spanish). This year at the request of

franc espagnole) Cette année à la demande des habitans je demendai à Mrs les commandans anglois de permettre à la milice de prendre les armes selon la coutume chés les romains pour escorter le st sacrement, ce qu'ils ont refusé. Le temps n'étoit pas sur, et je me trouvois indisposé et fatigué de l'avoir faite de grand matin de l'autre bord à ste gennevieve je n'en fis icy que dans l'église et pareillement le jour de l'octave. Est-ce la coutume en Canada d'y prendre les armes pour cette fête et pouriés vous nous l'obtenir? Je me suis plusieurs fois trouvé embarrassé au sujet du calendrier de Quebec et transport des fêtes, n'ayant trouvé personne qui put nous instruire. Monsieur Forget n'avoit a nous répondre aux difficultés sinon qu'il n'y entendoit rien, que Monseigneur l'évêque s'y étoit perdu. 1o ces fêtes transportés au dimanche déplacent-elles un double qui s'y trouve? 2o celles qui ont octave le conservent-elles en entier à commencer du jour auquel la fête est transportée, ou l'octave est-il transporté avec la fête, si la fête de St Jean transporté au 27 juin et son octave en concurrence avec l'octave des apotres, lequel doit l'emporter?

[*Translation*]

the inhabitants, I asked the English commandants to allow the militia to turn out under arms, according to the custom among Roman Catholics, to escort the blessed sacrament. This they refused. The weather was not settled, and I was indisposed and fatigued through having had a procession very early on the other side at Ste. Genevieve. Here I celebrated the sacrament only in the church, and likewise on the day of the octave. Is it the custom in Canada to parade under arms for that holy day, and could you obtain this for us? I have on several occasions been puzzled with reference to the Quebec calendar and the moving of feasts, not having found anyone who could instruct me on this point. M. Forget had no answer to give us in our difficulties except that he knew nothing about it, and that my lord the bishop had often been at fault in the matter. First: Do feasts moved to Sunday retain a double, which is marked therefor? Second: Do those which have an octave retain it entire, commencing from the day to which the feast is moved, or is the octave moved with the feast—if the feast of St. John be moved to the twenty-seventh of June, and its octave come concurrently with the octave of the Apostles, which should have the preference? There are several other difficulties

ainsi de plusieurs autres difficultés que la mémoire ne me rappelle pas et qui s'étant fait sentir en Canada mieux qu'icy vous auront déjà mis dans l'occasion de décider. Je vous supplie de nous en faire part. Je ne sçais encor en quoi consiste la solennite de la fête dont on ne peut faire l'office à cause d'une autre solennelle, un dimanche de la passion faut-il prendre des ornemens blancs pour St Joseph &c. en quoi consiste la solennite de St Thomas le dim. avant Noel? &c. Monsieur Forget nous assuroit que la solennité ne consistoit pas seulement dans le chaumer mais peut etre encor dans les ornemens, lumineaire, prédications et autres choses qu'il ne scavoit pas. Je vous prie de nous le déterminer explicitement, car je suis trop bouché, borné pour ne rien dire de plus et trop diffus dont je vous demende pardon.

Les Anglois donnent et traittent de l'eau de vie aux sauvages tant qu'ils veulent, le cas réservé subsistera-t-il pour les habitans qui ne traiteront que pour leurs besoins scavoir huiles et viandes?

Je ne vous ai pourtant encor rendu aucun compte de la grâce du jubilé dont grand nombre ont profités surtout aux Kaokias ou tous les

[*Translation*]

which memory does not recall to me, and which, as they have been experienced in Canada more than here, you have already had occasion to decide. I beg you to communicate your decision to us. I do not know also in what the solemnity consists of the feast whereof the office cannot be celebrated because of another solemn feast—on Passion Sunday can the white vestments be worn for the feast of St. Joseph, etc.? In what does the solemnity of the feast of St. Thomas consist on the Sunday before Christmas, etc.? M. Forget assured us that the solemnity consisted not only in abstaining from work, but perhaps also in the ornaments, lights, sermons, and other things which he did not know. I beg you to decide this for us explicitly, for I am very obtuse, limited—to say the least—and very long-winded, for which I beg your pardon.

The English give and trade brandy to the savages as much as they wish; will the reserved case, then, still hold good for the inhabitants, who may trade only for their needs of having oil and food?

I have not yet, however, rendered you any account of the pardon of the jubilee, by which a great number profited, especially at Cahokia, where all the communicants with the exception of two performed their

communians à la réserve de deux ont faits leur devoir avec edification. Votre lettre adressée aux habitans des Kas a aussi produits de bons effets dans la plus part. Je l'ai lu au prone dans toutes les paroisses. Partout on a été très sensible a vos soins et vigilance vraiment paternels. Plusieurs qui se croient abandonnés ont repris courage et se sont remis dans le chemin du salut et parmi ceux la plusieurs sur qui, mal a propos, j'étois tenté de ne plus compter. Il ne me reste plus qu'a vous demender au nom des sts apotres votre bénédiction la plus ample, prompte délivrance du fardeau trop pesant dont vous m'avés chargé vous assurer que je suis et serai toujours avec le plus profond respect et le dévouement le plus soumis de votre grandeur. Monseigneur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

S. L. MEURIN de la compagnie de Jésus.

AUX KAS 11 de juin 1768.

[*Translation*]

duty with edification. Your letter addressed to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia also produced good effects among the majority. I read it at the mass-sermon in all the parishes. Everywhere the people were very sensible of your truly paternal cares and vigilance. Several who thought themselves abandoned plucked up courage again and set out anew on the road of salvation; and among them several on whom, unseasonably, I was tempted not to count any more. It remains only for me to ask of you in the name of the holy apostles your amplest blessing—namely, prompt deliverance from the too weighty burden with which you have laden me—and to assure you that I am and always will be, with the most profound respect and the most submissive devotion, my lord, Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant,

S. L. MEURIN, of the Society of Jesus.

KASKASKIA, June 11, 1768.

MEURIN TO BOIRET, June 11, 1768.

[Seminary of Quebec, Carton des Missions—C.]

AUX KAS ce 11<sup>e</sup> juin 1768

MONSIEUR.

J'ai reçu votre lettre en datte du 3. mai 1767.<sup>1</sup> depuis ce jour je n'ai point perdu de vue vos interest aux KaoKias, j'engageai les habitans a presenter requette a M<sup>r</sup> Reed Lieutenant Colonel commandant aux Illinois, a presenter requette en votre nom et au leur. il refusa de l'admettre par écrit, disant de bouche 1<sup>o</sup> que vous aviez tort de confier vos biens à un homme capable de vous faire tort. 2<sup>o</sup> que le commandant françois avoit permis et approuvé cette vente. 3<sup>o</sup> qu'elle étoit deja passée a un second, qu'on ne pouvoit ruiner un pays pour vous, enfin qu'il ne se mêloit point des affaires d'Eglise.

La requette disoit que M<sup>r</sup> Forget faussement persuadé par le commandant françois que les anglois alloient vexer prestres et habitans et s'emparer de leurs biens, avoit vendu tout à vil prix pour en emporter ce qu'il pourroit, plutot que de le laisser aux anglois.<sup>2</sup>

[Translation]

KASKASKIA, June 11, 1768

SIR.

I received your letter of May 3, 1767.

Since then I have kept your interests in mind at Cahokia. I asked the inhabitants to send a petition to Mr. Reed, the lieutenant colonel commandant of Illinois, and to present this petition in your name and theirs. He refused to receive it in writing, saying first, that you were wrong to intrust your goods to a man capable of injuring you; second, that the French commandant had allowed this sale and approved of it; third, that the property had already passed into another's hands, and that the country could not be ruined for you; and finally that he would not meddle with affairs of the church.

The petition said that M. Forget, having been falsely persuaded by the French commandant that the English were going to annoy the priests and the inhabitants and take their goods, had sold everything for a song, in order to take with him what he could, rather than leave it to the English.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 575.

<sup>2</sup> For documents relating to this occurrence consult index to Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11).

que ce bien aiant été donné par les rois de france au Séminaire de québec et augmenté par le dit séminaire pour l'entretien de leurs missionnaires aux KaosKias M<sup>r</sup> forget navoit pu le vendre sans une procuration de M<sup>rs</sup> du Séminaire de Québec.

que la prétendue procuration du Séminaire des missions étrangères à paris a esté supposée et quand elle seroit reel elle seroit pareillement nulle tandis que le séminaire de québec subsiste puisque c'est à lui seul que le fond a été donné et lui seul la améloiré et mis en valeur.

que le dit bien na jamais été payé ny quittancé et conséquemment demeure au monis hypothéqué au profit du dit séminaire de Quebec.

que le S<sup>r</sup> lagrange premier acquereur étant mort insolvable le dit bien doit demeurer à ses premiers maitres.

que le S<sup>r</sup> jautard second acquéreur par un coup de cartes na pas plus de droit à la possession que le premier et doit être condamné à rendre en l'état de la 1<sup>re</sup> vente.

Il y a environs un mois Monsieur que le S<sup>r</sup> jautard vouloit revendre ce bien au commissaire de Sa Majesté dans le pays des Illi-

[Translation]

That the estate having been given by the kings of France to the Seminary of Quebec and increased in value by the said Seminary to help their missionaries at Cahokia, M. Forget had no right to sell it without power-of-attorney from the priests at the Seminary of Quebec.

That the so-called power-of-attorney of the *seminaire les missions étrangères* at Paris was fictitious, and that if it had been real it would be equally void as long as the Seminary of Quebec exists, since to it (the Seminary of Quebec) alone was the ground given, and it alone had improved it and increased its value.

That the said estate had never been paid for nor a receipt given for it, and consequently remains mortgaged for the benefit of the said Seminary of Quebec.

That M. Lagrange, first owner, having died insolvent, the estate ought to remain with its first owners.

That M. Jautard, who came into possession second through winning at cards, has no more right to possession than the first and should be condemned to return it as it was at the time of the first sale.



nois. Le marché étoit presque conclu J'y allai pour y mettre opposition et representai la requett des habitans et votre lettre de commission à M<sup>r</sup> forbes commandant par interim depuis de départ de M<sup>r</sup> Reed. quoique un peu plus traitable il refusa d'y repondre mais il me promit ainsi que le commissaire que le dit bien fond ne seroit pas vendu jusqu'à nouvel ordre de M<sup>r</sup> le general Gage auprès de qui vous pouvés faire vos poursuites.

Le bien ne vaut pas maintenant le demi quart de ce qu'il valoit lors de la première vente. lagrange, et Jautard ensuite en ont vendus les esclavès et bestiaux, les clos et batimens en sont ruinés. il n'y reste plus que les emplacements, une maison de peine de 60 et quelques pieds bâtie par M<sup>r</sup> forget dont la couverture n'est pas même achevée. il n a cessé de bâtir qu'au moment de la vente (preuve qu'il n'avoit pas de procuration même de paris dont on n'avoit pu avoir de nouvelles depuis près d'un an) aussi le notaire m'a assuré que M<sup>r</sup> forget lui avoit seulement dit qu'il l'avoit et que le commandant l'avoit obligé d'écrire qu'elle existoit. Les plus gros arbres du verger subsistent

[*Translation*]

About a month ago, sir, M. Jautard wanted to sell the estate again, namely to the commissary of his Majesty in the district of Illinois. The sale was nearly made. I went there to oppose it and presented the petition of the people and your letter granting me authority, to Mr. Forbes, commandant par interim since the departure of Mr. Reed. Although he was a trifle more tractable, he refused to answer, but he as well as the commissary promised me that the estate should not be sold until a new order was received from General Gage, before whom you can institute your suits.

The estate is not worth an eighth of what it was worth at its first sale. Lagrange and later Jautard sold the slaves and the cattle, and the fields and buildings are ruined. Only the ground is left and a house built by M. Forget, of some sixty odd feet, the roof of which is not even finished. He only stopped building at the moment of the sale (a proof that he had no power-of-attorney from Paris, from which we had been unable to receive any news for almost a year); the notary public also assured me that M. Forget had only told him that he had it and that the commandant had asked him to write down that it existed. The largest trees are still standing in

encor et se deffendent par eux-mêmes contre les animaux ainsi que les terres. Le S<sup>r</sup> Jautard aussi insolvable que lagrange fait banqueroute est party fuyard pour le Canada dit on ou pour les nations du haut du mississipi. S'l paroît a quebec vous pouvés ly faire arreter, rendre compte de vos contrats, esclaves, bestiaux, détériorations de clos, batimens et de l'usufruit etc Je vous souhaite en tout cela beaucoup de succès, me recommande très instament à vos S<sup>tes</sup> prières et S<sup>ts</sup> sacrifices en l'union desquels j'ai l'honneur d'etre avec les plus profond respect Monsieur votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur  
S. L. MEURIN S. J.

Permettés que tous vos Messieurs trouvent ici l'assurance de mes respects.

[*Translation*]

the orchard, and they as well as the ground defend themselves alone against the animals. It is said that M. Jautard, having become as bankrupt as Lagrange, fled to Canada or to the peoples above the Mississippi. If he appears at Quebec, you can have him arrested there, to render account of your contracts, slaves, cattle, deterioration of your fields and buildings, and the usufruct, etc. I wish you success in all of this, and commend myself very urgently to your holy prayers and holy sacrifices, in whose union I have the honor to be, with the deepest reverence, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

S. L. MEURIN, S. J.

Convey to all associated with you the assurances of my respect.

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, June 16, 1768.

[P. R. O., C. O., 5.86, f. 209—A. L. S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 3)

NEW YORK, June 16th, 1768.

MY LORD,

I have the honor to acknowledge the Receipt of Your Lordship's Letter (No. 3.)<sup>1</sup> together with a Copy of a Report made to The King, by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations;<sup>2</sup> upon the present Civil Establishment regarding the Indians, The Disposition of the Forces for Indian Purposes, And the Establishment of certain new Colonies.

<sup>1</sup> April 15, 1768, *ante*, 247.

<sup>2</sup> March 7, 1768, *ante*, 183.

Your Lordship has signified to me His Majesty's Approbation in general, not only of the Propositions contained in that Report, but also of the principles on which they are founded. That in Consequence thereof, His Majesty is pleased to make an Alteration in the present Plan of Superintendancy of Indian Affairs, by laying aside that part of it which relates to the Indian Trade, and to trust the entire Management of that Trade to the Colonies themselves: But to continue the Offices of Superintendants for the general Purposes enumerated in the Report of the Board of Trade.

It appears next to be His Majesty's Pleasure, for many Reasons alledged in Your Lordship's Letter, that Such of the Posts in the Interior Country as are by their Situation exposed to the Resentment of the Savages, should be reduced; but at the same time it is not His Majesty's Intentions, that any of those Reasons, however just and cogent, should operate to induce such a Reduction in the Military Establishments, as shall be inconsistent with publick Safety, by withdrawing that Protection which may be thought Necessary to give Facility to Commerce.

That it is His Majesty's Pleasure to discontinue all Establishments made with a View to the Execution of the Regulations for the Trade. And that the Line to fix the Boundary between the Provinces and the Indian Country, as described in the Report of the Board of Trade, should be every where finally ratified and confirmed; and the Provinces enjoined to pass Laws, to prevent the Transgression of the Boundaries, and Frauds and Abuses in carrying on the Indian Trade.

Your Lordship then acquaints me, of His Majesty's Pleasure, that the Forts of Niagara, Detroit and Missilimakinac should be kept up, and Garrisoned in such Manner as I think fit. And a Naval Force be maintained upon the Lakes, for keeping up a Communication, and affording all reasonable Protection to Trade. That His Majesty has Doubts concerning the Utility of Establishments in such remote Situations as those proposed on the Illinois, Mississippi and Ohio Rivers; and is pleased to direct, that I should report my opinion with regard to the Continuance of any of the Forts in those Situations, and in the mean time to keep up Fort-Chartres or other proper Post in the Illinois, and Fort-Pitt on the Ohio. That either the Forts of Crown-Point or Ticonderoga should be likewise kept up, on the Necessity of

which His Majesty directs, that I should in like manner report my Opinion.

That the King is of opinion all other Forts whether in the Interior or settled parts of the Country, not absolutely necessary for public Safety, may with Propriety admit of Reduction. And that the Fifteen Battalions employed in North America, may be so stationed in four large Bodys, in the Provinces Specified, as to furnish Detachments according to their Situation, for the Posts in the Lakes, in Newfoundland, and in West Florida.

Your Lordship informs me further, that from the impossibility of getting a complete and perfect Information at that Distance, His Majesty is graciously pleased to leave to my Judgement and Discretion the Time and Manner of effecting this Reduction, as well as the Arrangements to be made in consequence thereof, and the Manner of disposing of the Forts when the Garrisons shall be withdrawn; which may be dismantled or turned to other Services according to their Situation. That I should correspond with the Governors of the several Provinces, and with the Superintendants on these Subjects, as your Lordship should signify to them His Majesty's Pleasure for carrying his Royal Intentions into Execution, as soon as they shall have been informed by me, of the Measures taken for reducing the Posts, and withdrawing the Troops.

And lastly your Lordship signifys the King's Orders, that the Companys stationed in the Islands of Bermuda and the Bahamas, should be withdrawn.

The many important Objects recommended in your Lordship's Letter, and which you have in Command from the King to direct me to put in Execution, are of great Detail, require many Arrangements and much Consideration: But I am to beg the Favor of your Lordship to Assure His Majesty, that I shall immediately take them into Consideration; and put them in Execution with as much punctuality and dispatch, as the Nature of the Service, and the Changes and Alterations in the Disposition of the Forces, and the Arrangements to be made in Consequence thereof, will admit. And I shall not fail from time to time to give your Lordship due Information of my Proceedings therein.

To obey His Majesty's Commands, in giving my Opinion concerning the utility of Maintaining Forts in such remote Situations

as the Illinois; I am to report the Benefits gained from Fort-Chartres Since in our Possession, or what further uses may be drawn from that or any other Posts in the Illinois. And then the Benefits derived from them, may be compared with the Expence of Maintaining them. The only Benefits which I can perceive Fort Chartres has hitherto produced are, viz<sup>t</sup> The Inhabitants in the Illinois have been kept in some Sort of Subjection to His Majesty. It has served as a Deposit for the Merchandize of a Company of Traders from Philadelphia. A connection has been formed with some powerfull tho' very distant Nations. Some Trade has been carried on there, not very great, and it is a doubt, whether the Adventurers in the Trade will not fail, which I apprehend the good or bad Success of this year, will Soon determine. The only use which I conceive may be drawn further from a Post in the Illinois, is to fall upon means to prevent the French and Spaniards from trading with the Indians in His Majesty's Territorys.

To obtain the Benefits which have been enumerated in an effectual Manner, and in their fullest Extent, it will be Necessary to collect all the straggling little villages between the Illinois and Ohio Rivers, and form them into one Settlement;<sup>1</sup> which ought likewise to be the principal Station of the Troops: From whence Detachments should be sent with armed Boats to guard the Illinois and Ohio Rivers, where either fixed or temporary Posts should likewise be erected.

It is to be considered whether these Advantages are adequate to the Difficulties, Trouble and Expence of procuring them. Your Lordship will judge that the providing Troops with Provisions bedding, Cloathing and Necessarys, besides Military Stores, at the Distance of above 1500 Miles, must occasion a very large Expence. That the Expence of Repairing of the Forts and Barracks, the providing Fuel and Light, in a Country where everything bears an extravagant Price, must be likewise great. Add to these the Indian Expences, which alone have amounted, between Sept 1766 and Sept.

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the first references to the proposal, later strongly advocated, of either concentrating the western settlements or removing them altogether. Gage appears to have changed his views materially at this time. During the administration of Shelburne, Gage's policy coincided with that of the ministry. He appears to have shaped his views to those of the existing government. Compare letters of Gage to Hillsborough in succeeding pages of this volume.

1767; making one complete year, to above £6241 Sterling.<sup>1</sup> And tho' I have been told, that those Expences will be retrenched for the future, I apprehend they will be always high, whilst there is a Competition between ourselves and the Spaniards, Situated as we are upon opposite Sides of the Mississippi, and thro' Motives of Fear as well as Profit, mutually endeavoring to cultivate the Friendship of every Indian Nation, far and near. I must not omit here, the Charge of building Boats upon the Ohio, to which End Artificers, with every Material necessary for the Purpose, except Wood, must be forwarded by Land near 300. Miles.

Fort Chartres is the best constructed Fort of any in the interior Country, yet from it's Situation does not answer all the Ends we ought to expect from a Post at the Illinois. And every Letter gives Reason to apprehend, that the next Dispatches from thence, will bring the News of it's being carried away, by the Floods of the River.

The having it in our Power to succour or support any Post at the Illinois, depends upon our being in Peace and Friendship with the Shawnese, Delawares, and other Nations, who from their Situation can always obstruct the Navigation of the Ohio. And after all, there may be Doubts, and probable ones, whether the Furrs gained at the Illinois will be carried to Britain. The Traders will never bring their Cargoes up the Ohio, and afterwards carry them 300 Miles by Land to Philadelphia, or up the Illinois River, and take the longer Route of the Lakes to Quebec, but will naturally use the easier and shorter Navigation of the Mississippi to get to the Sea. And it will depend upon them, whether they will dispose of their Skins and Furs at New-Orleans, embark them there for foreign Markets in foreign Bottoms, or send them home. We are in general to believe, they will do that, which shall be most for their Advantage.

With regard to Pittsburgh, the Expence of this Establishment may be likewise added to the Account of Fort-Chartres, for the greatest utility of Port Pitt is, being Situated on the Ohio, it Serves for a Post of Communication with the Illinois. Independent of it's use for a Communication with that Country, I should not hesitate a Moment to give my Opinion, that it ought to be abandoned. Except

<sup>1</sup> For another estimate of Gage for the same period, compare audit office declared accounts, bundle 1530, roll 2, Indian affairs, Gage to Johnson, April 4, 1768, *ante*, 221, and Gage to Hillsborough, October 7, 1769, *post*, 630.

Fort-Chartres, there are few Posts more costly, none more difficult, critical, or dangerous to Support in Case of a Quarrel with the Savages, or more likely to involve Great Britain in a War with them, on the Consideration of the Safety of it's Garrison; for it is with the Indians in the District of Fort-Pitt, that the Colonies of Pennsylvania Maryland and Virginia are so frequently on the Eve of a Rupture and a War cannot be carried on in that Country, as a long Experience has proved, without a most enormous Expence.

From what has been represented, your Lordship will perceive, I am not of Opinion that a Post at the Illinois will be productive of Advantages equal to the Expence of Supporting it. And that the keeping up of Fort-Pitt should depend, upon the having or not having a Military Establishment at the Illinois. If I dare venture a further Opinion on this head I would propose, that all the Inhabitants in that Country should be collected in one Village, which the Inhabitants would readily surround with Stockades for their own Defence, and the Men be formed into Companys. That the Bishop of Quebec should supply them with Priests, for whose Conduct he must be answerable. That a Governor should be appointed, who with a certain Number of the best and most respectable of the Inhabitants to compose his Council, should govern the Settlement, try and determine their Disputes according to their own Customs. The Officers of the Companys might assist in the Nature of Justices of the Peace, and the inferior Officers officiate as Constables, which might tend to preserve Order, and keep up some Police amongst them. That the Troops should remain till the Government is formed and put in Motion, and then dismantle Fort-Chartres, if not before destroyed by the River, and withdraw. Being in a Manner governed by themselves, I apprehend the People would prefer it either to a Spanish or French Government; and they would be kept in Subjection to His Majesty. If Traders find it worth the going there, for the Sake of Trade, they will meet with Protection in the Settlement, and in Case of a good Trade, which may occasion many Indians to resort to it, a moderate Sum might be allowed for small Presents to the Chiefs; seeing no Military Commanders at the head of Troops, nor Indian Agents or Commissarys, they would not expect the large Presents they have been accustomed to receive. The Settlement would require little more Expence, if any, than this Allowance, and a Salary for the Governor.



As to the Necessity of keeping up either the Fort of Crown-Point, or that of Ticonderoga, for the Purposes of a Communication between the Provinces of New-York and Quebec, I would observe to your Lordship, that the Service has occasioned, and will probably often occasion Troops to March from one Province to the other. That Ticonderoga particularly, from its Situation, on the Carrying Place between Lakes George and Champlain, is necessary to secure the Craft, and assist upon the Portage. That a Detachment of an Officer and 25<sup>th</sup> [*sic*] Men will be Sufficient for those Purposes. And no great Necessity of incurring Expences in repairing the Fortifications.

Crown Point is a very large Fortress, built of perishable Materials, never compleated, and already decaying. Every Spring some part tumbles or gives way. It would require the Labour of Many Men to put it in it's first State, and a regular Expence every year to repair what falls to Ruin. I am therefore of Opinion, it would be best to remove the Artillery and Military stores into the Province of Quebec. To let the Fort go to Decay gradually if the dismantling of it should be too costly, and to endeavor to sell the Materials. The Sloop on Lake Champlain with the rest of the old Craft might be likewise sold if any of the Settlers would purchase them, And the vessel for Lake Champlain left out of the Contract for keeping up vessels for navigating the Lakes.

As it is His Majesty's Pleasure to keep up the Forts of Missilimakinak, Detroit, and Niagara, I am to observe to your Lordship, till other means are fallen upon to supply those Forts with Provisions, and whilst the present Method is continued of sending supplies from Montreal, that it will be absolutely necessary to keep up two more Posts on this long Communication between Montreal and the Detroit. The first is Oswegotchie, where the Provision brought in Boats from Montreal is deposited, till the vessel employed on Lake Ontario arrives, to transport it to Niagara. The next is Fort-Erie, in which the Provision is secured after passing the Portage of Niagara, till the vessel on Lake Erie can receive it, and carry it to the Detroit.

The Propriety of using all Endeavors to victual the Garrisons of Missilimakinak and Detroit, by means of the Settlement at the Detroit, will naturally occur to your Lordship; And th'o I perceive many good Reasons in the Report of the Board of Trade against



Establishments in the Interior Country, I would humbly submit, whether it would not be adviseable, if the present Inhabitants are too few in Number to raise a sufficient Quantity of Corn Cattle and Hoggs for the Purpose, to increase the Settlement at the Detroit to a certain Degree, to enable them to victual the Garrisons. I shall not fail to make further Enquirys into this Matter, and endeavor to learn with some Degree of Certainty, what it may be expedient to do in it, to attain an End so desirable. The Expençe of Land and water Carriage through such a vast Tract of Country would be saved, and the Expençe of the vessels might likewise be reduced, for in that Case one Vessel built on a different Construction from those we have, so as to pass and repass the Barr in Lake S<sup>t</sup> Clair, which is in the Streight between the Lakes Huron and Erie, would be sufficient for both those Lakes. The Garrison of Niagara might likewise be lessened, as the Assistance of Troops would not be wanted to Navigate Provision up the Niagara River, and afterwards guard it over the Carrying Place.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH,  
One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York, June 16<sup>th</sup> 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage.  
(N<sup>o</sup> 3) R/ 18<sup>th</sup> July, A. 14. N<sup>o</sup> 6. C & E.

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, June 18, 1768

[P. R. O., C. O., 5.86, p. 227—A. L. S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 5)

NEW YORK, June 18<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MY LORD,

Colonel Reed with a Detachment of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment left Fort-Chartres on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February, and I received the News of his Arrival at Pittsburgh very soon after the Sailing of the Packet in May. No time was lost to attempt the Relief of Fort-Chartres before the Waters of the Ohio begin to fall, And Lieutenant Colonel

Wilkins<sup>1</sup> is marched with Seven Companys of the 18<sup>th</sup> or Royal Regiment of Ireland from Philadelphia, to relieve both the Garrisons of Fort-Pitt and Fort-Chartres. Colonel Reed when relieved will march with the Detachment he brought from Fort Chartres and the present Garrison of Fort-Pitt, to Philadelphia, and I hope he will be joined by the Companys of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment left at the Illinois by the Middle of December.

I have received very little Intelligence from the Southern Provinces worth your Lordship's Attention since the last Packet. A Report had been sent from Fort Prince George in South Carolina, of the bad Disposition of the Creeks; That some of their Chiefs had been tampering with the Cherokees to excite them to Hostilities against the English, to whom they declared their Resolution to kill all the English they could meet with.

Colonel Tayler was busy at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine in fitting up the Church of S<sup>t</sup> Francis for the Reception of the Companys of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment stationed in East Florida.

And Brigadier General Haldimand informs that Affairs at New-Orleans were as formerly. Monsieur Aubry and Don Ulloa both there, and Still in Expectation of Spanish Troops. It was reported they were at the Havannah, and would embark for New-Orleans as soon as Money, of which they were in great want, arrived there from La vera Cruz.

The Suspicious Conduct of the Indians with the various Reports of their bad Intentions had put the Commanders at the Detroit and Niagara upon their guard, and had engaged their Attention to very early Preparations against a sudden Rupture. The Schooner was

<sup>1</sup> We know more about the activities of Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins from the papers published here than about any of the other commanders of the Illinois Country. Wilkins became prominent in America during the French and Indian War, at the close of which he was appointed commander at Niagara. He was the first to march to the relief of Detroit when that village was attacked by Pontiac, but was unable to force his way through the Indians. A second attempt at the relief of the village was also unsuccessful. In June, 1765, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighteenth or Royal Irish Regiment. Three years later he went with seven companies of his regiment to Fort de Chartres, arriving there September 4, and assuming command on September 5. The documents here published give a full account of his administration. He was charged with misappropriation of funds, and finally was dismissed from the service. An account of his activities in Illinois is to be found in Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, passim*. Consult Alvord, *The Illinois Country*; also Parkham, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*.

loaded on Lake Huron with Provisions for Missilimakinac the moment the Navigation was practicable to prevent any Accident from the want of that Necessary Article. Provision likewise was ready at Fort Eric to be embarked for the Detroit, and every Preparation for a Defence was thought of. But by the last Accounts there was no Appearance of any Disturbances. The Messessagas, a Tribe of the Chippewas, came to Niagara with Belts to apologize for the Death of a white Man killed Some time ago, by their People; And to excuse themselves to the Senacas, for having killed two of their Women. The Indians traded there as usual with their Wives and Children, and had done no Damage upon the Carrying Place during the Winter.

Monsieur Chabert resides at the Detroit about three Quarters of a Mile from the Fort, at whose House I am told there is a great Report of Indians. It may be no easy Matter to convict him of Intrigues, if he is disposed to tamper with the Indians, but his Motions will be watched.

The Officer Commanding at Missilimakinac sends me Information, that a full Discovery had been made of Major Rogers's Designs since his Confinement, and that he had formed a Scheme to make his Escape: on which Account, he had found it Necessary to put the Major, and one of his Accomplices in Irons. I have given Orders that he should be sent down to Montreal, with every Evidence that can be procured to prove or disprove the Accusations exhibited against him. And I propose to Assemble a General Court Martial at Montreal to try him.

The Conferences held at Pittsburgh by Mr Croghan Deputy Indian Agent, and the Commissioners deputed by the Province of Pennsylvania, with the Tribes of the Six Nations, Shawanoes, Delawares and other Nations who dwell upon the Waters of the Ohio, was well timed; had it been delayed, it is agreed that an Indian War must have been the Consequence. At the Beginning of the Conferences the Indians appeared in general to be a good deal disgusted, the Shawanoes in particular insisted, that we should demolish our Forts and not persist in Navigating the Ohio as we had done; and as they perceived by our Boats we intended to do, that it was disagreeable to them as well as to the Nations who live to the Westward of them.

However before the Congress broke up, everything was settled and adjusted between the Indians and the Province of Pennsylvania except

the Settlements made upon their Lands, from which they insisted the Intruders should be removed and this Matter, will be adjusted at the Treaty for fixing the Boundaries. It was likewise insisted upon by the Shwanoe Indians, that we should not go down the Ohio, till they had sent Messengers to the Western Nations; and that they would send them immediately. From this Circumstance there is Reason to conjecture, that they had engaged those Indians to join against us and Attack our Boats upon the Ohio.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord Your Lordship's most Obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

TO THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH, One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Secretarys of State

[*Endorsed:*] New York June 18<sup>th</sup> 1768 Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 5) R/ 18<sup>th</sup> July A. 16. C & E

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, June 20, 1768

[Morgan Letter Book]

F C ILLINOIS June 20th 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

I should have sat down to have wrote this Letter many days past, cou'd I have bore the Thought to have done without being able to inform you of haveing made a considerable purchase of Peltries from our Neighbours on the other Side the Mississippi, the hopes & good prospect I had of making a very considerable sale of Goods for Peltries & the Knowledge We had of their haveing little or no Goods, wherewith to prosecute the ensuing Years Trade, gave me great Spirrits for a considerable Time.

So soon as the first Perriogue arrived & we had Intelligence thereof & that all the Traders were very soon expected down with very considerable Quantitys of Peltry I applied to three of the most considerable Traders and I believe the only three in whom any Confidence may be placed & made them an Offer of any Quantity of Merchandize w<sup>ch</sup> the[y] might stand in need of for the ensuing year & told them at the same time that I wou'd wait for Payment of One half thereof untill next Spring.

There answers were that they were already so much Indebted at New Orleans, & they were so pressed for payment that they could not

possibly avoid sending all their Peltries this Year to New Orleans, Notwithstanding the Prices we Offered our Goods at was a very great Temptation & much Lower than they could possibly be purchased & brought from New Orleans for, To which they added that no one could tell what wou'd be the next Orders from the Spanish Commandant at New Orleans with respect to the Trade, That if he persisted in his Intention to restrict their Trade to the particular Bounds talked of & to limit the Number of Merchants They imagin'd the Consequence wou'd be fatal and throw all into confusion.

On the Arrival of all their Peltry I got Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings to pay them a Visit and make a Push with some of them, but all were in the same Tone as before & Nothing can be done. Many of their Traders wou'd very willingly accept of our proposals, Were it not for their debts at New Orleans & if we wou'd credit them for a part—They wou'd have little Scruple of Conscience in delaying payment of their Creditors here and at New Orleans, But the latter are so much in advance & have suffered so much from the Trade within these two or three Years, that they have been Obliged to send, Persons Up here on purpose to collect their debts & prevent such Games being play'd. Our selling goods so low here & the want of Remittances to New Orleans, have prevented any dry goods (except very little indeed) coming up from thence this Spring, what must then be the Consequence When all the Peltry they have this Year collected will not pay One tenth part of the Traders Debts at New Orleans, The quantity of Peltry arrived from the Missouri is not more than  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of what they expected and many of the Traders have not 6<sup>d</sup> to shew of the Cost of the Cargoes they took out with them, Or be able to pay the Wages of their people, There are already twenty Bankruptcys among them & will perhaps be as many more All this I am sensible in the end will turn out very greatly to our benefit, if you do but send me the red Stroud, Wire, Gins &c, without which as I have already wrote you, We cannot prosecute the Trade to Advantage or dispose of our other goods so soon as we might by always tacking a few of them to a few Pieces of red Stroude some Wire Kettles &c. I really believe that if we had One hundred Pieces of the proper red Stroud, We might yet get a considerable Quantity of their Peltry which they have now ready to send away Notwithstanding their Debts below.

To reconcile yourselves to this disappointment & to my sending you such despicable remittances you will have Occasion to summon up all your Fortitude, I know you will not even suspect that anything has been wanting on my part to endeavor to increase them. I am tortured almost to death for such of our Creditors who may really be necessitous

All means which can be devised shall be taken to make handsome Remittances next year In the interim you must expect but little, as the Indian Acc<sup>t</sup> will be very small owing to the Orders rec<sup>d</sup> from General Gage & the last Years Bills being sent back, what Expences are made, will fall into our Hands, I shou'd have sent you about Five thousand pounds more than I have had it not been for the Debts, I have paid by order of Col<sup>o</sup> Cole for part of his last two Drafts, & Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings protested Bills, which I have taken up to the Amount of £[*blank in MS.*] including Mr. Callender.

The payment I did all in my power to avoid, but in Vain, That of Mr. Callenders went more against me than any knowing he was indebted to Us so Considerable a sum & to Baynton Wharton a much greater, In March 1767 We fill in his Debt £80 odd Since then We paid his drafts therefore & £555 more although We frequently desired him to desist from drawing as our Pressures for Cash was so great otherways, that we cou'd not answer his drafts, what cou'd induce him to send Gibson back with Orders peremptorly to insist on immediate payment of his Bill, after our Advanceing such sums for him & Baynton & Wharton having saved him from utter ruin during my Apprenticeship, I cannot conceive the Ingratitude and Folly he has discovered, shews him to be a very bad as well as very weack Man, The within within [*sic*] Agreement will inform you how I have paid his Bill. You observe that We are to deduct no cost or Charges Whatever from the Value of the Peltry at Philadelphia except the Freight from hence & the Premium of Insurance —& We are to run no Risque Whatever. This Was disputed after I had delivered the Peltry but as I had many Witnesses to the Agreem<sup>t</sup> Capt Forbes told them they ought and shou'd Comply Therewith. On Mr Gibsons first Arrival he Thousand times declared the Bill to be his property Henry Prather afterwards assured Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes & a Number of other Gentlemen that a considerable share of

it was his & now upon my laying an Attachment thereon Mr. Gibson has swore that the whole and sole Property thereof belongs to Bernard Gratz & Joseph Simons, & that no part thereof either directly or indirectly belongs to Mr. Callender. How plainly he has sworn himself to be a notorious Lyar as Mr. Rumsey will write you.

To take up the Remaining Part of Clarkson & Jennings Bills & to prevent our few packets of Peltry being sold to a Disadvantage at New Orleans, I have got Col<sup>o</sup> Cole to draw on Col<sup>o</sup> Croghan in my Favour for £1000 in [*blank in MS.*]s ditto of Exchange & have for his Security made made [*sic*] out the Invoice & Bills of Lading for all the Prime Peltry in his Name & taken a defeasance therefore, These Bills w<sup>th</sup> others I have deliver'd to Mr. Jennings as P Recp<sup>t</sup> inclos'd which are to be first applied, will be more than sufficient to pay the Whole of their remaining Drafts, The Impossibility of passing New Orleans without doing thus & even were it possible, The certainty We have that we shou'd be Oblig'd Shortly to pay them here, has induced me to act thus, I playd all the Innocent Games I possibly cou'd to postpone the payment of the other Drafts at least, untill I cou'd hear from you relative thereto but in Vain. I carri'd the matter so far & had no one in the Secret but Mr. Rumsey that Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings were not a little alarmd My Reason for not acquainting them with my motives of Action was that they might use more persuasive and earnest Arguments to Mr. Gibson &c, to put off the time of Payment & leave them at Liberty to return home, At the same time I really thought that they wou'd have seen into my Reason for threatening to make a Generall Assignment of all our own property here (by Virtue of a power invested in me for that Purpose) for the Benefit of all our Creditors to prevent one being paid in Preference to others This I threatn'd to do to answer that particular purpose Although I have no such sufficient such [*sic*] Authority, & I think such an Assignment wou'd not be good.

Mr. Hollingshead left this the 6th Instant a second Hunting Boat & intends to join the first three hundred miles up the Shawna River, We have pick'd Men and I will take the Blame if it does not answer, Accidents excepted, You may count on my remitting you three Thousand Pounds from this Adventure, including his share of the Profits, Tomorrow I am to begin to deliver into the Fort the Beef he brought in the Winter, that which Monsieur Bloüin supplied,



now smells so bad, that it is not eatable & Nine Casks have been thrown into the River already, a month past. He now has a Quantity in his Store at Kaskaskias which is really a Nuisance—to the Neighborhood & will soon be represented as such to the Commanding Officer if he does not remove it. All ours is now as good as the Day it was kill'd & will keep so for seven Years with proper attendance with the same kind of Coarse Salt & the same Cooper we now have. We need never be fearfull of engaging to keep the Beef sound twelve months at least. Bloüins Contract expires this Day— & Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes has repeatedly assured me that I shall have the preference in every thing, but that it is not in his power to make a Contract. He says that were I his Brother he cou'd not serve me in this particular more than he is now determined to do. Mr Rumsey is now settled at Fort Chartres & will be of more service there to us than any one cou'd who has yet been in the Country—the Attention and Application he shews to every part Business wou'd surprise any one who was acquainted with his former turn & profession. His regard and attachment to Us is not to be exceeded. I am exceedingly happy in haveing him here to assist me.

Inclosed is a Copy of Mr Gibsons Oath in Consequence of my Attachment, pray ask Mr Gratz so soon as possible this simple question Viz—Whether or not C & J Draft on Us in favour of Mr Gibson is or is not his and Mr Simons Property & Whether or not Mr Callender has any Interest therein. Mr Gibson refused taking the Oath I drew up for him to subscribe to, a Copy whereof you also have herewith. I in Vain insisted on his doing it.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes thinking the other sufficient.

You have herewith Invoices of all our goods here—estimated at the very lowest rates We sell them. Many Articles we charge the Crown double for & more—but this Allowance in our situation ought to be made. The impossibility of now posting up Mr Jennings's Books in Time to give you a Ballance List thereof Mr Jennings will give you his Reasons for, As Mr Rumsey has now began a new sett of Books, I shall soon be able to furnish you with a List of the debts due to us on the Old ones, Those on Mr Clarkson are very small—compared with the others & amount to but [*blank in MS.*] Livers [*sic*]

By these Acc<sup>ts</sup> our Friends will see that those we lay'd before them in September last were far from being falacious & that they



have a pleasing prospect of being no Sufferers by us except by a Delay of Payment which truly is less enough. I wou'd be very particular now in Writing to you with respect to every part of our Concerns here were it not that Mr Jennings is so intimately acquainted with almost every part thereof; I therefore refer you to him as a Pson in whom you may intirely Confide, Shou'd you send down the red Strouds &c, & the other Goods ordered, I recommend you to employ Cap<sup>t</sup> Patrick Roberts to take Charge of the Boats his Knowledge of the River & his Behaviour since his being here, inclines me to think he is worthy of such a Trust I have had an Application from the principal Inhabitants of Post S<sup>t</sup> Vincent to send them a Supply of Merchandize for their Own Use If I receive an agreeable answer to a Letter I have lately wrote to them, I think I shall Venture to send One thousand pounds Worth under the care of a young Man for whose Honesty I will be answerable & whom I now have in the Store to Assist me. Inclosed you have a Copy of the Orders I gave to John Finny when I sent him to Cap<sup>t</sup> Rob<sup>ts</sup> relief, John deserves great Credit for his zeal & dispatch in the matter, He was but twenty two days absent from Kaskaskias before he returned with all the goods and salt in excellent Order, The Advantage of haveing those Articles here will more than make up for the loss of Cap<sup>t</sup> Roberts Bark & the Expence of the Hands, I have paid all of them their Wages in goods except Cap<sup>t</sup> Roberts & six pounds to his Mate for which I have drawn on you & he has remitted to my Brother in payment for rent of a lot of ground.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Roberts will recommend such of the old hands to you as are worthy of being employ'd as Batteau Men, in my opinion none but those mention'd in the inclos'd list are worth their Wages—not one of them wou'd answer as Skipper, I shall rejoice to see Mr Brigby here soon I shall then be enabled to open a Store at Kahoki, Whereby we shall Increas our Remittances about £3000 P Annum or more in Case a detachment of Troops which may arrive be Ordered there I have an excellent House belonging to the Crown in my Offer rent Free, I shall look for him or letters from you the Latter end of next Month, You need not expect to hear again from me, except by Chance Opportunity Via New Orleans, Untill I send you the September Acc<sup>ts</sup> which cannot be sent from hence before sometime

in Oct<sup>r</sup> As I am really of opinion that Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes cannot leave this to Ascend the Ohio, before Next Winter or Spring, but perhaps he may be ordered to Philadelphia Via Mobelle or Pensacola, For our own sakes I cou'd sincerely wish, He might continue to Command here during the time of our Trade in this Country as he makes it his Study to serve Us and is in every Respect a Gentleman and directly the Reverse of Col<sup>o</sup> Reed. Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes is the worthy son to a Brother of Hugh Forbes, Mr Merediths Wine Cooper He has a Brother here who partakes highly of his Virtues & will hereafter make a Figure in the Army if he lives. Mr Rumsey has good Reason to expect he will be appointed Commissary for Indian Affairs at Post Vincent If so I am Confident it will be a means of adding to our Remittances, more than Five Thousand pounds P annum. I enclose you a large bundle of Letters which have pass'd relative to our business between Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson Jennings Rumsey and myself, from the Perusal of which as the Date Occur you'l be much better informed of many small transactions here than you possibly cou'd by any other way You will have no wages to pay any of the hands Who return with Mr Jennings except to Patrick Green, James Kelly & George Hunter, who have been a long while in our service & have behav'd with great Fidelity they will deliver you their respective Acc<sup>ts</sup> Hunter purposes returning to this Country Whether you engage him or not, His honesty and sobriety entitles him to all the encouragement you can with propriety give him, Col<sup>o</sup> Cole offers him six pounds P for one Year Certain, you may therefore engage him at a very easy rate, to come down as a Batteau Man or with Letters He is an excellent Gardner & is to bring me a supply of Grass Turnip and Garden seeds for which please to Advance him the money, and Order a few Bushells of wheat, Rye Barley, Oats, Buckwheat & spelts<sup>1</sup> for Col<sup>o</sup> Cole & myself and a few Pensyvenia [*sic*] syths besides those already ordered, Shou'd you apprehend that I shall be under the Necessity to tarry here another Summer pleas to furnish Me with four pounds of Bark & half a dozen Shirts as the four I brought with me are much worn & I am already Obligated to borrow from my Friend Col<sup>o</sup> Cole My Farm & Stock thrive Well They will be of considerable Advantage by Adding to the means of Remittance next

<sup>1</sup> A species of wheat, common in early times and popular now in Germany and Switzerland.

Year as Mr Jennings will explain to you, I shall the ensuing Winter & Spring put into the King Store more than £ 400s Worth of Porke from my plantation alone & still keep up the same stock of breeding Sows which I now have although I intend to lower the price of porke to an average with Beef Viz  $\frac{1}{6}$  to  $\frac{1}{8}$  P lb I have full Fifty Acres of Corn in the Ground Which Promise fair for a good Crop, I am sorry that you conceive me to be so much in the wrong with Respect to my conduct toward Col<sup>o</sup> Reed, Did he not know himself to be a most infamous Villain I cou'd readily convince him he was such & I hope to have the opportunity to tell him so & will do it if the Interest of the Comp<sup>y</sup> does not forbid it I sincerely wish that instead of troubling you with these things, I cou'd fill my Letters with Remittances Be assured that nothing in my power has or shall be wanting to do so but you must allow me now & then to repeat a Grievance. I choose to do it nowhere else but to the wind that can tell no tales.

The few Negroes which now remain unsold, will be disposed of I expect in the Course of this Summer I will part with none under 360 Dollars, At which price I have this Moment agreed for one to be paid for in Ten days. When the Harvest is Collected We shall begin to receive payment for those we sold last Winter But I do not expect to collect the whole before next Spring. Mr Prathers selling his at an Under rate must of Consequence have hurt the Sale of ours And And [*sic*] two of the principal planters on whom I greatly depended to take off a Score have sent all their Money to New Orleans where they can buy them for 200 Dollars each. The death of Mons Nichola of Post S<sup>t</sup> Vincent prevented my disposal of a Number there.

In my last Via New Orleans I gave you particular relation of our Alarm here, since then we have been in perfect tranquility, Yesterday a Frenchman arrived from S<sup>t</sup> Josephs Who there saw the soldier & his Wife whom I mention'd to be taken by a party of Powawatomys what the they [*sic*] purpose doing with them he did not here Please not to forget the Canestogo Waggon Let it be Large Strong and well made it will save Us five times the Cost of it & Expences of Carriage here in less than six Months.

REMITTANCES TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, December 20, 1767  
January 30, 1770<sup>1</sup>  
[Morgan Letter Book]  
List of Remittances made by George Morgan to  
Baynton Wharton & Morgan

Bills of Exchange Date	Draft sight	By whom drawn	On whom
Dec <sup>r</sup> 20 <sup>th</sup>		Am <sup>t</sup> of Bills remitted by Silver Heels ditto P Col Reed ditto P H Thompson ditto of C & J Drafts on you P C <sup>t</sup> Roberts One of ditto In <sup>d</sup> for here to be taken up at One of ditto in favour of G Gibson	
June 20 <sup>th</sup>	30	J Moore on Commissary Lake	
		ditto on ditto	paid to
Now add 1768		Beside the above Idd	hard Dollars to C & G
		To which add our Invoice of Peltry P	
Jan <sup>ry</sup> 15th	30	Jas Campbell	Col Robertson
May 19th	30	Jos <sup>a</sup> Moore	Commissary Lake
June 27 <sup>th</sup>	30	ditto	ditto
July 9	30	ditto	ditto
7 <sup>th</sup>	30	Geo Gleadowe on his Brother W <sup>m</sup> Gleadowe	
		Banker in Dublin payable in London	

In whose favour	Sterling	Penn Curr <sup>cy</sup>	New York Curr <sup>cy</sup>
			12816,12,05 400,19, 5 3983, 7,11
New Orleans without Dam- ages	£ 501,0,0 112,10,0		17.200,19,4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Follows immediately the letter of June 20, 1768.

	626, 1,11½	—1322, 4,9
Dan <sup>l</sup> Blouin remitted P	£1239, 11,11½	169,9,7
Roberts		160,0,0
John Jennings to be charged		1651,14,4
to him by you		
to serve for their Expences		
at New Orleans		
Roberts		
D <sup>l</sup> Blouin		£100,
D Blouin		30, 4, 9
D Blouin		179, 1, 7
D Blouin		308, 11, 2¼
B W & Morgan....£47, 0,	0 Ex 80 P C <sup>t</sup> .....	84, 12, 0
		702, 9,6 <sup>17</sup> / <sub>20</sub>
		19555.3,3

Remittance in Bills Nov<sup>r</sup> 3d 1768

1768	Days	Sterling	N York Money
July 15 J moore	30 on Com <sup>r</sup> Lake.....		75, 2, 0
	in our fav'r		
Aug <sup>t</sup> 10 G Geadowe	" " W <sup>m</sup> Gleadowe £ 23,16,11¼	8aPC <sup>t</sup>	42,18, 5
Sep <sup>r</sup> 13 E Cole	60 " G Croghan in our fav <sup>r</sup> .....		2156,17, 5¼
Sep <sup>r</sup> 14 J Moore	30 " Com <sup>r</sup> Lake d <sup>o</sup> .....		31, 1, 0
25 ditto	" ditto d <sup>o</sup> .....		300, 0, 0
Oct <sup>r</sup> 26 Austin Piety	" T Piety Ramsgate d <sup>o</sup> —£100	sterl <sup>k</sup> —	180, 0, 0
28 T Hutchins	" W <sup>m</sup> Foreman d <sup>o</sup>		108,12, 0
30 M Lane	10 T Gambell n York d <sup>o</sup>		384,18, 8
Sep <sup>t</sup> 14 Edward Stewarts Note to Us for.....	£ 9, 9, 0		
15 L <sup>t</sup> Ancrams	d <sup>o</sup> .....	20, 1,11	
" Ens <sup>n</sup> Forbes	d <sup>o</sup> .....	37,12, 3	
17 Ditto	d <sup>o</sup> .....	16,17, 0	
Ens <sup>n</sup> Gleadowes	d <sup>o</sup> .....	27, 6, 0	
1767 Cap <sup>t</sup> Forbes	d <sup>o</sup> .....	10,10, 0	
			186,19,11½

334      *ILLINOIS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS*

March 13	Ens <sup>n</sup> Robeson	d <sup>o</sup> £ 36,4,4 sterl <sup>s</sup> &	65, 3, 9½=	195, 2, 4½
1768		Int.		
Nov <sup>r</sup> 5	W <sup>m</sup> Murray	50 Days on Levy & Franks		
		for	£500 Penns	
				533, 6, 8
Total N York Curr <sup>r</sup> £				4007,18, 7½

REMITTANCE IN BILLS June 1769  
all drawn in our favour

Wm Murray on Levy & Franks .....	£ 5000 PC7	£5333, 6, 8
Col <sup>l</sup> Wilkins on Gen <sup>l</sup> Gage.....		1258, 6 3¾
Ditto on ditto .....		1203,12, 9
Thos Hutchins on Geo Ross.....	£ 54,15/sterl <sup>s</sup>	93,17, 2
Ditto on ditto .....	27,12/.....	47, 6, 3¼
Mathew Lane on Coxe & Drummond	500, 0, 0.....	857, 2,10
J Campbell on T Collingwood ....	350, 0, 0.....	600, “ “
W <sup>m</sup> Connolly on A Connolly .....	30, 0, 0.....	51, 8, 7
Edw <sup>d</sup> Cole on G Croghan.....		160, “ “
J Moore on Rob <sup>t</sup> Leake .....		84, 1, 7
Ens <sup>n</sup> Blackwood on Jas Searle.....		68,12, 6
Ens <sup>n</sup> Richardson on G. Richardson.....		51, 8, 7
Cap <sup>t</sup> Moores Note.....		345,16, 0
Total N York C <sup>r</sup>		£ 10154,19, 3¼

REMITTANCES FROM JAMES RUMSEY

1769	& one £ 235, 8,10, sterl <sup>s</sup>	
Dec <sup>r</sup> 20	L <sup>t</sup> Col Wilkins on Isaac Hamilton	£347,19/,
	sterl <sup>s</sup> .....	£596, 9, 9
	Col Armstrong on W <sup>m</sup> Henry protested	53, 1, 4
Dec <sup>r</sup> 7	W <sup>m</sup> Murray on Franks & C <sup>o</sup>	£ 500 PC <sup>r</sup>
	ditto on Lake	533, 6, 8
		98, 1, 0
	W <sup>m</sup> Blackwood on S <sup>r</sup> R <sup>t</sup> Blackwood & £20&£20st <sup>s</sup>	68,11, 6

# MORGAN'S REMITTANCES

335

James Searle

Austin Piety on Maj James £30,5,8 st<sup>s</sup> 51,18, 6  
 Doctor Connelly on G croghan [sic] £240,6,7 Pyy 256, 7, 0

Carried Over York Cy £1657,15, 9

## REMITTANCES FROM JAMES RUMSEY

New York

1769	Amount bro <sup>t</sup> Over.....	£ 1657,15, 9
Dec <sup>r</sup> 21 <sup>st</sup>	Col. Wilkins on Col <sup>l</sup> Robinson.....	75,19, 5
1770	Ditto on ditto .....	285,19, 5
Jan <sup>ry</sup>	Ditto on Gen <sup>l</sup> Gage.....	439,14, 1
1769		
Dec <sup>r</sup> 31	L <sup>t</sup> Hutchins on David Hay.....	38,16, 0
1770		
Jan 30th	Col Wilkins on Major Hamilton .....	500, “ “
	Penns C <sup>y</sup>	
Joseph Hollingshead	on Jos. Hollingshead £1932.16.10½	2061,14, 0
Total.....New York		£ 5059,18, 5

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, June 23, 1768

[Morgan Letter Book.]

KASKASKIA June 23<sup>d</sup> 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

On the other Side you have a List of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson and Jenings protested drafts which I have paid since my last Letter to you, Also a List of Bills herewith remitted to you, I have desired Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings to open this Letter in Case they should be called on at New Orleans or elsewhere on their Passage from hence to Philadelphia, for others of their protested Drafts & take a sufficiency of the Bills now here inclosed to discharge such demands for which Purpose I have indorsed them as P my Letter of Yesterdays Date.

I am Dear Partners Yours Affectionately

To MESSRS. BAYNTON & WHARTON, Philadelphia

List of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings Drafts which have return'd protested & paid for by me—Viz.

N <sup>o</sup> 1	In favour of D. Blouin.....	£ 126	
2.....	ditto .....	75	
7.....	ditto .....	75	
8.....	ditto .....	75	
9.....	ditto .....	75	501
11.....	ditto .....	75	

In favour of Gibson..... 626,1,11½

List of Bills inclosed as Remittances Viz.—or to be disposed of by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings as mentioned in the foregoing Letter

1 9	Setts of Ew <sup>d</sup> Coles Drafts on G Croghan Esq <sup>r</sup>	
	a 5 days sight in favour of James Rumsey for 75 L P..	675£
1	ditto.....do.....do.....do.....for.....	137,10
1	ditto.....do.....do.....do.....for.....	187,10

Pens<sup>l</sup> Money

1 Sett Ja <sup>s</sup> Moore on Robert Lake Esq <sup>r</sup>	} New York	169,9,7
dated June 20th 1768 in our favour for		169,9,7

JENNINGS' JOURNAL OF A TRIP DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER,  
June 24—July 8, 1768  
[P. H. S.—A. D.]  
(Friday)

KASKASKIA June 24th 1768

At four O'Clock P. M. M<sup>r</sup> Matt<sup>ew</sup> Clarkson & I left this place to go for New Orleans, accompanied by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Cole, Rumsey, & Morgan, to the Mouth of the River Kaskaskia. In the Evening Mess<sup>rs</sup> Fago & De Meaze, joined us with another Batteau. & Mons<sup>r</sup> Gadobert who took his passage with us. at half past Seven O'Clock our friends took leave of us & we immediately sett off.

Sunday 26th

At half past Six O'Clock A: M: passed the Ohio, the Banks of the Mississippi below this River are less broken than above, altho they are as sandy as the others, but are covered with grass, nine Miles



below the Ohio, saw a Bank of Gravel, being the first I have seen on the Mississippi—fourteen Miles below the Ohio on the English side is La Mine du Fer, a Clift of Yellow Earth about 60 feet perpendicular & has the appearance of Oaker, there is also a White Clay among it, the shore is very bold, the River narrow with a Strong Current. Note—there is no high land on the Spanish side the Mississippi from the Mouth of the Ohio, to the Sea.

**The 28th**

Thirty Six Leagues below the La Mine du Fer, is the first Clift of Prudhomme. 2 Leagues below this saw some french hunters on a small Island from New Orleans, hunting for Tallow. passed the second Clift of prudhomme, three Leagues below the first, these appear much like Mine du Fer being a red Earth, & the Clift about 40 feet high two Leagues below these Clifts saw french hunters on both sides the River. three Leagues distance from the second Clifts of Prudhomme are the third of that Name, these appear something like the last, but consist of a greater variety of Stratas of Earth; & of different Colours, such as Yellow of different shades, Ash Colour, Black, & redish, the timber is very Scrubby, which seems to indicate a Mine, the land on the opposite shore is very low & covered with small Shrub.

At Midnight, passed the River and heights of Margot, ten Leagues below the last Clifts of Prudhomme.

**29th**

At four O'Clock P: M: passed the River S<sup>e</sup> Francois twenty Leagues below the River Margot, on the Spanish side, the trees at the entrance on the North side, have a remarkable slope towards the River.

**30th**

At three O'Clock P. M. we attempted to go up the Blanch River, to the Fort at Arkansa, but the Current was so very rapid was obliged to desist. at the entrance of this River we meet two Canoe's with Indians of the Arkansa Nation.

July 1<sup>st</sup>

This day meet with 30 Arkansa Indians they put in Shore & Saluted us, which we returned, they came on Board our Batteau, & finding we were English, seemed very much pleased, & expressed great friendship.

3<sup>d</sup>

At four O'Clock past M: passed the River Zazous<sup>1</sup> on the English side, near the entrance of it, is a remarkable Bunch of Trees that are considerably higher than the rest.

4<sup>th</sup>

At Seven O'Clock P: M: came to the Petit Goussre, ten Leagues above the Natches, where one Jn<sup>o</sup> Solkill (from Chester County in the province of Penns<sup>a</sup>) hath made a settlement, it is pleasantly situated, & is the highest up the Mississip towards the Illinois, about a quarter of a Mile below this is another small settlement.

5<sup>th</sup>

At four O'Clock this morning we arrived at the Natches, the land is high, and the Fort which is about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a Mile from the River is a small Pentagon, beautifully situated, affording a very agreeable prospect of the River & the Country back, which is clear for many Miles, the Garrison is a detachment of the 21<sup>st</sup> Rege<sup>t</sup> officers Lieu<sup>ts</sup> Lovewell, & Featherstone, & Ens<sup>n</sup> Petre, a League below this is a Spanish Fort newly built on a low spot of Ground, has a small Garrison and half a League lower is some new settlements made by the accadians, which continue two Leagues, four Leagues above the River Rouge, on the opposite side of the River, & opposite to the Rock of Davion, the 22<sup>d</sup> Rege<sup>t</sup> was attacked by the Tonicas a very small Nation of Indians the 20th March 1764.

6<sup>th</sup>

At five O'Clock this Morning passed the River Rouge, it's eighteen Leagues below the Natches, This day passed Point Coupee, where there are upwards of a hundred fine settlements on the Spanish side, with a Church, & a small Fort commanded by Mons<sup>r</sup> Duplissis, who

<sup>1</sup> Yazoo river.

treated us with great politeness, these settlements extend Seven Leagues on the front of the River Mississippi, the land an equal height from one end to the other except abreast the Fort & Church, where it rises something higher—The produce of this Country is Indigo, Rice, & Indian Corn. The Indian town belonging to the Tonica's is situated on the Bank of the River, on the English side opposite the upper end of the above settlements.

7th

At eight O'Clock A: M: arrived at Fort Bute distance from the Natches, forty five Leagues, situated on a low spot of Ground, near the Missisipi & about four hundred Yards, from the entrance of the River Iberville (so calld) the Fort is in a bad condition, has a Garrison of fifty Men of the 21 reg<sup>t</sup> commanded by L<sup>t</sup> Kirkman, near the point of this River on the opposite side is a Spanish Fort: with a small Garrison, commanded by a Spaniard, this Fort tho' small is neatly built with Cypress Pickets. The River Iberville (or more properly an out Let of the Missisipi) is at this time about thirty feet a Cross, & full of Logs, which I passed over upon to the Spanish side; when the Missisipi is low, I am informed it is quite dry, & sometimes twelve feet above the Water at the entrance. About two Leagues below the Settlements at Point Coupee is two Islands which is the last (except two very small ones) from that to the Sea. Between Fort Bute, & New Orleans (which is about 36 Leagues) is the German Settlements with many other fine plantations & Houses, quite to the Town, the appearance of the whole is extreme agreeable, the produce is the same as the settlements at Point Coupee, with the addition of several saw Mills.

8th

At Seven O'Clock this Evening, arrived at New Orleans, This Town is Situated on the East side the River.

## LETTER FROM THE ILLINOIS TO GAGE, [July?] 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:146 —E.]

Extract of a Letter, to General Gage, from the Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

The immense Expence attending the Indian Department must be a considerable Burthen to the Crown if all the other Nations, on the Continent are so plentifully Supplied as those in this Neighbourhood. I have for some time observed that the more Presents they receive, the oftner they Return, and are less contented; and that their chief dependance rests more upon his Majesty's Bounty, than their own Industry; for while they are supplied with necessary's, and Provisions, they never move from their Village, but beging and hanging upon the Inhabitants, which gives them such a habit of Idleness (particularly the four Tribes in this District) that they are by the constant use of Spirituous Liquors become Effeminate and Debilitated: so much that nothing can be apprehended, from such a Dastardly Race of Cowards, who impute, the Bounty they receive, proceeds from fear not of Love.

The Commissary I believe Acts for the best, and takes the greatest pains to keep them in our Intrest, which is easily done as the French at present have no occasion for their Service, and gives them Presents but of small Value.

As it may be necessary to give them presents Annually, those should be purchased at the lowest prices, and could be bought considerably under the Price, the Government is at present Charged with. Viz<sup>t</sup> Lead that is Charged 25 Sols<sup>2</sup> p<sup>r</sup> wt could be had for 17, Spirits Issued at fifteen Livers<sup>3</sup> could be procured at eight or nine p<sup>r</sup> Gallon, Blankets, Strouds, and all other Articles in proportion, which would considerably reduce the Publick Expence. Please pardon this hint which I would not have offered, but the distance we are here from the world, conceals many things from your knowledge, which cannot be devin'd without some Information, and think it my duty to discover Abuses, that I hope to be of some Consequence without falling under the Character of an Informer

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from the Illinois, to Genr<sup>l</sup> Gage

<sup>1</sup> Probably written by Commandant Forbes.

<sup>2</sup> Worth about two shillings.

<sup>3</sup> Worth about nine and two fifths pence.

## CHAPTER VII

BUSINESS AFFAIRS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY,  
JULY 7, 1768—SEPTEMBER 15, 1768

INTERESTS OF THE GRATZ MERCHANTS—FURTHER DETAILS OF THE STATUS OF THE BUSINESS OF BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN—INDIAN ATTACKS ON HUNTERS—INDIAN BOUNDARY—INDIAN EXPENSES IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TROOPS—PROPOSALS IN REGARD TO COPPER MINES—GAGE'S REPORT TO HILLSBOROUGH ON WESTERN AFFAIRS—GAGE'S ORDERS FOR THE SEIZURE OF FRENCH TRADERS—ATTACK ON TRADERS BY INDIANS—FORBES' ACCOUNT OF COMMERCE IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—JOHNSON'S OPINIONS ON AFFAIRS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—ULLOA PROHIBITS SPANISH TRADERS CROSSING THE RIVER—CONDITION OF WESTERN FORTS—BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN'S ACCOUNTS—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

M. GRATZ TO MURRAY,<sup>1</sup> July 7, 1768

[P. H. S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> July 7<sup>th</sup> 1768

Mr William Murray

DEAR SIR

Our last to you ~~of~~ M<sup>rs</sup> Murray hope you have received before this comes to hand, we have now to acknowledge the Receipt of your 2 favours 24 June and 3<sup>d</sup> July, and Note their Contents in Regard to Mr Mackay we shall follow his Orders in sending him up what he orders, as soon as we can get Wagons to carry them up and hope you have assured him of being well served, on which he may depend as well as by any Body in Town, and we shall make it our Business so to do by any Gentl<sup>n</sup> you'l recommend us, if their pay is as good as Mr Mackays I suppose you mentioned to him, if he should want any dry Goods purchas'd at Vendue or else where cheap to favour us with his Commis<sup>n</sup> and you know at Vandue [*sic*] must be ready Cash in

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I. H. C., 5), 7, n. l.

hand, we shall follow your Directions to Ross the Shoemaker when it comes, in regard the Shoes & Stockins &c, have wrote to you fully  
 ꝯ M<sup>rs</sup> Murray, should have been very glade if they was to be had, but Expect to hear of some Boats going down the River next Fall, when we shall take Care to have a Supply ready for them at Fort Pitt, but at same Time dear Friend should be glade if this meet you at nigh Fort Pitt, you would send us down a List of such Goods as you think would best answer down there, as no Doubt you have made enquiry of some People that came from there, this Opport<sup>y</sup> going sooner then I Expected must conclude with our best Wishes for your prosperity, and believe us to be with much Esteem

Dear Sir

Your most Obe<sup>d</sup> & hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>ts</sup>

our Complements to M<sup>rs</sup> Murray little Francis & Miss Jenny—

Shall send your accompt ꝯ next Oppor<sup>ty</sup>

M. GRATZ TO MURRAY, July 8, 1768

[P. H. S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

Mr William Murray

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> July 1768

DEAR SIR

This goes by M<sup>rs</sup> Murray whom I wish safe to y<sup>r</sup> Arms & wish you Both a pleasant & Successfull Journey to your Desired Port I have now the Pleasure to acknowledge the Rece<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>r</sup> only fav<sup>r</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> June Last which Covered y<sup>r</sup> Surveys, one I have Lagedge in the Office you may depend on my doing every thing in my Power For your Intrest, and in disposing of the Land, as soon as possible I can get a Chap for it, but would have you think if its not necessary for M<sup>rs</sup> Murray, to Sign a power of Attorney to me also, on Account of making a Deed, for the Land, to sign for her; if so you can send it me down from Fort Pitt, from whence I hope to hear from you and her how she got up with the Children The above Bill is for Necessaries for M<sup>rs</sup> Murray, for which we have charged you with, we have tried to get some Shoes and stockins to send up, but could not, get any Scotch Shoes or stockins in Town, therefore we must referr, sending untill next Opportunity, by which Time I hope there will be some

Scotch Vessels in, and to hear of your being safe arrived at the Ilionoies with your family. and you will be a better Judge of what Goods will answer there, best to be sent to you, and as you then will think proper, in regard of our being concernd in, we will do likewise with the Goods you now take up with you as we could not send up any more to them, we leave it entirely to yourself if you have a Mind that we shall be concernd, with you in the Goods, you, in the Goods you purchasd in your Name, amounting to £320. please to let us know before you leave Fort Pitt, and if you think best to keep them on your own Account, you may, and then we shall only be concernd, in the Goods, we sent as before, Mr Abram Mitchel is not yet returned from Maryland as soon as he returns shall wait on him, you may depend on my doing my best Endeavours, to get Masters for the little Ones as soon as possible I can, but you must let me know the Name of the Man they are at, we heard Mr Milligin arrived at Lancaster last Sunday, but not yet come to Philad<sup>a</sup>, not sent, any Letters down, if he has any which I dont doubt but he has, one thing I must beg of you my dear friend, dont be so Lazey in writing, as it cost you nothing write by Every Opportunity and you will much Oblige  
Yours &c.

MURRAY TO B. AND M. GRATZ,<sup>1</sup> [No Date]

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Papers]

GENT.

I have very little worth mentioning to Communicate to you except you are so good to deem the intelligence of my safe Arrival here some Days since Worth your Notice—Tomorrow Morning I set off—The large Boat is loaded—Mr Douglass goes with me—The Art<sup>y</sup> Stores are Chiefly in the large Boat; which, with one of the King's, Carrys all our Goods yet Come up, and another K<sup>ss</sup> Boat will follow with the rest—This affair will save us something Clever in Batteaumen's Wages & Prov<sup>s</sup>— All the 12 Batteaumen employed at Ph<sup>a</sup> are gone to Hell but one—Mr Stephen Duncan has imposed upon Mr Simons and disappointed us—Mr Simons told me in my Way up that Duncan wrote him that all was gone—I found notwithstanding that near

<sup>1</sup> From the context, it is written from Fort Pitt, in June or July, 1768. The letter belongs to this immediate period as will appear from the preceding letters.

40 bt Loads rem<sup>d</sup> at Carlisle for many days after—I have only to add my Comp<sup>ts</sup> to M<sup>rs</sup> Gratz, with whom Accept the both of my sincere Good Wishes I am

Gents

Yours sincerely

W. MURRAY

Remember the two poor little Boys.

TO MESS<sup>RS</sup> BARN<sup>D</sup> & MICHAEL GRATZ

Merch<sup>ts</sup> Ph<sup>a</sup>

MORGAN TO WILLIAMSON, July 8, 1768

[Morgan Letter Book]

TO ALEX WILLIAMSON

KASKASKIA July 8 1768

SIR

Inclosed you have the Invoice of Merchandize which I shall ship on Board the Batteau Forbes for Post St. Vincent consignd for sale to you. You are therefore immediately to depart for the said Post by Land, & when you arrive there, apply for Advice & Assistance to either Mr Neauveau, Mr Flamboice, or Mr Vadrie, If you shou'd not find a House belonging to the King which you can make tennant-able & convenient, You must rent One at as low a Rate as possible with a good Cellar to keep your Peltry in as to the disposal of your Merchandize the Prices &c I cannot give you any Directions except that you are not to credit any Pson whatsoever without good Security, The prices at w<sup>ch</sup> I have estimated the Goods in the Inclos'd Invoice of Merchandize, are those at which we sell Large Q<sup>trs</sup> here, by which you can in a great measure govern yourself They amount in the whole to [*blank in MS.*] & as they are expressly assorted for the Trade there both for the French Inhabitants & the Indians, I flatter myself you will make a very handsome Remittance to me in the Spring in Peltry & Cattle. Shou'd you be able to send me twenty or more Head of Cattle this Fall by all means do so The Peltry you must have well packed & press'd & kept in a good Cool Cellar untill you can Make up a Batteau Load, As to the Trade with the Indians, you are so well acquainted there with amongst other Tribes, that you will soon make yourself master of it at Post St. Vincent. The Inhabitants will press you take Flour Tobacco, Indian Corn & Hogs in Payment Of Flower I will shortly write to you, What Prices you may



allow & what Quantity you may venture to take in Hopes of a Detachment of Soldiers being Station'd there Of Tobacco you may take any Quantity, if it be good and made into Carrots, & can purchase it so as to have it delivered here at twenty Sols P lb. As to Indian Corn, you must take no more than Will be sufficient to feed the Hogs & Cattle you may purchase, Of Hogs you may purchase all that will be Offered to you provided you can do it so as to send them here at the Rate of Sixteen or Even Eighteen Sols P lb. So soon as you get One hundred or more you must hire two carefull & Capable persons to drive them to this Place which I hope you will be able to do in the Month of Oct<sup>r</sup> or the begining of November, In the purchase of Cattle you may estimate them at 10 Sols P lb delivered here or two hundred Livres on an Average for Oxen of three Years Old and upwards, But there are many that will yield two hundred & Fifty Livres & upwards, & some three hundred besides paying the Expences of sending them here. Good Cows I give one hundred Fifty Livres for here, which may serve for your Government in purchasing of them, And As I want them for the Garrison here next Season you need not mind Whether they give milk at present or not, But get Calves with them if you can, Robison the Taylor will tarry with you to assist you in the Store & as one of his Trade is much Wanted at the Post and as he is very honnest & industrious he will earn us more, than his Wages, beside Assisting you & being the Means of Selling Many Things which might otherwise rest on hand, Hamilton will serve you as Cook & do most of the Laborious work you may have to do, As Robison is an Excellent hand at packing Peltry you will not be under the necessity of hiring another to do it Inclosed you have the following mention'd Obligations from people who live at the Post Viz.—

	£ s	Money
Mons <sup>r</sup> Moros for Peltry.....	93,15 equal	187,10
do ..... for Do .....	368, .....	736,
for these Mr Kennedy has an Order from Cap <sup>t</sup> Forbes for the payment of & which he will deliver to you Jean Baptiste LePage a Chickesaw or Cherokee prisoner that came with } 20		
my first drove of Cattle.....		
Mons <sup>r</sup> Neauveaus Note for Peltry.....	130.....	300

mistake	{ ditto for.....Ditto for three Cattle of three Years Old or upwards which is equal	
it is made		600
Nicholas		
Monsieurs Neauveaus Note for Peltry.....	568.....	1126
Madam Nicholas Scapard for Peltry payable in Sep <sup>tr</sup> next.....	532.....	1064
		<hr/> 4033,10

She disputes paying more than two as she says Mr Kennedy has delivered—her you need not therefore insist on more than two good Oxen unless Mr Kennedy can convince her of her Error Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Chang for 800lb of Tobacco equal to 800# payable in September The whole equal in Value to four thousand Eight Hundred & thirty three Livres ten Sols at 5 Livers [sic] P Dollar payment for all of w<sup>ch</sup> I beg you will demand & receive as soon as possible Such goods as you find are most frequently asked for and which you have none of or not a sufficient quantity Q<sup>ty</sup> [sic] You may tell both French & Indians that you expect a plentiful Supply of in the Spring Send me a List of the Goods you want with the Q<sup>ty</sup> of each Article you can sell in One season & the prices thereof that I may know whether It will Answer to send them to you. Mons<sup>r</sup> LaLand is to ride Back the Horse you take to the Post unless you can immediately sell him for four hundred Livres.—I expect an Express by land from Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnston, If he shou<sup>d</sup> not have past the Post before you arrive there, I beg you wou<sup>d</sup> hasten him on his Journey as fast as possible When he does come there, If you write to any of your Friends at Fort Pitt do not Let them know but that the Trade is excessive Bad at the Post, least some of the Traders there shou<sup>d</sup> be induced to interfere with you by coming down Observe this Also when You write to any Body at Detroit. As I purpose paying you a Visit in the Month of September, You can by that time make yourself so well acquainted with the Trade of the Wabach as to give me full Information thereof that so we may Govern Ourselves Accordingly Mr Rumsey will be with you in about three Weeks Any Directions or Orders which he may give you you are to esteem equally with my own, Let me hear from you by every Opportunity with Respect to everything which may Affect our interest or be relative thereto. In-

form me of the price of Flour in particular that I may know whether to Order you to buy a Quantity, Be very explisit with respect to the Q<sup>ty</sup> & Prices of all kinds of goods you may write for & Whether the prices you mark be peltry or Money, I sincerely Wish you success in this first Undertaking, & that you may find it in every respect agreeable to you & am Sir Your most Obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

G MORGAN

Kaskaskia July 8th 1768 Rec<sup>d</sup> from George Morgan the foregoing Orders & Instructions With the Obligations mention'd therein Which Orders I will comply with.

A WILLIAMSON

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, July 11, 1768

[Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA July 11th 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

By an Express from Fort Pitt sent by Mr Croghan I receiv'd your short Favours of the 19th of March & the 5th of April<sup>1</sup> Was it not for the Assurance they give me of my Family & all my Friends being well—I would much rather not have rec<sup>d</sup> them—As they lead me into still greater Suspence if possible than before they came to hand.

I should particularly expect to be inform'd of such Things as immediately affect our Business here.

For Want of C Cs<sup>2</sup> knowing whether his two last Accts are paid or refused, he will not go even to the necessary Expences Mr Croghan does not say a Syllable to him about them except that they are come to Hand—And as to his making up his Acc<sup>ts</sup> so as to arrive w<sup>th</sup> you at the Time they are dated here Viz in Sep<sup>t</sup> & March—It is What he cannot comprehend & will not do unless he has Orders to do so at particular Times—suppose the 1<sup>st</sup> of June & 1<sup>st</sup> of December. For this Resolution I think no One can blame him.

There are Letters come which mention that a Contract is made by three London Gentlemen of whom Mons Franks is One for Supplying the Troops here with Provision at 13½ sterling ₤ Ration &

<sup>1</sup> These letters have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Cole.

that a large Number of Boats were building at Fort Pitt to transport the Prov<sup>ns</sup> to this Place.<sup>1</sup>

I am surprised you have never mentiond this to me it is a Matter that will greatly affect Us As all but a triffling Q<sup>ty</sup> of our Beef still remains on Hand. Had I been apprised of this I might by properly abating £100 sterl<sup>s</sup> perhaps have got all of it put into the Store. I have yet set Mr. Rumsey on a Plan to make a Push & will not despair of Accomplishing my Aim untill I have an absolute Refusal.

If you could make a Contract with the Contractors for supplying a certain Q<sup>ty</sup> of Beef (not fresh Beef) you would do well. Should any Accident happen to Mr Hollingshead, I can at a short Notice procure any Q<sup>ty</sup> of Buffaloe by Hunters from hence— Any Time between this & the 1<sup>st</sup> of November but afterward it will be a difficult Matter You may engage Mr Hollingsheads Meat to keep for a Year with the greatest Safety—Which no French Man here can do.

I wish with all my Soul you could agree with D Franks to Supply his Agent Altogether at 13½ Pennsylvania or even N York Curr<sup>cy</sup> & Ration. I sincerely believe he will accept of your Offer. If he will not I would have you to sell Mr Hollingsheads Hunt at any Rate & forward your Agreement & Express—for a certain Mons Blouin & C<sup>t</sup> Campbell seem determined to undersell me if it be 50 PC<sup>t</sup> to their Loss.

As to Flour it is impossible to buy it without Negroes, Bills of Exchange or hard Dollars even at the monstrous Price of 37/6 PC<sup>t</sup>. If the Contractors understand their Business they will send twelve Months Provision of Flour from Fort Pitt next February. By which Means the Farmers here will be forced to sell at any Price to make Room for the next Years Crop. But if D Franks was to do this it would be a considerable Injury to our Remittances as now & then a Bill for Flour falls into our Hands besides What I endeavor to purchase. All whereof you know would be stopd.

Your three Reasons for not being able to compleat the Order for Goods are very strong & only what I expected except the third. I shall not look out for them now except a small Part for the Reasons you assign but We shall greatly suffer for Want of them.

<sup>1</sup>The correspondence, printed *ante*, 341-344, between William Murray and the Gratz brothers suggests the beginnings of the plans of Franks and Company to gain a foothold in the West.

I observe What you say with Respect to the Time of Mr Whartons Departure for Oswego & refer you to my former Letters for my Opinion thereof. However you may be assured that I will make myself as easy as possible here & you need not doubt but I will do every Thing in my Power to forward Remittances to you.

As general Bankruptcy among the French Traders has prevented my doing any Thing with Them since my last. Several of them have been with me for large Q<sup>ties</sup> of Goods, but their not being able to pay or give Security I did not choose to trust them.

By repeated Applications from Post Vincent I have been induced to send a large Cargo of Goods there Consign'd to One Allexander Williamson Who came down w<sup>th</sup> C<sup>t</sup> Prather & whom I have engaged at £100 for One Year certain—Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes has given me an Order to take Possession of the best of the Kings Houses to keep our Store in & has wrote to the principal Inhabitants there & order'd them to give all such Assistance as we may require.

Mr Rumsey takes a Trip to the Post on Business Which he will write to you about & to settle Mr Williamson properly. The Boat left this Yesterday Morning. Mr Rumsey set out by Land the last of this Week & will be absent fifteen or twenty Days. He will write to you from the Post & give you every necessary Intelligence.

I am sorry to hear of Mr Whartons Indisposition, but trust he soon recoverd therefrom. Instead of Mr Croghans leaving Pittsburg the 25th of April his letter to me from thence is dated the 8th of May<sup>1</sup> & does not say When he was to set out or Where he was to go to from thence. There must surely have been some other Letters from you Which Were design'd for this Express & have miscarried. I have not a single Line from Mr Campbell.

A very worthy little French Jew takes Charge of this to New Orleans & promises to send it by the first Vessel to New York or Philadelphia. I shall forward a Copy of it in a Day or two by One Jacob Dieverbaugh Who sets out with three or four other Hands (Who are fearfull of dying here if they stay much longer) to ascend the Ohio in a Canoe for Fort Pitt He is a most excellent Hunter, a Fellow Whose Word can be depended on & excessively obliging. Should you have Occason to send such a Person to this Place with

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

Letters, permit me to recommend him in preference to any or all others Who may offer. He says he will come down again for Us if you desire—If not he will make a Hunt all the Way down the Ohio for himself. He will give you a Description of the Land of my Plantation where he has hunted for a Month past.

In a Conversation over a Bottle of Wine at Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes I was much banterd about employing English Hunters—Who several insisted on it could neither Shoot nor hunt so well as the French or Indians. I was laugh'd at particularly by Col. Cole for saying I had some of the best Marksmen in the Illinois & he offered to Wager £100 against any One of them Whom I should choose or any five of them to shoot by turns 100 Yds at a Bbl Head *without any kind of Rest whatever*—for every Time they hit the Bbl he to pay me £100 every Time they miss'd it I to pay him the like Sum. I told him he might choose the Worst Shot from amongst all the Hunters I had & on him I would Wager a Dollar each Shot for One hundred Shots Certain & as many more as he pleased Dieverbaugh was pitchd upon—Who to try his Powder set up the Head of a small Keg 100 Yds & struck it 10 Times out of Eleven Shots as fast as he could load & fire. He then began at the Barrel & won the Whole of the One hundred Dollars—Which before he begun I told him I would make him a present of if he Won them—He therefore has my Draft on you for £[*blank in MS.*] balance of his Acc<sup>t</sup> in w<sup>ch</sup> the above is included which you will oblige me by paying to him without any Detention As Col. Cole has paid me therefor & which is included in One of the inclosed Bills.

I have pledged my most solemn promise to Mr Rumsey, that you will immediately on Receipt hereof discharge his Drafts on You which We were last Summer constraind to protest—You nor no One else can find Fault with this as it is evidently to our Interest so to do. He is still in our Service if I may so call it. And I have experienced him a most faithfull & affectionate Friend indeed No One Who knew him even twelve Months ago—would believe, with What Attention & Success he applys himself to every Part of our Business. I must confess that no One Of Us could do more. He is esteem'd & beloved by every One & his Abilities will make him respectable—C & J together I find would not be of half the Service that he will—

Without Disparagement to them. It is w<sup>th</sup> the Uttmost Pleasure I say it of him—but avoid taking any Notice thereof in your Letters to him. For my Part I must say I have Reason to love him.

He has had a severe Spell of the Fever but I trust he is now got the better of it. I beg you will never say any Thing to him of Pay-ment or Acknowledgements—or make any Promises. Untill you really have it in your Power to oblige him. Place all on the Footing of his Friendship for you & you will oblige him.

John Finney now lies very ill w<sup>th</sup> Intermittent Fever—I have another Person (James Farrel) very bad also—having a good House & every Thing convenient I am enabled to give them good attendance.

I really think I shall escape the Disorder of the Country this Season—but if I am obliged to tarry here another I will not promise so fair for that.

I shall be glad to see Mr Rigby & Mr Manegault here particu-larly if you Compleat One half of the Order for the Goods sent to you in December last.

If they left Fort Pitt at the Time you say they should or any Time in May I may look out for them every Hour—But as I know the Nature of these Movements I shall not expect them untill the middle of August.

I am sensible of the Necessity there is of Mr Whartons Delay—but as I shall no Doubt have the Pleasure of seeing him this Fall, I hope to be with you early next Summer. Should anything w<sup>th</sup> you render it necessary for me to return sooner, I make no Doubt but you will give me proper Notice thereof.

MORGAN TO WILLIAMSON, July 14, 1768  
[Morgan Letter Book]  
KASKASKIA July 14: 1768

SIR

Herewith you have two other Notes for which you are to receive payment & render Acc<sup>t</sup> to me Viz.—

	Peltry	Livres
Monsieur Nichola for.....	61, 10 s	123 Money
Monsieur Rassicaulto for		486,15
		<hr/>
		609 15

As Mr Rumsey accompanys you to Post Vincent I need not give you any further Directions, but refer you entirely to him with Confidence that you will exactly conform to his Orders & let slip no Opportunity of advancing the Sale of your Cargo & remitting therefor, which will at all times require your closest Attention & Application.

I am as before your most Obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

L. PERRAULT<sup>1</sup> TO ———, July 18, 1768<sup>2</sup>

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.728, f. 309—C.]

MONSIEUR

Jai prie la liberté de vous ecrire le 25 Janvier 1768<sup>3</sup> quelque jours avant mon depart pour les Illinois du quel pays je suis revenu depuis huit jours, et ou je compte remonter en peut, le sujet de moy [p]rese-dante [?] etoit pour vous prier Monsieur de me donner une recom-mandation aupres du Commandans Englois dans cette partie. Je vous prie en grace, Monsieur, de ne me la pas refuse et soye persuadee que je la meritez toujours.

[*Translation*]

SIR:

I took the liberty of writing you, January 25, 1768, a few days previous to my departure for the Illinois from which country I returned a week ago, and where I intend returning soon. The subject of my present [?] was to beg you, Sir, to give me a recommendation to the English Commander, in that part. I beseech you with thanks, Sir, not to refuse it and to believe that I shall always deserve it.

<sup>1</sup> Louis Perrault was one of the principal early merchants of St. Louis. His brother James was a merchant in Quebec. Louis Perrault came over from Kaskaskia. His brother, J. B. Perrault was a trader at Cahokia, but also lived in St. Louis. Another brother Michel, was Captain of Infantry in Cahokia, and still another brother, Joseph, also lived there. Louis Perrault died in St. Louis, May 10, 1783. Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, 1:95, n.6.

<sup>2</sup> We have printed this document out of its chronological order in order not to break the sequence of the Morgan letters which precede.

<sup>3</sup> This letter has not been found.



Mr La Coterer pourteur de la presente madit qu'il alai à Pasacol pour i finir definitivement ses affaire de Service, Javay prie assé la liberté dans ma pressedante Lettre de joindre une Lettre de change tiré par ce monsieur en faveur de mon associer Mr Butilet qui mest Echu, je vous prie Monsieur de vous interessé pour me faire procurer Le payment Jatant cette grace Monsieur de votre Équité; s'il n'y a pas de Piastre a Pasacole pour payer une Lettre d'Echange du service mé sera Egal. Je vous prie Monsieur de mé passer les faute que je puis faire tant dans le stil de ma Lettre que dans la liberté que je prént de vous charger de comuncarition [*sic*] pareil et J'espere que vous me pardonneré mon ardiessé.

J'ay l'honneur d etre avec respect Monsieur Votre tres humble  
Etres obeis<sup>t</sup> S<sup>r</sup> L. PERRAULT.

ce 18<sup>e</sup> juillet 1768

r. 26 9<sup>e</sup>

Jay veu souvent Mr Forbus, commandant des Illinois, les nassions sont un pays les petites ostilite qu'il font de tous a autre ne tir point

[*Translation*]

Mr. De la Gauterais, bearer of this letter, told me that he went to Pensacola to finish definitely, his official duties. I have, also, taken the liberty in my present letter of joining a Bill of Exchange, drawn by this gentleman in favor of my associate, Mr. Butilet, which has fallen due to me. I beg you, Sir, to be interested in order to procure the payment for me. I await, Sir, this favor of your justice. If there are no piasters in Pensacola to pay a Bill of Exchange, your service will be the same to me. I beg you, Sir, to overlook the faults of which I may make as many in the style of my letter as in the liberty that I take in burdening you with such communication, and I hope that you will pardon my temerity.

I have the honor of being, Sir, respectfully your very humble and obedient servant L. PERRAULT.

July 18, 1768

Received November 26

I have often seen Mr. Forbes, commandant of the Illinois country. The nations occupy a country where petty hostilities break out from time to time, but which are of no consequence. One can

a Consequence et lon peut regardé ce pays comme bien un pays et une possession prise pour toujours.

[*Endorsed:*] Mr Perrault 68 du 18<sup>le</sup> Juillet reçu 20<sup>le</sup> Novem<sup>e</sup>

[*Translation*]

look upon this country as if it were a country, and a possession taken for all time.

[*Endorsed:*] Mr. Perrault, July 18, 1768; Received Nov. 20.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, July 20, 1768

[Morgan Letter Book]

KASKASKIA July 20th 1768

I was going on with the forgoing When Simon Girty<sup>1</sup> one of our Hunters came in from the Shawana River & informd me that about thirty Indians had attackd our Boat & that no body had made their Escape but himself that he knew of. He is a Lad Who is particularly attach'd to me otherwise he would not have come here to give me this Intelligence but would have immediately proceeded to Fort Pitt. Mr. Hollingshead will give you his Character. The inclosed Letter which I wrote to Mr Rumsey, will give you a short but plain Relation of this Tragical Affair. He has given me this Letter, that I need not have the Trouble of again recollecting every Part & writing it over. I therefore refer you to it. Inclosure N<sup>o</sup>. 1<sup>2</sup>

Had not this Disaster happend, we should have collected more Skins from that Quarter by Dec<sup>r</sup> next than we trade for here in twelve Months. There was a generous Strife between the Hunters, who should do most for me—& pleased themselves very greatly with reckoning up every Night how much Money We shoul[d] make by their Industry—Which each of them daily declared should not be Wanting—for that Mr Morgan had used them so well that they could not do too much for him.

Besides the Skins, they would have renderd about 20 M W<sup>t</sup> of Tallow & brought in Meat sufficient for the Garrison all next Year. They had agreed to remove about 15 or twenty miles higher up the River that very Day.

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice, see James, *George Rogers Clark Papers* (I. H. C., 8), 22, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This has not been found.

The same Party of Indians a very few days after attackd six Virginia Men Who were hunting with six Horses on One of the Branches of Green River—They killd One Man named [*blank in MS.*] took one Joseph Blankenship Prisoner With all the Horses. The other four Men made their Escape Which Blankenship also did after they had crossed the Ohio A particular Relation of his Story you have inclosed [*Enclosure*] N<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>1</sup> I have cloathd him & furnish.d him with a Gun & Ammunition to carry him home. This fellow met with Copes Canoe the same Morning that he made his Escape & came in her to the Cherokee Fort from whence he set out with him & Galloway for this Place He seperated from Cope on Thursday the 14th Instant after being five Days from the Fort in which Time they had expended all their Powder & Balls & were without Provisions. On Saturday Evening following being the 16th Instant Blankenship arrived. On Sunday Morning I sent out Simon Girty with three other good Woodsmen to seek for Cope & his Partner. As they did not return that Day, L<sup>t</sup> Ancram my Chickasaw Indian & myself went out on Monday Morning. About 9 Miles off we fired several Guns & were answerd by Girty Who the Evening before had found Cope & Galloway strolling up & down the Woods they knew not Where. As the Road to return on that Side the River Was very bad & round about, We made a Raft for our Guns & the Letters & swam the Kaskaskia at the Mouth & arrived here at two OClock Which Cope desired me to be very particular in mentioning to you.

I cannot say but I was much vex'd to hear him say & before L<sup>t</sup> Ancram that he was ordered by you to take no Letters from any Officers or any Persons Whatever on Pain of forfeiting his Wages. A Continuance of such Orders in future may do Us more Injury than all the Letters Which can be sent here. Nay We have already suffer'd in the Esteem of the Army as they have always been acquainted with our Orders as well as We ourselves. They declare We have no Right to do it & that We make Ourselves liable to have our Letters stop'd Without a Pass from the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt. How this is I cannot say. But I do assure you I would rather not have rec<sup>d</sup> these Letters by Cope than they should have come off in so private a Manner. Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes Who is much our Friend, advises Us to avoid the like in future. He has not the Scrape of a Pen but what

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

you inclosed even from the General Whom he is exceedingly Anxious to hear from. I however easily settled the Matter with that good & worthy Officer—But Col. Cole is most Vociferous. He had p<sup>d</sup> me a Visit at Kaskaskia of three Days the last Week, Which Time we had spent in the most friendly Manner together.

I was so uneasy about Copes Orders & there being no Letters for any body but myself except One from Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes Uncle—that I did not even read a single Syllable of yours to me before I set out for Fort Chartres on purpose to endeavour to prevent any bad Consequences therefrom. I succeed[ed] almost to my Wish w<sup>th</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes—but inclosed is what passd between Col. Cole & me in the Presence of Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes, his Bro[ther] & several other Gentlemen. [*Enclosure*] N<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>1</sup> To whom I refer you without making any Remarks & proceed to answer Your long & very obliging favour by Cope. After which I shall write you a seperate Letter for our Friends on our Affairs here, but intermix'd with other Concerns to prevent their imagining it calculated for them.

Master Greens Letter is certainly a very extraordinary One—but I wish they [*sic*] Seal had not been broken though We have an Undoubted Right to refuse the Charge of any Letters. Inclosed you have it returned Well Sealed I assure you tis no Jargon. Every fictitious Name of *our* Dictionary is applied with the utmost exactness I have taken a Copy of the Letter, that, if you have not, We may hereafter Con it over together. But One thing I observe is that the Gentleman is well acquainted with our private Affairs. How or in what Manner he has come to this Knowledge I leave to himself & Safety—but I would not have you by any Means to inquire further after him, as you may depend on S.G being his fictitious Name. Perhaps you may inquire if the very Person who Wrote it. As he calls Safety his School Mate & as I am intirely unacquainted with his Connections in America or England, I cannot have even a Guess at Who he is.

I have this moment read over Mr Greens Letter again Depend upon it that his right Name is M Hilligas—Notwithstanding the Blind of his Sallarys being reduced to £25 7<sup>9</sup> Ann. &c.

I wish I could have observed by your Letter that you had p<sup>d</sup> your Respects to Col. Wilkins & entertained the Gentlemen of his Regiment

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

Once or twice. Many look on these Civilities as Obligations Particularly Strangers.

I wrote to my Brother about Col. Wilkins P Col. Reed. He complains of having rec<sup>d</sup> no Letter from me either by Mr Young or Col. Reed. How this has happend I know not—But as often as I have wrote to him I have inclosed his Letter unsealed to my Molley. I never copy a single Letter to any body but yours on Business & not All of them, Which I ought to have done. So that I cannot charge my Memory Whether or not I wrote to him by both those Opportunities. If I did not I intended to do so. How is it possible that Meriatories could not have made all the Insurance orderd on Obriens & Littles Boats. I must entertain some little Suspicion on this Matter—'tis impossible they could have acted as they ought, Tis fortunate that I had all the Goods purchased in for me. If Mr. W can include this in Farmers Losses & that Matter succeeds it may answer as Well—but I must still enjoy my own Opinion of Meriatories.

But every thing has turnd out so different from what I was told, that I shall not be disappointed if We get thrown out of the Chase. I thought that Gov<sup>r</sup> Palliser & the Speaker was to have accompanied S. W. However as you say that you certainly expect to be in Possession of the Nabobs Deeds by the 4th of September at the very farthest, I will endeavour still to keep up some Hopes untill I hear from you of that Date.

I also cast the Illinois Affair over my shoulder & shall never trouble myself further about it.

Sammy Bennozet must have told a Willfull Lye, When he said that he see One of our Boats that had sprung a Leak & the Meat a Shore in a disorderd Manner. Tis true that when Col. Reeds Boat met ours—There was One belonging to a French Man very near that had sprung a Leak & had unloaded her Beef. I wish he or his Father could be told of this Paragraph of my Letter. You do not tell me whether his Order on his Father was paid—Or what Mr Steel says to his Acc<sup>t</sup>.

As to Viviate Clarkson & Reed you have my Sentiments in full—The first has spit his Spite & is now all French Politess. the second will do every thing he can to injure Us & without Hesitation he is

certainly a Man of Abilitys but not to be bound by Honour or Gratitude. However, I recommend that if possible you prevent his becoming more & more our Enemy. And as to Col. Reed—he is too great a Villain for me to think further of if you do not think it prudent to aid me. As to the Proofs I shall not want any others than the living Witnesses, Who I dare say will be on the Spot on my Return & the Hand Writing of his Sargeant. A [sic] As Cope met my Boat Above the Mingo Town,<sup>1</sup> I flatter myself that you received my Letter by Thompson Time enough to prevent your advancing the £1000. wch Col. Cole ordered. His Letter to you by Maisonville must also reach you about the same Time. In that he mentions my having paid him here.

It was impossible for me to send an Express to you at the Time you expected One to arrive—Or if it was not, I could not have made you the Remittances you might look for—by which your Credit would intirely stopd.

Mr Campbell informs me that the Contractors Cargo is to the Amount of £1200 & consists of Indian Silver Work, Linnen, some other Indian Goods, 20 Rifles a Q<sup>ty</sup> of Rum Sugar & Coffee (all of which except the Rifles are good Articles) & that Mr Murray has his own Acc<sup>t</sup> to the Am<sup>t</sup> of £400 in Shoes & Stockings for Soldiers & some other Articles which he could not then learn, this Acc<sup>t</sup> is very different from yours. But when Mr Murray arrives, I shall learn how to talk to him & will purchase his Cargo if it can be done with Propriety but shall not be in a hurry about it.

The Articles you have bought from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Meredith, Chevaliers & Marshall We shall clear more than 400 PC<sup>t</sup> Upon if they arrive safe or, say that I have deceivd you.

You have sent me a List of Packages of other Goods but do not mention Which are for Fort Pitt or Which are for this Place. The following Articles mentiond therein I hope are designd for Fort Pitt Viz

All the Rifles as I have rec<sup>d</sup> a Supply.

The Madeira Wine, except of the *very best*

As we have enough at present for Possets & it is little drank otherwise as Clarret is so very cheap at Orleans

<sup>1</sup> Near Pittsburg on the Ohio.

All the Rum 2 Bbls Tobacco All the Blankets & MatchCoats All the Saddles. All the Gun Powder

The other Articles I hope are all designd for the Illinois I cannot pretend to tell you What will be Wanting—but you cannot go amiss if you attend to my Order in Dec<sup>r</sup> last, particularly the Articles markd A & B The Red Strouds, Kettles, Wire, & Guns I must have if you can buy them at the Usual Prices. Of the following Tin Ware you cannot easily send too much Viz

Nests of Kettles

Quarts Pints & Cups

Milk & Pudding Pans sorted small

Candle Sticks—Brass Iron & Tin

30 doz Pint Jacks black & red but no China } they sell  
Jacks unless they cost the same } for 1/2 Dollar

600 Pint Pewter Basons cost but 16<sup>d</sup> each I have sold all ours at 7/6 & could immediately dispose of the above Q<sup>ty</sup>

1000 C[?] W<sup>t</sup> of Pewter Basons 7/6

[*Note in margin*] a large Q<sup>ty</sup> of Pewter Porringers small & large sell from 4/6 to 7/6 each & in great Demand 4 Whip Saws will sell well.

These Articles I mean as over & above the Q<sup>ty</sup> you have already sent Also 200 lb more of Hyson Tea at 16/ or 18/ 30 lb double cased. All the Tin Ware &c must be packd with Coffee. We shall also want 1500 lb more than you have sent of the best Soap w<sup>ch</sup> we sell at 6/ Plb & are now out of that Article.

I have already answerd that Part of your Letter Where you press me so hard not to mind the Expence of an Express w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will be satisfactory—If not I now tell you that Whenever I can afford you agreeable Inteligence, or Whenever I find it necessary to send you Letters, I shall not Value a reasonable Expence. By your being so anxious to hear from me at the Time of your Writing the Letters I am now answering, it appears that you expected I would have remitted you ten Times the Sum I was capable of Consider—that I have been obliged to pay no less than £6000 What Mess<sup>rs</sup> C & J remitted to you & you will think It has not been my Fault that you have not receivd the Sums you expected.

You would have lost exactly One Dollar 30 Hundred on the twenty thousand W<sup>t</sup> of Flour had D Franks accepted of your Offer—Depend on it, that it is not to be bought here for Government Bills of Exchange for less than 37/6 P<sup>ct</sup> besides 30/P1MW<sup>t</sup> for Carriage to the Fort. 'Tho' as I have said in the begining of this Letter the Prices may be easily lowered by the Contractors in the Manner there mentioned, but I trust that will not happen As it must of Course lessen the Means of Remittances from hence.

Depend on it unless Mr Murray be an Adept in Business & the French Tongue, he will not soon make himself Master of the Trade here, Yet every Shillings worth of Goods he sends here, must in Degree hurt Us. The most I fear is their sending Negroes, Which will always Command What they will Want—Viz Flour, Cattle & Salt Beef.

They will undoubtedly have an advantage of 25 PC<sup>t</sup> on their Dollars & more if Murrey knows how to manage them.

I took my Information from Mr Jennings when I told you that our Liquor would probably be out by Feb<sup>r</sup> next Scarcely a single Indian has come in all this Summer. They are intercepted by the Spaniards, otherwise a great Hole would have been made in our Rum Cellars. By the Acc<sup>t</sup> sent, you Will see that the Q<sup>ty</sup> We have is yet very great.

I have lately made an Agreement for a Q<sup>ty</sup> of Lead at 10 Sols P lb—Therefore you need not send any more of that Article.

I fear our Friends will be greatly disappointed in your List of Remittances—What I have been able to send to you is a very Contemptible Sum compared to my Desire

Pray have you complied with Father Mourrains Order respecting the 200 Dollars—He has just been with me & I shall have his Curses to all Eternity if your next Letter does not inform me very particularly thereof.

Should you be able to compleat One half of each Article Ordered Dec<sup>r</sup> last without Difficulty I would prefer doing so to the Whole with the Inconveniences you mention in obtaining them. You need send no more Coffee or Sugar than comprised in Mess<sup>rs</sup> Merediths & Chevaliers Bills untill further Orders, unless you send More Tin Ware—In which Case It will be necessary to fill up with Coffee & not Rice.



I hope you will alter your Intention of sending more Salt here, I have now enough by me to cure more than 12 Months Provisions for all the Troops here. I also promise myself that you will send no Hunters as my Letters by Thompson will give you full Information of my Plan then under Execution—& now the Contractors might let all rest on our Hands. How am I to know whether to meet the Cannoes or not.

At all Events I shall wait further Orders by Mr Rigby which I hope will be to countermand those now sent unless you can make Agreement with Mr Franks. But in that Case you will have more than 500 Bushels of Salt too much. To preserve the Meat untill it be landed here We calculated One Bushell to every 1000 W<sup>t</sup> of Beef but I allow a Bushel & a Peck that is a Ten Gallon Keg—to every 1000 lb to be sure of having enough When We barrel it—We use the Usual Q<sup>ty</sup>.

I have not now a single Pair of Mens or Womens Shoes left. I sincerely Wish you could have sent me the full Q<sup>ty</sup> of this Principal Article as Ordered. I have not sold a single Pair under the following Prices Viz Mens Coarse Shoes 15/ P. fine d<sup>o</sup> 22/6. Wom<sup>e</sup> Shoes 18/9—Childrens d<sup>o</sup> 15/—I beg you will not forget to compleat the Whole Q<sup>ty</sup> of Mens Womens & Boys Shoes As early as you have it in your Power. The Demand for them is very excessive. The Cheese is greatly called after.

You will oblige me by advancing a little Money more than my Cousin Mrs Biles has a right to call for. She has a number of Children & I believe is a very good Woman. Her Husbands Attention to our Interest here as his own merits An Indulgence.

As to the Scheme of sending Salt here Via New Orleans It is not necessary now to put it in Execution. Had We the Contract it might be a Matter worth our Attention, at present it is not. But your Calculation must be erroneous I think to reckon it to be dd here at 7/6 P Bushel but I will furnish you with my Calculation—thereon Dennis Obrien, Owes me 7/6 besides the Months Advance & Subsistence Money for M'Guire. He has made his Escape from hence without paying of me.

[It would well be worth your While to make Mr Sinnot or Mr Stewart a Present of a Thousand Pounds to put a Stop to the French

coming up the Mississippi. If Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes tarrys here he will effectually put an End to the French ascending the Ohio.]<sup>1</sup>

I sincerely wish his Successor may be as capable & Attentive to the Interest of the Publick—& at the same Time he minds his own—but only as he ought—He is really a fine young Fellow. I flatter myself that you have or will immediately put the Address to him & his Answer in the Paper.<sup>2</sup> Should it be prolonged by Prudence or from motives that I am a Stranger to I cannot pretend to say a Word—But I assure you that if I could have imagined you would have postponed it so long I do not believe that I should have been induced to have inclosed it to the Printer myself. It seems to me as if you had never read it, by your calling it an Address against Reed.

Instead of writing a formal Letter of Thanks to our Trustees, as you desire, I must beg you to speak to them for me if you should still think it necessary.

I think I have run through so much of this Letter without Once mentioning the Name of a single Person of our Familys To all of whom please to remember me Affectionately Without my particularising One except my dear Mrs Baynton.

Mr Hollingshead is now writing to you. He gives over all further Thoughts of Hunting & so do I unless Mr Murray will positively engage the Meat from Us In Expectation thereof he waits here untill the arrival of the Troops.

The following is the Manner in w<sup>ch</sup> I shall dispose of our Clerks provided Mr Rumsey should go to Post Vincent Viz Mr Rigby to take on him the Charge of the Store at Fort Chartres & Mr Brown to go with a proper small Assortment to Kahoki where there is to be a Detachment of an Officer & 25 or 30 Men. If Mr Rumsey should not go to Post Vincent I shall fix Mr Rigby here & divide my Time between the four Stores. Inclosed you have John Copes Acc<sup>t</sup> Amounting to £[*blank in MS.*] & Francis Galloways to £[*blank in MS.*]

On Sunday the 24th Instant four French Men arrived from Post St Vincents. They had a very narrow Escape from a Party of Cherokees about twenty Leagues from this Place.

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph crossed out in the original.

<sup>2</sup> This address to Forbes and his answer have not been found.

They brought me a Letter from thence with the Journal of the Commander of our Boat which the Indians attackd up the Shawano River. This Letter you have inclosed with One<sup>1</sup> to a principal Inhabitant of this Village. By which you will observe that our Friends The Post St Vincent Indians were those who have injured us. They are a Mixture of Potawatamies Piankishaws Wiotonans Kickapous Miamis & Virmillion Tribes—but whether the Party that did the Mischief were of all or but One of those Nations—I cannot yet learn. But as Mr Rumsey would arrive at the Post the Day after these French Men Met him I shall soon hear. If he apprehends the least Danger of our Goods—He is to send a Cannoe down the Wabash to turn the Boat back.

The inclosed is a Copy of an Acct I deliverd to Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes—after he had intimated to me that He thought himself obliged in Justice to insist on my discharging of Mr Callenders Bill. But at the same Time said that if I had any Demand against Mr Callender & could prove the Property of the Bill to be invested in him & not in Mr Gibson & Mr Prather as they both seriously declared to Captain Forbes & all the Gentlemen here a thousand Times he would stop the Money in Mr Gibsons Hands.

I therefore paid the Bill as you will be informd before this reaches you & then C<sup>t</sup> Forbes issued a Writ of Attachment for me Which I had Executed on the Peltries I deliverd to Mr Gibson in Payment of the Bill. I drew up an Oath for him to subscribe to but for near an Hour he objected to the Words *directly or indirectly* with Respect to the Property or any Part of the Bill or Effects being Mr Callenders. However he at length consented to have them inserted but not in the Oath which I drew. As he said there was more in it than Necessary tho his was twice as long—&—dreadfull—With a trembling Hand swore on the Holy Evangelists that all he & C<sup>t</sup> Prather had before said with Respect to the Property of the Bill was false & that they Were Lyars. That is that the Bill for which they had rec<sup>d</sup> Skins of me in Payment was the Whole & Sole Property of Barnard Gratz & Joseph Simons.

I suppose you will hear of my Difference with C<sup>t</sup> Prather & w<sup>th</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Ancram in Consequence thereof it may be Misrepresented & you

<sup>1</sup> We have been unable to find the two letters and journal.

thereby be made Uneasy. I will just give you a short Relation thereof.

I had furnished Cap<sup>t</sup> Prather w<sup>th</sup> his Acc<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> amounted to 1400 Livres He Being desirous to trick me wanted Me to charge a Number of the Articles to the Am<sup>t</sup> of 600 Livres to a Gentleman who messd with him—but who (he as well as I knew) could not pay me. As I refused he applyd to Mr Clarkson who without my Orders complied with his Desire & drew out two new Acc<sup>ts</sup> for the One. Prather came to settle with Me & produced his own Acc<sup>t</sup> with the 600 Livres deducted. I told him that Acc<sup>t</sup> was erroneous & Would furnish him with a true One He observing me to be putting of it in my Pocket seizd hold of me behind my back & with his Gigantic Strength soon layd Me on the Floor—& With One Knee on my Breast, his right Hand hold of my Throat & his Left preventing me from kicking of him he soon convinc'd me that his Strength was as far superior to mine as mine to that of a Fly. Yet had I imagin'd his Intention before he got behind me & taken hold of me, I could certainly have at least put him on his Back & ran away. I soon found his intention was to strangle me for the Trouble I had given him & Mr Gibson & for obliging the latter to swear as he did—& therefore like a lusty Fellow called out for Help—More than a Dozen enterd the Room—but no One had Spirit enough or were so frightened that they could give Me no Assistance except a little Ensign Gladdeau Who was no more able to remove him off of me than to stir the House—However he by some Means or other disengaged me—I got up & had Presence of Mind & Prudence enough to say no more than to tell Mr Prather very Coolly of the Desparity there was in our Strengths &c & & that notwithstanding I believ'd myself able to give him a sound Thrashing upon particular Terms—With his Reply he called me a little Rascal—The Words were scarcely out of his Mouth before my Fist was against his Nose from whence such a Fountain of Matter immediately issued as to defile the Linnen of several of the Standers by. Upon this he catchd Hold of a Cut & thrust Spear that I had in the Corner & aim'd such a Blow at my Head as would have effectually quietted me had I not by a tollerable good Skip got out of his Reach—but One of my People Who was standing by got his leg considerably hurt by the Stroke.

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Ancram Who was then standing by commanded the Peace You need not doubt but I was well pleased at this for I apprehended Not a little from his Violent Temper & Strength However I chose to vex him by laughing at him & his Nose,

Then followed L<sup>t</sup> Ancrams imprudent Conduct—Which you will find by the Letters I have inclosed to you, he has most sincerely repented of—& has made every Concession which a Gentleman on such an Occasion ought or cou'd do—And my Manner of consenting to a Reconciliation I have Reason to know is not only highly agreeable to him but to all the Gentlemen of the Regiment Who on his Acct interested themselves therein. And I sincerely believe that there is nothing in their Power to do for me but they would immediately grant & particularly Mr Ancram. Who, exclusive of his Impetuous Temper & One or two Foibles, is certainly a Person of great Merit. He had conceiv'd a Prejudice against me on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Affair between Mr Ross & myself On which we sometime last Winter had an Explanation—in which he found me as obstinate as himself He also express'd his Surprise at no Letters coming for any of the Regiment from England & said that it was impossible but there must be Letters though there was no Channel but through our House. After a little cool Expostulation I told him that he or What Person soever pretended to intimate that We intercepted their Letters that Person was “an infernal Rascal & a Villain”. He is a Person of try'd & undoubted Spirit—I knew it—But the Matter went no further—Gibson & Prathers constantly taging after him to clean his Gun & almost to Wipe his Shoes for him—& I being of so contrary a Disposition led him imprudently to take Mr Prathers Part & thereby become more humbled than ever he was.

I shall be much pleased if his Insult to my Person can be kept from being publicly known but I fear that the foolish Boy Gibson will be the Means of exposing of him in order to hurt me—If you are question'd respecting the Affair, you will oblige me by doing it rather to his Advantage than otherways. As he is a Person of as much Sentiment & Generosity as any Man living & if ever it should lay in your Way to oblige him or to shew him any Civilities, I make a Point of it that you do so on my Acc<sup>t</sup> & I would have you request Messrs C & Jennings not to mention the least Syllable thereof to any One,

I am obliged by your Payment of Mrs Biles. She will call for £10 more than her Monthly Allowance, which I suppose you will have satisfied before this comes to Hand as I mention'd it to you in a former Letter. He has made a general Over hawl of all the Liquor Which I find from the Manner of that Rascal Nash put them up last has sufferd greatly. I believe he will incline to return to Philadelphia When I do—but I shall persuade him to tarry here if I can—for his own Interest as well as ours. He is now very ill in the Ague—but as he wrote to his Wife the Day before he was taken—she need not know but that he is well As he does not indulge himself in it except during the Fit of the Fever which is now on him excessive Strong the Doctor says he will soon get to Work again,

I have every day for these ten Days past had different French Men with me from the other side of the Mississippi for Goods—but as they would not pay me untill next Spring & could not give me satisfactory Security that they would do it then. I have not yet been able to do anything with them They are greatly distress'd for Goods but either the Losses they have met with or the pressing Demands of their Creditors from New Orleans puts it out of their Power to purchase for immediate Payment & I do not think it safe to give them credit without proper Security—Yet those of them who are able will shortly be obliged to buy from Us or in a great Measure drop the Trade Inclosed you have sundry Bills of Exchange as follows—Viz

			N York
J Campbell on C Robeson for		£ 100	
J Moore on Commissary Lake for	£ 30, 4, 9 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>5</sub>		
do on do	179, 1, 7		
do on do	308, 11, 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>		
J Gleadowe on his Brother in Ireland for	£47,—		
Ex:80 PC <sup>t</sup> is		84, 12, 0	
			£ 702, 9, 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 0

Although Mr Gleadowes Bill has a good Indorser—I recommend to you to send it Home on our Acc<sup>ts</sup> as I think it will be protested,

I have detaind Cope in Expectation of several Sums of Money but in Vain at w<sup>ch</sup> I am much vex'd. However I shall endeavour to

collect something for you by C<sup>t</sup> Forbes Detachment—but you must expect no large Sum for I cannot absolutely assure you of £500.

Mr Gibsons Bill &c	To d <sup>o</sup> at Fort Pitt 4,16, 2
Mr Hollingsheads Pass	To d <sup>o</sup> at Fort Chartres 1,16,9
Bills of Exchange	Francis Galloway D <sup>r</sup>
Write for Chalk	To your Acc <sup>t</sup> at Philada £
C <sup>t</sup> Campbells Disappointment	To d <sup>o</sup> at Fort Pitt 2,16,6
John Cope D <sup>r</sup>	To d <sup>o</sup> at Kaskaskia
To your Acct at Philad <sup>a</sup> £	Thos M'Closky

FORBES TO GAGE, July 28, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:117—C.]

[*MS. burned,*]ain Forbes, 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to General Gage.

Dated, FORT CHARTRES, ILLINOIS 28<sup>th</sup> july 1768.

I have the honor to acquaint Your Excellancy, that I have just recieved a Letter from One of my Correspondents at S<sup>t</sup> Vincent, in which he says that the Indians of the Village were just arrived with Nine English Scalps, and Eight Horses Loaded with Peltry &ca &ca They Attacked a Hunting Party upon the Shawanese River that left that Place in April last, killed and Scalped most of them, and on the 3<sup>d</sup> Instant Attacked a Party of Virginia Hunters upon the Green River which empties itself into the Ohio about Thirty Leagues below the falls. Killed One Man and took another Prisoner, who made his escape and came to this place; I hear their Chiefs intend coming here to beg Peace and forgiveness; I shall detain them Prisoners till Your Excellency's Pleasure be known, or they deliver me the Men that committed the Murders.

JOHNSON TO W. FRANKLIN, July 28, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[A. A. S., A. L.]

JOHNSON HALL July 28<sup>th</sup> 1768

SIR,

M<sup>r</sup> S. Wharton delivered to me your kind favor of the 23d of May<sup>2</sup> with the Several Inclosures for which I give you many thanks. I hope you will Excuse my having deferred an Answer to it, until

<sup>1</sup> Printed by C. H. Lincoln in American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions and Collections*, 9:48.

<sup>2</sup> This letter has not been found.

my return home which was some days ago, having received it Whilst on a Tour to the seaside for the recovery of my health which was brought very low thro' my fatigues etc.

Tho' I by no means accuse you of neglect of Writing I shall be very happy in your agreeable & friendly Correspondence abstracted from any Motives arising from the subject.

The Extracts you were pleased to send me were very Acceptable, as they contain abundance of Judicious Remarks & Sufficiently shew my much esteemed Mr Franklin's Experience, attention & knowledge in American affairs.

You must before this time have been advised of the New Arrangement of all those matters, and of the Reform by which the Management of the Indian Trade is Committed to the Care & Charge of the respective Colonies Whereby the Alterations which you wisely foresaw, are in part made, the powers of the Super Intend<sup>t</sup> are however pretty strongly tho' Generally Expressed, their sallarys encreased, but they are Limited to a very Small Ann<sup>l</sup> Sum for the Various services & Contingent Expences of their Departments. The Event of which, you seem so Justly Sensible of that I cannot but be entirely of your Opinion, altho' find that the Lords of Trade think every post that is kept up sho<sup>d</sup> be Garrisoned by the Kings Troops. Yet there will be sundry other Expences found necessary for the Colonies to be at for the preservation of the Trade, which may render it impracticable, as a Union of Sentiments on these Occasions cannot be Expected, for the reasons you have Judiciously Assigned.—

The Settlement of the Boundary Line will I believe shortly take place, it is only retarded by reason of the distant residence of the Shawanese & Delawares whose presence I judge necessary not as Owners of the Land but as Nigh Neighbours to the Settlements, to whom they may easily be troublesome. Your Province does not appear concerned in this Line, but as the Governm<sup>t</sup> think the Colonies should give all security to the Transaction by Laws, to prevent their people from Transgressing, which may be a Case Common to every Colony, I thought it best to mention it, and in Case you think the attendance of one or two Commissioners from Your Government necessary to attend the Treaty You will doubtless take measures accordingly.



I have only now to add that I am with perfect Esteem, Sir, Your  
Excell<sup>ty</sup> &c

July 28<sup>th</sup> 1768

To HIS EXCELL<sup>ty</sup> W<sup>m</sup> FRANKLIN Gov<sup>r</sup> of N. Jersey.

GIBAULT<sup>1</sup> TO BRIAND, July 28, 1768

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, p. 10]

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ay l'honneur, dans le moment que je part de ce poste,<sup>2</sup> d'asseurer  
Votre Grandeur de mes respects et de vous rendre compte, autant que  
je le puis faire dans l'embaras ou je me trouve, de ce que j'ay fait dans  
ce poste. Jusqu'ici notre voyage a été des plus lent et des plus pénible  
par la quantité de pluie que nous avons eu depuis Montréal jusqu'à  
Michillimakina nous avons eu vingt deux jours de degra par la pluie,  
sans compter le vent. Ce qu'il y a de consolent c'est que nous n'avons  
manqué de rien, c'est à dire que nous avons eu des vivres pour nous  
rendre sans les épargner, au lieu que les canots qui étoient devant et  
derrière nous ont jeuné jusqu'à vivre de tripe de roche. En arrivant  
dans ce poste, après avoir diné chez Mr le commendant, je suis  
entre au confessional et n'en suis sorti qu'après dix heures, et cepen-

[*Translation*]

MY LORD,

I have the honor, at the time that I leave this post, to assure Your  
Grace of my regard and to render you an account, as well as I can  
make it in the inconvenience in which I find myself, of what I have  
done in this post. Up to this time our journey has been most slow  
and laborious because of the quantity of rain that we have had from  
Montreal to Mackinac. We have had twenty-two days of damage by  
the rain, without counting the wind. The consoling thing is that we  
have lacked nothing. That is to say, we have had provisions to keep  
us without skimping, whereas the canoemen who were before and  
behind us have been reduced to living on *tripe de roche*. Upon ar-  
riving at this post, after having dined with the commander, I entered  
into a confessional and did not leave for ten hours; and yet it is

<sup>1</sup> See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I. H. C., 2), 25.

<sup>2</sup> Gibault is on his way to the Illinois country to assist Father Meurin  
as parish priest.

dant c'est le seul jour ou j'en suis sorti le plus tot. J'ay eu des baptêmes aussi à faire, mais je n'ay fait qu'un seul mariage. J'ay eu de la peine et du chagrin dans mon petit séjour, cependant j'ay eu aussi de la consolation. Ma peine a été de ne pouvoir pas rester assez longtemps pour répondre à l'empressement qu'une quantité prodigieuse de voyageurs m'ont fait paroître pour faire, me disoient-ils, des confessions depuis trois jusqu'à dix ans, ils m'ont fait toutes les prières possibles pour me retenir, m'offrant de nourrir mes gens jusqu'aux Illinois de m'y accompagner avec deux canots, mais n'ayant ordre de Votre Grandeur que pour les Illinois, je crains qu'il n'y arrive quelque malheur par ma faute; il doit partir demain matin quatre canots avec nous qui vont à cent lieues d'ici, qui ont retardé huit jours exprès pour achever leurs confessions. En un mot Dieu n'est point encore tout à fait abandonné dans ces lieux, il ne faudroit que des ouvriers bien résolus à endurer la faim et la soif et à faire un carême continuelle. Comme je n'ay point laissé Mr Despains jusqu'à present et qu'il seroit fort fâché s'il n'arrivoit pas avec moi aux Illi-

[*Translation*]

the only day that I have left that early. I had, also, some baptisms to perform, but only one marriage ceremony. I have had some pain and sorrow in my short sojourn but I have had also some consolation. My pain has been not to be able to remain long enough to respond to the eagerness to confess that a very great number of *voyageurs* have shown me. They have called me for confessions for from three to ten years; they have made all possible entreaties to retain me, offering to support my attendants as far as the Illinois in order to accompany me there with two canoes. But having an order from Your Grace only for the Illinois, I was afraid some trouble would come by my fault. Four canoes of *voyageurs* should leave tomorrow morning with us which will go a hundred leagues from here; they have delayed a week expressly to finish their confessions. In a word God has not been wholly forsaken in these parts. All that is necessary is laborers resolute to endure hunger and thirst and to keep Lent continually. As I have not left Mr. Despains until now and as he will be much grieved if he can not arrive with me in the Illinois, I have been able to remain here only a week. I hope, my Lord, to be very well received in the Illinois, according to the news that I

nois, je n'ay pu rester ici que huit jour. J'espère, Monseigneur, être très bien reçu aux Illinois, selon les nouvelles que j'en ai reçues; les Espagnols ont chassé le R. père Meurin de leurs villages, le commandant anglois l'a fort bien reçu, sans cela sous 24 heures on l'envoyoit à la mer. Pour moy je suis bien charmé qu'il soit de mon bord. J'ay eu en ce poste la visite des sauvages du R. P. Dujonais; ils le regrettent comme le premier jour, quelques uns sont venu à confesse, par ce qu'ils parloient françois, d'autres l'auroient bien voulu, mais nous ne nous entendions point. Je désire de tout mon cœur d'arriver à ma destinée pour remplir les vues de Dieu et celles de Votre Grandeur dont je suis avec tout le respect et la soumission

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

GIBAULT, ptre.

A Michillimakina  
ce 28 juillet 1768.

[*Translation*]

have received. The Spanish have driven Father R. Meurin out of their villages. The English commandant has received him very well; without that in less than twenty-four hours they would have sent him to the sea. As for me I am delighted that he is on my side [of the river]. I have been visited in this post by the savages of Father R. Dujonais; they regret the loss of him as if the first day. Some have come to confess, because they speak French, others would have desired it, but we could not understand each other. I desire with all my heart to arrive at my destination to fulfil the wishes of God and those of Your Grace to whom I am, with all respect & submission

Your very humble & very obedient servant

GIBAULT, priest.

MACKINAC  
July 28, 1768

FARMAR TO HALDIMAND, July 29, 1768

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.677, f. 103.—C.]

MOBILE 29<sup>th</sup> July 1768

SIR

Last night about ten oClock I received the Letter you did me the hon<sup>r</sup> to write the 21<sup>st</sup> Inst<sup>l</sup> enclosing Copies of Certificates for pro-

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

visions drawn by the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment on their passage from Mobile to the Illonois, transmited by His Excellency the Commander in Chief.

In answer to the first part of His Excell<sup>y</sup> demand I have inclosed an Exact Copy of the Orders I imagined sufficiently Authorized my giving two of those Certificates with the remark Judging the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> then to be on as actual Service as ever I have been in, and if I have construed the sentence (not in actual Service) in a different sense then what was intended the Regim<sup>t</sup> must stand Chargible for those Rations.

With respect to the Shape the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment has paid the Stoppage for their provision during their being Quartered in West Florida, for there was none made at the Illonois as money could not be procured by any means to subsist them, the Regiment was so irregularly paid in West Florida that it is impossible for me to ascertain the respective persons or perticular Sums that was paid. the Government in the Publick Acco<sup>ts</sup> has Credit for four hundred & five pounds four Shillings & Eight pence. I believe some may be left in the hands of the paymaster General at New York and the paymaster of West Florida or was deposited in the hands of M<sup>r</sup> Dugal Campbell then Commissary of Stores, but this will all appear by the paymaster of the Reg<sup>ts</sup> books I do not apprehend there can be much difficulty in settling these Acco<sup>ts</sup> as the Q<sup>r</sup> Master had orders when the money could not be collected (that's when Cash could not be had to Subsist them) to make up the Acco<sup>ts</sup> every Month and deliver them into the paymaster who was directed to charge the respective Company's with their proportion of the Ration Money.

Soon after the Regiments Arrival at Illonois with the concurrence of the Captains present there was small notes Issued out, I beleive to the Amount of two Months Subsistance in order to provide the Men with small Articles and necessary the paymaster gave the Merchants and others that bought in these circulating Notes, bills on the Agent in London for the Amount of them, And this is all the Subsistance the Regiment received during the time I was with them at Illonois,<sup>1</sup>

This Sir is all the insight I can give, on application to the Reg<sup>t</sup> I make no doubt but that full Satisfaction will be obtained

<sup>1</sup> See proclamation concerning this, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 153-155.

*HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, AUGUST 13, 1768* 373

I have the Honor to be with respect Sir Your most ob<sup>t</sup> & most  
H<sup>l</sup><sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

(Signed) ROBT FARMAR.

BRIG<sup>R</sup> GEN<sup>EL</sup> FRED<sup>K</sup> HALDIMAND,

Commanding His Majestys troops in the Southern District

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, August 13, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, p. 287—Draft.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 12.)

WHITEHALL August the 13<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MAJOR GENERAL GAGE.

SIR,

The King having thought fit that Your Letter to me N<sup>o</sup> 3,<sup>1</sup> containing Opinions & Propositions in respect to the illinois Country, should be laid before a Committee of His Servants for their Consideration and Advice to His Majesty thereupon, before any further Steps are taken; I am not yet able to transmit to You any particular Directions in respect thereto, and have only to add to my former Dispatch of the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, of which I now send a Duplicate, that it is His Majesty's Intention, that if you shall be of Opinion that His Service may require that the Ship which carries Lord Botetourt to Virginia, and that which convoys the Transports to Boston, should remain in the American Seas, You should represent that Opinion to the Commander in chief of the Naval Force within whose Department it lies to give such Directions thereupon, as he shall judge expedient, and who will doubtless think it proper to pay a due Attention to whatever You shall recommend.

I have the King's Commands, in Consequence of an Order of His Majesty in Council, to transmit to You the inclosed Copy of a Petition presented to His Majesty, praying a Grant, under certain Conditions, of all Copper Mines in the Country circumjacent to Lake Superior, Sixty Miles from the Waters of the Lake; I am also directed to send You a Copy of the Report of the Board of Trade upon this Petition, and as His Majesty approves what is advised by their Lordships, You will therefore be pleased to make a full Enquiry into the Facts alledged, and the Practicability of the Proposals, and report

<sup>1</sup> June 16, 1768, *ante*, 314.

Your Opinion what Effect the Execution of this Measure will probably have as to His Majesty's Interests with respect to the Indians, and by what means they might be induced to consent to such Establishments, as would be necessary for obtaining the Advantages stated to arise from these Proposals, in Case His Majesty should, upon further Consideration, think it advisable to comply therewith.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH.

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. Whitehall, August the 13<sup>th</sup> 1768.—(N<sup>o</sup> 12) Ent<sup>d</sup>

GAGE TO JOHNSON, August 14, 1768

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK, August 14, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I have just received your's of the 5<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>;<sup>1</sup> whether the Belts mentioned by the Chippewa Chief, to have gone amongst the Western Nations, are those which were passed thr'o the Nations the Beginning of the Winter, or any new Affair, he has not Explained. There was no doubt a Stirr amongst them, and the French Traders will invent Lyes, and excite them to Mischief, as long as they remain Neighbours to us; and that there is a Competition for the Trade between them and the English Traders. I have ordered<sup>2</sup> all the French Traders to be seized, who are found on our side of the Mississippi; and have given notice thereof to Don Ulloa, that he may publish his order, to prohibit either Traders or Hunters from transgressing their Boundaries, by coming into His Majesty's Territorys.

I have heard nothing from the Province of Jersey concerning the Business of the Boundary, as I did not write to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of that Province about it. But Governor Sharpe laid my Letter to him before the Council of Maryland who did not apprehend their Province to be anyways affected by running the Line as described in the Report of the Board of Trade and had nothing to communicate upon the subject. Both the Mentioned Provinces ought no doubt to pass Laws to prevent the Transgression of the Boundaries could People

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> We have not seen this order.

transgress them immediately from their Jurisdictions, which I apprehend will not be the Case, as they must go into other Provinces before they can reach the Boundary.

The omission of the Province of New York should be remarked to the Secretary of State which I mean to do by first opportunity. And in this affair which is meant to be general, that Province ought to be included; or more work will remain to be done hereafter, if not finished now. You may depend upon it that no Province will abide by any Boundary that shall be settled at this Congress between the Provinces respectively; tho their respective Governors should agree upon it. And in my opinion you would give yourself very needless Trouble in trying to settle more than a Boundary between the Indian's Lands and the Provinces in general.

I am very glad the Affair of Kagaderoperas<sup>1</sup> is at length accommodated. Be so good to send the Papers about Rogers to Gov<sup>t</sup> Carleton as soon as possible. Major Rogers is arrived at Montreal, and they only wait the evidences from Missilimakinac to begin his Tryal.

I am with great Regard,

Dr Sir, your most obedient humble servant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

B. AND M. GRATZ TO MACKAY, August 15, 1768

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> August 1768

Sir your favour of ☿ Mr Bousman we received with 4 Draughts drawn by Mr Thomas Hutchins on Newyork and Philad<sup>a</sup> three of them with their Vouchers have sent for Acceptance. The other one on Mr M<sup>c</sup>Kay, we must keep here untill he comes, as Neither him nor Coll<sup>t</sup> Crogan have as yet arrived here, I suppose they are with S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnstone. We make no Doubt but you have received our Letters before now, as also 2 Loads Rum by W<sup>m</sup>. Ryan, as ☿ the inclosed Receipt, hope came safe to your Hands The Remainder of your Order is all ready to go in the Waggon, we Expect to send off all your Goods this Week, as we have already agreed with 2 Waggon, from Cumberland County to be here this Day or to-Morrow, to take 3 Loads up to you, and we Expect to get 2 Dutch Waggon from this County to take up the rest, so that were in hopes of getting your

<sup>1</sup> MSS. illegible as to first letter, which appears to be either "K" or "R."

Orders all Compleated and sent off this Week if the Cumberland County Waggon don't disapoint us, if they should must look out for others this Week, shall write you more fully @ next Opportunity, in the mean time believe us to be with much Esteem

Sir your most Obedient & Hum<sup>bl</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup>

B & M G

To M<sup>r</sup> Eneas M<sup>c</sup>Kay @ Pittsburg

WILKINS TO GAGE, August 15, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 16:140b—E.]

[*MS. burned*]m M<sup>c</sup>Adam Informs me that Joseph Gorham [*MS. burned*]rawn Bills on him, which will be returned on [*MS. burned*] with protest As William M<sup>c</sup>Adam has not [*MS. burned*]ble to obtain payment of Gorhams Bill on you [*MS. burned*] Sterling due Early in may, last. off this [*MS. burned*] Hugh Wallace wrote to Sir William Johnson [*MS. burned*] times on this Subject without receiveing [*MS. burned*]ctory Answer—

WILKINS TO GAGE, August 15, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:140—E.]

Extract of a Letter from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel Wilkins;<sup>2</sup> to General Gage, Dated, About 150 Miles below the Ohio Falls, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1768.<sup>3</sup>

A canoe has just now met me from Fort Chartres in 16 Days, and by Letters &c I find that about 26 Indians have cutt off a Boat and Crew sent out by Baynton Wharton & C<sup>o</sup> to kill Buffalo at or near the Ouabache, only One Man escaped, A Young Man is here in the Canoe, who with Six others and as many Horse Load of Skins &c coming from the Natches fell in with the same Party of Indians who killed all but himself, about 100 Miles from the Ouabache, they took him Prisoner and told him they were Miamis and that the Man that made His Escape above mentioned, Shot One of their Warriors before he went of.

[*Endorsed:*] Extr<sup>t</sup> of a Letter from L<sup>t</sup> Col: Wilkins to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage dated below Ohio falls 15th Augt 1768.

<sup>1</sup> Partially destroyed in the Albany fire. An extract attached to a letter from Wilkins to Gage, August 15, 1768.

<sup>2</sup> For biographical note see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I.H.C., 5), 18, n. 2; also June 18, 1768, *ante*, 322.

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the journey of Wilkins and his regiment from Philadelphia to Fort de Chartres see September 15, 1768, *post*, 409-411.



*GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, AUGUST 17, 1768* 377

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, August 17, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 291—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 7)

NEW YORK, August 17<sup>th</sup>: 1768.

MY LORD,

Upon the Representations made to Don Ulloa and Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry, the latter has published a Proclamation, forbidding the French Traders, from going on the East Side of the Mississippi, and threatens to send all Persons in Irons to Pensacola, who shall be detected in exciting the Savages to commit Disturbances. I am to hope the like Proclamation will be published in the Country above, amongst the Inhabitants opposite to the Illinois, if it will have any Effect upon People, almost as wild as the Savages themselves.

Brigadier General Haldimand, has embarked 41 Deserters, who have come in to him from Louisiana, for the Grenadoes; to be incorporated in the Regiments, stationed in the ceded Islands. Report informs of many more being in Louisiana, who will not surrender upon the Terms that have been offered them.

“The latest Accounts from the Illinois Country, is of the 13<sup>th</sup> of April. Captain Forbes of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who at present commands in that Country, acquaints me,<sup>1</sup> he had met with great Opposition from the Inhabitants, on his endeavoring to form them into regular Companys of Militia. They shewed a remarkable Spirit of Disaffection on the Occasion, declaring they were not obliged to appear in Arms, from the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity they had taken; that it would give Umbrage to the Indians, who had no Quarrel with them as they were French-men, and they were determined to remain Neuter, whatever Nations we were at War with, either civilized or Savage. Upon Captain Forbes insisting on their obedience to the Order, they threatened to leave the Settlement, and go over to the French and Spaniards, but finding he was not to be moved by such Threats, and that he was determined to compel them to Obedience, they were at length arrayed.

The strictest orders have been repeatedly given, to treat the Inhabitants on all Occasions, with Lenity, Moderation and Justice; that they shall not suffer any Insults either from Officers or Soldiers, but be permitted to enjoy unmolested, the common Rights of Mankind, and be protected against all violence, towards their Persons and

<sup>1</sup> This letter from Captain Forbes has not been found.

Properties. On this Occasion I have desired they may be informed, that as they receive Protection from their King, He has a Right to demand their Service, whenever there shall be occasion to demand it, and I expected for the future a more dutyful Behavior towards their Sovereign, or they must expect to feel the Weight of his Displeasure.

I have the honor to transmit your Lordship, some Extracts of Captain Forbes's Letter,<sup>1</sup> concerning the Trade of the Illinois, which corresponds with other Accounts on that head, and what from the Situation of the Country, and the Position of the French Settlements, might be expected. The Captain has done everything in his Power to be usefull to his Country, but the Traders can get to no British Port down the Mississippi, till they procure Ships at New-Orleans, to carry them to Sea.

Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins marched early in June from Philadelphia, with seven Companys of the 18th Regiment, to relieve the Garrisons of the 34th Regiment, in Forts Pitt and Chartres; but met with so many obstructions, in the back parts of Pensylvania, where the Inhabitants, who pay little regard to Laws, refused to furnish him with Carriages, that he could not embark for the Illinois, sooner than the 20th of July. It is hoped, however, he will relieve Fort-Chartres time enough, for the present Garrison to join their Corps at Philadelphia, by the month of December.

Some Disturbance happened at Missilimakinac, on the Occasion of sending Major Rogers from that Fort, to the Detroit; a disorderly Tribe of the Chippewas, went there with their Arms; and threw their English Belts into the Lake, and invited other Nations to join them to release the Major from his Confinement. The officer Commanding, tryed to pacify them by various Methods, but at length put the Garrison under Arms, and by the help of two Armed Boats conveyed Major Rogers on Board a Vessel, and sent him to the Detroit. He is since arrived at Montreal, where he will be tried as soon as the necessary Evidences can be collected.

In the Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, on the proposed Plan for the future Management of the Indians; Their Lordships recommend, the Sum of £1,000 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> An<sup>m</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> See following document. It was probably not transmitted however, until January 6, 1769. See endorsement, *post*, 382; compare also Forbes to Gage, April 15, 1768, *ante*, 241.

each of the Superintendants, but Sir William Johnson has represented, that the Board has not attended to his Deputys, Interpreters, and Smiths, who are so necessary to his Department, that without their Assistance, he will not be able to do the Business of it. I have desired Sir William, to make out a new List of the Officers, now required for his Department, agreeable to the Reform made therein, with an Estimate of their Pay. And that the Commissarys appointed by him, for the Management of the Indian Trade, may be discharged, as Soon as ever the Service will permit it. I don't perceive that the Provinces, have yet formed any System for the Carrying on their Trade, and seem a good deal puzzled about it; Notwithstanding Many People here, before the Trade was thrown into their hands, seemed very desirous to have the Management of it themselves, and talked of it as the properest way to have the Trade well Managed. As it is a Business that must be attended with Expence, they perhaps wait the Sitting of their Assembly, before any Resolution can be taken.

The Congress with the Six Nations, and Indians of Ohio, for the Settlement of the general Boundary, is expected to be held sometime next Month: Sir William Johnson has calculated the Expence of the Presents to be made on the Occasion, and other Articles, will amount to ten thousand Pounds Stirling; which he Esteems a small Sum, in Consideration of the large Tract of Country that the Indians are to cede to the Crown. He observes likewise, that the Boundary Line, as marked in the Map, transmitted by your Lordship, beginning at Owegy on the East-Branch of Susquehanna, does not include any Boundary, between the Province of New-York and the Indian's Lands; and unless the Line is continued Northerly from Owegy, so as to form Limits between the Six Nations, and Province of New-York, the Indians will not be Secure, and the Affair of the Boundary defeated, in it's principal Object.

The long Dispute between the Patentees of the Kayadorossera Patent, and the Mohock Indians, has at last been settled. The Patentees have agreed to pay the Mohocks 5000 Dollars, to relinquish all further Claims to the Lands.

A Chief of the Chippewas, with some others of his Nation, have lately been with Sir William Johnson to inform him of the Discontents of the several nations to the Westward, and of Belts, which he

declares came from the Mississippi, and went through all their Nations. That some Tribes had already accepted them, and the Chipewas waited his Return to know what steps they Should take. The Chief was sent back with a handsome Present, and carried a Speech to his Nation, which perhaps was the End and Design of his visit.

The Accounts from all parts, of Belts being Sent amongst the Indian Nations, to excite them by various Artifices against the English, are too well Authenticated to admit of a doubt; but as it can not be the Interests of the French or Spaniards, no more than our own, to create Disturbances amongst the distant Indians, whereby all Partys must be sufferers, without a Prospect of any immediate Benefit to either, It is rather to be imagined that the French Traders have taken those measures, without Authority. And as they most of them Speak the Indian Languages, it is not difficult for them to obtain Credit with the Savages, who are Naturally suspicious and credulous, and the more easily listen to any Reports to our Prejudice; as they are become Jealous of our Power, to a very great Degree. But th'o the French may not be desirous of promoting immediate Hostilities, People from Canada and the Mississippi, do certainly endeavor to keep up the Interest of the French, amongst all the Indian Nations, to make use of on a good Occasion. They desire them to hold fast the old Chain of Friendship, assure them that their Father will return, and request they will keep the Axe bright, and ready to strike, as soon as a proper Opportunity shall offer.

The Commissioners on the part of Georgia, have been employed with the Deputys from the Creeks, in marking out the Boundary behind Georgia. And the Creeks have restored such of the Negroe Slaves, as could be taken; they were also in pursuit of others, who made their Escape from the Indian Towns, when they found they were to be delivered up, The Scalp of one of those Fugitives was brought in and delivered to the Commissary, which Circumstance will break that Intercourse between the Indians and Negroes, so much to be dreaded by all the Southern Provinces.

Since the Chikesaws have declared against the Creeks, the latter have changed their Inclination for War, have desired Peace with the Chikesaws, and recalled their Partys who were going against the Chactaws. But the Chikesaws are not at present disposed to listen

to terms of Accomodation, and Mr Steuart will use his Endeavors, to prevent any Peace being made between those Nations, unless under his Mediation. The Creeks some time ago rejected Mr Steuart's Offers, to conciliate a Peace between them and the Chactaws, and it is proper we should be Arbiters in all their Quarrells.

The End of October, is the time appointed for the Cherokees to meet the Commissioners from Virginia at Colonel Chiswell's Mine, in order to run the Boundary Line behind that Province; and they express great Satisfaction, at the Prospect of having our Claims clearly ascertained.

Notwithstanding the Cherokees have expressed their Satisfaction, in the Circumstance of the Boundary, and testified great Joy on the News of the Peace, we have lately obtained for them, with the Northern Indians; we have Reason to be much displeased, at the Behavior of their War-Party, who have killed two or three French People, and Eight Emigrants from Virginia near the Ohio, and there are Reports at the Detroit, that they have killed Nineteen French and Indians at the Illinois. They have besides brought in two French-Men Prisoners, and would not deliver them up without Difficulty. The Prisoners have been sent down to Charles Town, in order to be forwarded to the Mississippi by Sea. Mr. Steuart has sent messages to the Chiefs of this Nation to demand satisfaction, and to know the Reason of such bad Behavior.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, and most humble Servant

THO<sup>S</sup>. GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York Aug<sup>st</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 7) R/ 1<sup>st</sup> October A. 19.

COMMERCE IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, f. 67—C.]

(Copy)p<sup>r</sup>

Information of the State of Commerce in the Illinois Country given by Captain Forbes of his Majesty's 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

All the Trade carried on by the English in the Illinois Country is down the Ohio, it is sold 30 p<sup>r</sup> Cent dearer than the French Merchandise by a Company of English Merchants now in that Country, owing to the high Price they pay for land carriage from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt. The French Inhabitants on our Side the Mississippi have not the least Commerce or Intercourse with any British Settlement, they are in general Traders and bring all their Merchandise up the Mississippi from New Orleans, the Returns they make are all in Peltry or Bills of Exchange, the latter they receive for Provisions delivered into the Garrison for the Use of the King's Troops, and Liquors purchased of them by the Officers, The only Method that can be taken to oblige the Traders to carry their Peltry to a British Port is that which has been already put in Execution causing them to give Bond that such a number of Sacks of Peltry should be landed at such a British Port.

I am of Opinion that there is a greater Quantity of French than English Manufactures consumed at present in the Illinois, the Reason is, that the French on both sides the Mississippi have it in their Power to send Goods into the Indian Nations, without running the Risk of being plunder'd by the Savages, and many of our Traders of late have not only been plundered but lost their Lives; the only means that can prevent French Goods being imported into the Illinois and its Dependencies will be by establishing the following Posts, S<sup>t</sup> Vincent, the Cherokee Fort upon the River Ohio, and Fort Dupice<sup>1</sup> upon the Illinois River, where the Traders may carry on a very extensive Trade with the Indians living upon the Missouri, they having frequently expressed a Desire of an open Trade with the English. Tho' the above mentioned Posts be established the Subjects on our side may send Peltry over the River in the Night, and have French Goods in Return. the Reason for this contraband Trade is, that the French Goods are 30 p<sup>r</sup>Cent cheaper, and it's said they can sell their Peltry five and twenty p<sup>r</sup>Cent more to their Advantage at New Orleans than at any British Port.

[*Endorsed:*] Information of the State of Commerce in the Illinois Country given by Captain Forbes 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment. In Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's (N<sup>o</sup> 22) of 6 Jan<sup>r</sup> 1769. Inclosure 2.

<sup>1</sup> This was probably meant for Dupée, the abbreviated form of Peoria.

LEAKE TO JOHNSON, August 22, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:142—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK 22<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1768

HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR

I have the honor of yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> <sup>1</sup> and if it be faulty, few are less ceremonious or Punctilious with friends or strangers than myself, it is true time has elaps'd since I did myself the pleasure of writing but my reasons were, that I would not be troublesom about the once flattering prospect of part of the Lands bought from the Natives, at the time then fed by others.

Our friend M<sup>r</sup> Croghan Judged right, in regard to the necessity of sending a Deputy to the Illinois, but mentioned it too late, as M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Millan set out from Fort Pitt on the 20<sup>th</sup> of last month for that place, I have a great regard for M<sup>r</sup> Byrne and wish it were in my power to serve him but most of the Deputies have been, and soon will more of them be Reduced, some of them are got into Bread and others much to, and at a loss to maintain themselves I had their case much at heart, perhaps more than my own, and have as yet suffer'd for it, but I am not intimidated by the would be greats here, I wish every One, if it was only for their own honour, would be Just, I do not mean any part to You, I ever am with great esteem, Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> hble Servant

ROB<sup>T</sup> LEAKE

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] New York 22<sup>d</sup> August 1768 M<sup>r</sup> Leakes Letter concerng M<sup>r</sup> Byrns.

JOHNSON TO GAGE, August 24, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 16:144—Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL Aug<sup>t</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1768.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last of the 5th Inst I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 7<sup>th</sup> <sup>2</sup> and 14th.<sup>3</sup> The Accot you mention produced by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan for £900. I sent down by M<sup>r</sup> Adems, & do not positively recollect at present, farther about it than that the Frenchman

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> This letter has not been found.

<sup>3</sup> Printed *ante*, 374.

who brought it was employed by Croghan & Cole on Sundry Messages & Services.

The Extract you transmitted me contains in Gen<sup>l</sup> a very Just State of the Affairs at the Illinois, The more Indians get, the more they will Expect nevertheless there is a necessity for Expences, and nothing Can be done with them without it but, in that point Judgment is required, when it shall be incurred, and how favors shall be dispensed. I have taken notice of Coll Reeds Certifying Expences, and cannot but observe that Gentlemen whatever their sentiments of Indians are previous to their going to the Outposts, seem to alter them when there, & to Consider all Expences incurred as Extremely necessary to the Publick Service. Major Roger's Accots having been most Amply Certified by all the Officers as absolutely necessary, the contrary to the private opinion of some of them as Signified by Letters to me has furnished the Traders concerned with many Arguments for their being paid, and makes some very clamorous on that Subject. The heavy Expences incurred at the Illinois at a time when the strictest Oeconomy was recommended induced me to direct that M<sup>r</sup> Cole should be removed had no Reform taken place.<sup>1</sup> From our present Extensive Alliances & Connections with the Indians, from their own Natural disposition & prejudices and from the proceedings of our Artful Lurking Enemy, it is necessary that some men should remain in different Quarters over & besides the Deputys to transact Indian Affairs, & to Counteract those disturbers of the peace whether Whites or Indians. It is as Certain that they cannot be there to any purpose without Expence, but it should be moderate, arising from the nature & Absolute Necessity of the Service, how long the present Reform will for the reasons I have given will be deemed safe, or Elligible every man, acquainted with these matters can Judge. I have sent the necessary papers to Canada, tho' I apprehend they will not be of much Importance, as I gave Rogers but few Instructions, and had no Conversation with, or opportunity of Seeing him since his departure for his post. I find it is presupposed that he cannot be hurt, if so, and that means are not fallen upon to prevent him from having it in his power to prosecute his designs, we shall probably find him in a little time realising his plan on some of our Frontiers, for the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Johnson to Gage, April 8, 1768, *ante*, 239.



Indignities which (as he takes it) he has met with Will but Whet him on to obtain Revenge.

The Commiss<sup>rs</sup> have all received Orders to make up their Accots to the 25<sup>th</sup> of September after which they are to be discontinued, but on a farther consideration of the matter I apprehend it may be necessary to keep them to the March following, least anything might happen, which might give the Provinces occasion to say that they had not sufficient time to fall upon a plan for Supplying their places. If you think I am right please let me know.

I have likewise taken notice to the Sec<sup>y</sup> of State of the omission of the Province of N York is the boundary, & Shewn why it ought to now be settled, but as an Answer cannot be expected in due time, I think it best not to omit the opportunity which will so shortly offer for settling it, Submitting it to his Majesty for conformation. The Season being now far advanced, and the Virginia Commissioners obliged to Attend a meeting on the borders of N Carolina, the latter end of October,<sup>1</sup> and no news of the Shawanese & Delawares I think it best to direct the Messengers, who waits their arrival in the Senecas Country, to come down with the Six Nations & any others at hand, so as to meet me at Fort Stanwix about the 16th of September. Indeed I very much doubted from what I had heard of the coming of the Shawanese &c as their Cheifs went from Mr Chrogan at Fort Pitt amongst the Misisipi Nations, and altho' I should have been glad they were present, I can see no particular necessity for it, as the Six Nations are the undoubted Owners, and as such Considered by all the rest, who at a former meeting with me promised to pay due submission to whatever the 6 Nations sho<sup>d</sup> agree upon regarding it.

The Chipeweigh Chief Spoke of belts lately sent thro' the Nations, and of French & Spanish Officers as he Called them who actually came amongst them gave large presents to the Indians with the Strongest Assurances of a War in the Spring and that such persons were busied in persuading the Indians to go over the Misisipi, where they were Assured that the English were compleatly hemmed in above & below the Illinois.

<sup>1</sup> This was the congress with the Cherokees held at Hard Labor, October 14, 1768, at which time the boundary between Virginia and the territory of these Indians was determined upon.

I have now with me sev<sup>l</sup> Misiagas on much the same Errand, with corroborating Intelligence. I have in a Letter to Lord Hillsborough<sup>1</sup> Shewn the Necessity of an Augmentation of the Sum proposed by an Addition of £1000 Ster P A. for the necessary Depys & other Officers, I therein said that I sho<sup>d</sup> Transmit an Estimate thereof to you which I now do, requesting the favor of you to make such use of it as you shall think proper, for there is no conducting the Affairs of the Ind<sup>n</sup> Departm<sup>t</sup> with<sup>t</sup> the few necessary assistants Included therein.

His Excell<sup>y</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage

[*Endorsed:*] Augt. 24<sup>th</sup> 1768. To Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage.

ULLOA TO GAGE, August 29, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, f. 21—T.]

Extract of a Translation of a Letter from D Antonio d' Ulloa, Governor of New Orleans, to General Gage.

Dated NEW ORLEANS, August 29<sup>th</sup> 1768.

As to what Your Excellency mentions in regard to the Disorders committed by the Spanish Traders, I do not doubt but such things were done before my time, but since my coming here, I have not heard of any such thing, having given the most strict Orders, to the Commanders of the different Posts, by no means to permit the Spanish Subjects to pass to the English, nor to have any Commerce with them, except in particular cases of necessity requiring any to go, and then to have passports directed to the English Commander of the District to which they belong, under Penalty, that if they be found without one, they shall be entirely deprived of the rights of the Nation, and shall be Chastised by the English Chiefs at their Pleasure as the Breakers of the Peace and good Harmony that Subsists between the Two Powers, and as it introduces disorders in the Indian Nation prejudicial to the Service of the two Soverigns. And as to our part, we shall proceed against them by Seizing upon their Effects, and sending them to Prison, to receive a correspondent Chastisement.

Beside these strict Orders which I have given to the Commanders, I have likewise provided that no Trader shall go from hence, nor shall proceed to Trade with the Nations on the Western Side of this River, without having a Passport from me, which shall be shewn at

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8: 93, *et seq.*

all the Spanish Forts in the way, in which Passport is expressed the Nation where the Person is permitted to Trade, without giving him the Liberty of introducing himself to others; And to be Answerable for all the bad consequences that may happen from Quarrels on the part of the Indians. In this manner Your Excellency will see that they are not at their Liberty to go amongst the English when they will, nor where they please amongst the Spaniards, because every Commander shall Sign each Passport, which will prevent the Excesses which formerly used to be Committed.

The Commander of Penmure<sup>1</sup> at Natchee's has experienced the Effects of this good Correspondence, for on two Occasions, when some of their Indians attempted a Quarrel on pretence of being ill treated, upon notice being given at Fort Louis,<sup>2</sup> they dissuaded them from it, and Advised them to live in Peace, of which the Spanish Commandant gave Notice. Another Affair of the same Nature happened in Peneur,<sup>3</sup> when the Peace and quiet of the Nations were demanded to be kept in the Name of the King as necessary to preserving the good Harmony that Subsisted between the Two Crowns, As a means of which we are obliged to lend all the Aid and Assistance necessary, and to appear against every Evil design of the Indians, of one and the other part.

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Translation of a Letter from D Antonio d'Ulloa Governor of New Orleans, to General Gage. Dated New Orleans August 29<sup>th</sup> 1768. In Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's (N<sup>o</sup> 21) of 5 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1769. Inclosure 3.

B. AND M. GRATZ TO MURRAY, August 31, 1768

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

MR WILLIAM MURRAY

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 31 August 1768

DR SIR

This Moment we heard of this Opport<sup>y</sup> to the Ilionoies in about an hour, so that we have only Time to say how do, and hope you have had a pleasant Voyage of it we make no Doubt you have received our several Letters to you but we never received any Answer to any of them we mentioned to you in them with regard to the Goods you

<sup>1</sup> Panmure.

<sup>2</sup> A few leagues below the Natchez.

<sup>3</sup> Probably intended for Pencour, another form of Paincourt.

have taken with you that you might do as you please, you may Concern us in them if you please, and let us know ~~at~~ first Opportunity if not you might keep them on your own Account, only them Goods we sent in Comp<sup>y</sup> and if Opportunity offers down to you, we shall send you some Shoes & Stockins &<sup>c</sup> on our Joint Acco<sup>t</sup> this Fall yet, but if no Opportunity should offer from Fort Pitt down, we shall be obliged to referr till early in the Spring, before which Time hope to hear from you what Sort of Goods will best Answer, with you, that we may send you such as answers best and good profits, me [*sic*] make no Doubt but M<sup>rs</sup> Murray & Children got safe to you, of whose Arrival we shall be glad to hear Abram Mitchel has not yet payd, but promis'd this Week. if he dont shall Employ an Attorney No News in Town give us leave to assure you Dear Sir we are your wellwishers &<sup>c</sup>

Our best Respects attends M<sup>rs</sup> Murray Frank & Miss Jenny & M<sup>r</sup> Burch.

WILKINS TO GAGE, September 13, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, f. 63—E.]

Extracts of a Letter from Lieut. Col. Wilkins, 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment to General Gage Dated, FORT CHARTRES, 13<sup>th</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> 1768.

Your Excellency's Orders with respect to the Change of Currency, shall have Strict Attention paid to it, & put into Immediate Force; I will likewise make use of every means in my Power to prevent the Specie being sent out of the Country, as the French of New Orleans are the Sole gainers on this Trade, & the Publick suffer greatly thereby: Your directions respecting watching the motions of Our Neighbors, shall also be duly Observed. I am told by a Gentleman to be depended on, who lately made a visit to the Missouri, that they have Built a small Fort, on the south side of that River, at it's Junction with the Mississippi, by positive directions of Don Ulloa, without knowing the height of the Ground there. They expected to be obliged to abandon it the last Spring, but the Floods did not rise so high, as they have every Season for many Years past, by several Yards. This Gentleman was so curious as to measure the Fort several times; It is Twenty two Yards Square, with small double Bastions. They have Five Cannon, Four Pounders; The Pickets of which the Fort

<sup>1</sup> Compare December 5, 1769, *post*, 631.

Consists are 14 Feet high, very bad kind of wood, mostly Button Tree; They have a double row of Barracks, capable to contain Fifty Men, Thirty are now stationed there, including a Corporal and Twelve; who are in a Blockhouse on the north side of the Missouri, & who are relieved every month. At this small Fort, they have all the Iron Works for a large Fort, which is to be Built on the most advantageous ground they can find, near the Confluence of the Missouri. This intended Fort they always Speak of, as the *Grand Fort*, & is designed to be of Stone; We shall shortly know the result thereof, as their Convoy & Troops are looked for, the latter end of this, or the beginning of next Month. There are at present Two Spanish Officers, & one Cadet in the Illinois; the Captain of a very good Character, named Piece, he is constantly at S<sup>t</sup> Louis, 6 Leagues below the Missouri the other is a Lieutenant.

I shall take care to cultivate a good Understanding with them, as Your Excellency so justly Recommends.

It is not possible that I can yet be so well Acquainted with the Nature of the Commerce here, as to Satisfy Your Excellency on that head, but Capt Forbes & other Gentlemen have convinced me, that it is absolutely necessary for the Encouragement and Benefit of Trade, that there should be a Garrison at Post St. Vincents, a Detachment at the Confluence of the Illinois River, One at Kahokia, & I am well assured, that a Small Fort at Massaick on the Ohio, would be of great advantage to His Majesty's Service; for the reasons Your Excellency is already acquainted with.

These are the only real effectual methods which can be fallen on, to put a stop to the Immense Contraband Trade, & promote the Consumption of such large Quantities of British Manufactures as would in a short time defray all the Expences, & by suppressing all illicit Commerce giving Encouragement to British Merchants & Settlers: this would in a few Years, become a strong Barrier to the middle Colonies.

Untill I receive Your Excellency's further Orders, I shall content myself with putting in Execution your proposals respecting the armed Boats alone, unless I find it absolutely Necessary to send a Detachment to Post Vincent where the King's Houses in the late Fort are still standing, but want some Repairs, as likewise the Stockade.

An Immense Trade is said annually to be carried on by the French to this Place; This & the allowing French Merchandize publickly to be landed here &ca, must have greatly injured the British Trader and Manufacturer.

A Priest is much wanted here, the old Gentleman, Pere Murrain, whom You have no doubt heard of, is too far advanced in Years, to officiate as he ought; such a one as You mention might certainly be usefull in many particulars. Father Murrain has visited me, & has Spoke about several Houses and pieces of Land, which he alledges the Church has been wronged off.

There has certainly been great Collusion between the Merchants, on this, & the other side, greatly to the disadvantage of the British Interest, by means whereof Immense quantitys of French Goods & Manufactures have been, and are daily introduced amongst the Indians & the Inhabitants in the King's Territorys; I shall do all in my power to defeat their Design.

It is yet Impossible for me to give Your Excellency a Return relative to the Quantity of Peltry annually Exported from hence.

At Post Vincent, there is no other Money passes but Peltry & generally Furrs. But I can assure Your Excellency that no other Person Except Baynton & Comp<sup>y</sup> have yet given Bond, that their Peltry shall be Landed at a British Market; And it is certain, that there is not One Twentieth part of the Trade, in this Country, all the rest must of Consequence go to the French Markets.

I will Endeavor to Inform myself very particularly with respect to the best place for Building of a Fort, in case Fort Chartres Should be destroyed by the Mississippi gaining on it's Banks.

No Judgement can yet be form'd, whether or not the Work which has been begun, will Secure it; But everything in my Power shall be done for that desireable purpose.

As Your Excellency knows the French People very well, You will Sooner Imagine than I can describe the Plague & Trouble they have & intend to give Me with their little disputes, & their Claim for their little Habitations on this Side, which they vainly think (from some hints, I have given, to do them all the Justice in my Power; And if they would return, give them Indulgence on this side the River,) that they have only to come here, & Sell those Habitations, & then to retire where they Please.

ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 391

They won't give me time to point out Happiness to them in the way Your Excellency Desires.

I have done all in my Power to give Your Excellency Some Idea of my Situation at this Post, and shall continue to Act for the best.

[Endorsed:] Extracts of a Letter from Lieut. Col. Wilkins 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment to General Gage. Dated, Fort Chartres, 13<sup>th</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's (No. 22) of 6 Jan<sup>r</sup> 1769. Inclosure 1.

ACCOUNT OF BAYNTON, WHARTON & MORGAN;<sup>1</sup> WITH CERTIFICATES OF COMMISSARY EDWARD COLE AND CAPT. GORDON FORBES, September 13, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 25:120]  
by Order of Edward Cole [MS. burned]  
the Illinois Country.

.....[MS. burned]				
March 26.	4 lbs Powder	8/—	[MS. burned]	
	8 lbs Ball	18 <sup>a</sup>	[MS. burned]	
	6 lbs Tobacco	4/—	[MS. burned]	
	6 Knives	2/6	15	[MS. burned]
	1 lb Paint	32/—	1	12—[MS. burned]
28.	½ Gallon Rum	24/—	12—	[MS. burned]
			£ 6	[MS. burned]
<hr/>				
29.	14 Match Coats	20/—	14	— —
	14 Shirts	16/—	11	4 —
	14 p <sup>r</sup> . Leggings	12/—	8	8 —
	10 Breech Clouts	12/—	6	— —
	12 lbs Brass Kettles	8/—	4	16 —
30.	500 Wampum in a Belt	8/—	2	— —
	10 lbs Tobacco	4/—	2	— —
	2 Fuzees	40/—	4	— —
	4 Petticoats	16/—	3	4 —
	4 Strouds	32/—	6	8 —
	1 Gallon Rum	24/—	1	4 —
<hr/>				
			63	4 —

<sup>1</sup> We are publishing this account of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan as a typical one. The account books of the firm are found in the Division of Public Records, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

April 1 <sup>st</sup>	25 Shirts	16/—	20	—	—		
	10 lbs Vermillion	32/—	16	—	—		
	25 lbs Powder	8/—	10	—	—		
	50 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup>	3	15	—		
	30 large Knives	2/6	3	15	—		
	24 lbs Tobacco	4/—	4	16	—		
	100 Flints	16/—		16	—		
Carried forward		£59	2	—	£69	11	—
[MS. burned]		24/—	2	8	—	82	18 —
[MS. burned]		8/—	4	—	—		
[MS. burned]		18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	10	—		
[MS. burned]		2/—	1	4	—		
[MS. burned]		16/—	8	—	—		
[MS. burned]		20/—	10	—	—		
[MS. burned]ggings		12/—	6	—	—		
[MS. burned]		32/—	3	4	—		
10 lbs Tobacco		4/—	2	—	—		
1 Fuzee		40/—	2	—	—		
500 Wampum		8/—	2	—	—		
1 Gallon Rum		24/—	1	4	—		
						41	2 —
6.	1 lb Powder & 2 lbs Ball			11	—		
	½ lb Vermillion	32/—		16	—		
	1 quart Rum	6/—		6	—		
						1	13 —
10.	12 lbs Powder	8/	4	16	—		
	24 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	16	—		
	3 lbs Paint	32/—	4	16	—		
	12 lbs Tobacco	4/—	2	8	—		
	4 Ruffled Shirts	24/—	4	16	—		
	4 Strouds	32/—	6	8	—		
	4 p <sup>r</sup> . Leggings	12/—	2	8	—		
	4 Breech Clouts	12/—	2	8	—		



# ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 393

1 Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	24/—	1	4	—	
					31 — —
11. 12 Stone Rings & 2 Jews Harps			5	—	
1 Shirt	16/—		16	—	
1 Stroud	32/—	1	12	—	
4 lbs Powder	8/—	1	12	—	
8 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .		12	—	
					4 17 —
Carried forward					£231 1 —
2 Strouds	[MS. burned]				
2 Ruffled Shirts	[MS. burned]				
1 lb Paint	[MS. burned]				
½ Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	[MS. burned]				
13. 6 Shirts	16/—			[MS. burned]	
6 Strouds	32/—			[MS. burned]	
6 Pr. Leggings	12/—	3		[MS. burned]	
6 Breech Clouts	12/—	3	12	—	
6 Mockasin Awls	6 <sup>d</sup> .		3	—	
6 Couteaus	2/—		12	—	
1 lb Paint	32/—	1	12	—	
12 lb Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		18	—	
6 lb Powder	8/—	2	8	—	
					27 5 —
14. 7 lbs Powder	8/—	4	16	—	
14 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	1	—	
7 Match Coats	20/—	7	—	—	
7 Shirts	16/—	5	12	—	
7 Breech Clouts	12/—	4	4	—	
10 Pr. Leggings	12/—	6	—	—	
3 Strouds	32/—	4	16	—	
3 Petticoats	16/—	2	8	—	
					35 17 —
15. 8 lbs Powder	8/—	3	4	—	
16 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	4	—	

12 P. Gartering	8/—	4	16	—
4 lbs Vermillion	32/—	6	8	—
12 Couteaus	2/—	1	4	—
4 Pr. Leggings	12/—	2	8	—
4 Matchcoats	20/—	4	—	—
4 Shirts	16/—	3	4	—
			26	8 —

Carried forward				£330 17 —
[MS. burned]			16	—
[MS. burned]		6	—	—
[MS. burned]	12/—	3	12	—
[MS. burned]	12/—	3	12	—
[MS. burned]	8/—		16	—
[MS. burned]	40/—	2	—	—
[MS. burned]	12/—	1	4	—
			39	1 —

1 lb Paint	32/—		16	—
2 lbs Tobacco	4/—		8	—
2 lbs Powder	8/—		16	—
4 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		6	—
3 Match Coats	20/—	3	—	—
3 Breech Clouts	12/—	1	16	—
1 Stroud	32/—	1	12	—
4 Pr. Leggings	12/—	2	8	—
2 P. Indian Ribbon	8/—		16	—
1 Silver Cross	5/—		5	—
			12	3 —

25. 2 Callico Shirts	24/—	2	8	—
2 Strouds	32/—	3	4	—
2 Petticoats	16/—	1	12	—
2 Matchcoats	20/—	2	—	—
2 Breech Clouts	12/—	1	4	—
4 Pr. Leggings	12/—	2	8	—

# ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 395

	1 lb Paints	32/—	1	12	—
	6 lbs Powder	8/—	2	8	—
	12 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		18	—
	1 Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	24/—	1	4	—
	24 Silver Broaches	2/—	2	8	—
	6 Crosses	3/—		18	—
				22	4 —
	Carried forward			£404	5 —
	6 Shirts [ <i>MS. burned</i> ]				
	6 Breech Clouts	12/—		[ <i>MS. burned</i> ]	
	4 P. Gartering	8/—		[ <i>MS. burned</i> ]	
30 <sup>th</sup>	12 lb Powder	8/—		[ <i>MS. burned</i> ]	
	24 lbs Balls	18 <sup>d</sup>		[ <i>MS. burned</i> ]	
	½ lb Thread	12/—		6	—
	12 Broaches	2/—	1	4	—
	500 Wampum	8/—	2	—	—
	1 Gallon Rum	24/—	1	4	—
	2 lbs Paint	32/—	3	4	—
				42	10 [ <i>MS. burned</i> ]
May	4 <sup>th</sup> 20 lbs Powder	8/—	8	—	—
	40 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	3	—	—
	2 lbs Vermillion	32/—	3	4	—
	20 Knives	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	10	—
	5 <sup>th</sup> 1 Match Coat	20/—	1	—	—
	1 Shirt	16/—		16	—
	1 Breech Clout	12/—		12	—
	1 Pr. Leggings	12/—		12	—
				18	14 —
7 <sup>th</sup>	2 Shirts	16/—	1	12	—
	2 Matchcoats	20/—	2	—	—
	2 Pr. Leggings	12/—	1	4	—
	2 lbs Powder	8/—		16	—
	4 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .		6	—

	1 lb Vermillion	32/—	1	12	—	
	2 Knives	2/6		5	—	
						7 15 —
	Carried forward					£473 4 —
	[MS. burned]	16/—	2	—	—	
	[MS. burned]	8/—	2	16	—	
	[MS. burned]	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	1	—	
	[MS. burned]	20/—	1	—	—	
	[MS. burned]	32/—	6	8	—	
	[MS. burned]	12/—	2	8	—	
	[MS. burned] Shirt	24/—	1	4	—	
						33 11 —
	[MS. burned]					
	[MS. burned] ½ lb Paint	32/—		16	—	
	1 lb Powder	8/—		8	—	
	2 lb Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		3	—	
19.	1 Shirt	16/—		16	—	
						2 3 —
21.	2 Shirts	16/—	1	12	—	
	6 lbs Tobacco	4/—	1	4	—	
	1 lb Vermillion	32/—	1	12	—	
25	4 lbs Powder	8/—	1	12	—	
	8 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		12	—	
26	1 Quart Rum	6/—		6	—	
						6 18 —
29.	500 Wampum	8/—	2	—	—	
	¼ lb Thread	16/—	—	4	—	
	4 Shirts	16/—	3	4	—	
	4 Match Coats	20/—	4	—	—	
30 <sup>th</sup>	24 Silver Broaches	2/—	2	8	—	
	1 Wrist Band	10/—		10	—	
						12 6 —

# ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 397

June	1 <sup>st</sup>	5 lbs Powder	8/—	2	—	—	
		10 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		15	—	
							2 15 —
	3.	6 lbs Powder	8/—	2	8	—	
		12 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		18	—	
	4.	1 Match Coat	20/—	1	—	—	
							4 6 —

Carr<sup>d</sup> forward £535 3 —

		[MS. burned] lb Ball					[MS. burned]
		4 lbs Powder					[MS. burned]
	11.	2 Shirts	16/—				[MS. burned]
		½ lb Paints	32/—				[MS. burned]
	14.	3 lbs Tobacco	4/—				[MS. burned]
		6 Knives	18 <sup>d</sup> .				[MS. burned]
							[MS. burned]
	17.	1 Pipe Tom Hawk	20/—	1	—	—	
		8 lbs Tobacco	4/—	1	12	—	
		2 lb Paint	32/—	3	4	—	
		12 Knives	1/6		18	—	
		12 Shirts	16/—	9	12	—	
		12 Strouds	32/—	19	4	—	
		6 lbs Gunpowder	8/—	2	8	—	
		12 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		18	—	
	18.	1 Pr. Leggings	12/—		12	—	
		½ lb Vermillion, more	32/—		16	—	
							40 4 —

19 <sup>th</sup> .	3 lbs Tobacco	4/—		12	—	
	1 Knife	2/6		2	6	
	20 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	10	—	
	10 lbs Powder	8/—	4	—	—	
						6 4 6

28th	12 lbs Tobacco	4/—	2	8	—	
	4 lbs Paint	32/—	6	8	—	
	6 P-. Gartering	8/—	2	8	—	

	12 lbs Powder	8/—	4	16	—	
	24 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	16	—	
	24 Flints	2 <sup>d</sup> .		4	—	
	1 Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	24/—	1	4	—	
						19 4 —
	Carr <sup>d</sup> . forward					£608 12 6
	[MS. burned]		2	—	—	
	[MS. burned]	18 <sup>d</sup> .		15	—	
	[MS. burned]	4/—		12	—	
	[MS. burned]	32/—	1	12	—	
						8 7 —
	[MS. burned]	32/—	1	12	—	
	[MS. burned]	20/—	1	—	—	
	[MS. burned]	5/—		5	—	
	3 Yds Ribbon	2/6		7	6	
	1 quart Rum	6/—		6	—	
	500 Wampum	8/—	2	—	—	
						5 10 6
8th	16 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	4	—	
	8 lbs Powder	8/—	2	8	—	
	1 lb Paint	32/—	1	12	—	
	3 Best Matchcoats	32/—	4	16	—	
	3 Shirts	24/—	3	12	—	
	1 Pr. Leggings	12/—		12	—	
	2 Breech Clouts	12/—	1	4	—	
9.	3 Knives	3/—		9	—	
	3 lbs Tobacco	4/—		12	—	
	1 Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	24/—	1	4	—	
						17 13 —
10th	2 lbs Powder	8/—		16	—	
	4 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .		6	—	
						1 2 —

# ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 399

11.	1 lb Powder	8/—	8	—
	2 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	3	—
	12 Flints	2 <sup>d</sup> .	2	—
				13 —
Carr <sup>d</sup> . forward				£641 18 —
	5 Breech Clouts	[MS. burned]		
	2 lb Paint	[MS. burned]		
	2 Ruffled Shirts	[MS. burned]		
	5 Plain D <sup>o</sup> .	[MS. burned]		
	8 Cuteaus	[MS. burned]		
	3 lb Tobacco	4/—	[MS. burned]	
	3 Petticoats	16/—	2	8 —
	1 Gallon of Rum	24/—	1	4 —
				[MS. burned]
13.	15 Plain Shirts	16/—	12	— —
	7 Ruffled D <sup>o</sup> .	24/—	8	8 —
	1 P-. Stroud	£ 16	16	— —
	1 P-.French Matchcoats	£20	20	— —
	24 lbs Tobacco	4/—	4	16 —
	6 lbs Paint	32/—	9	12 —
14.	12 lb Powder	8/—	4	16 —
	24 lb Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	16 —
	3 lbs Beads	5/—		15 —
	2 doz Jews Harps	5/—		10 —
	1 Gallon of Rum	24/—	1	4 —
				79 17 —
16.	½ lb Paint	32/—	16	—
	1 Pr. Leggings	12/—	12	—
	1 Tin Kettle	5/—	5	—
17.	1 lb Tobacco	4/—	4	—
	5 yards Ribbon	2/6	12	6
				2 9 6

Carried forward				£756	14	6
[MS. burned]				2	16	—
				<hr/>		
[MS. burned]				12/—	12	—
[MS. burned]				16/—	16	—
[MS. burned]				20/—	1	—
[MS. burned]				8/—	16	—
[MS. burned]				18 <sup>d</sup> .	6	—
					3	10
					—	—
[MS. burned]				<hr/>		
[MS. burned] Wampum				8/—	2	—
1 lb Paint				32/—	1	12
6 lbs Powder				8/—	2	8
12 lbs Ball				18 <sup>d</sup> .	18	—
12 large Couteaus				3/—	1	16
					8	14
					—	—
<hr/>				<hr/>		
24.	5 lbs Powder	8/—	2	—	—	
	10 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		15	—	
	1 Quart Rum	6/—		6	—	
					3	1
					—	—
<hr/>				<hr/>		
26.	1 Shirt	16/—		16	—	
	1 Stroud	32/—	1	12	—	
	1 Breech Clout	12/—		12	—	
27.	2 lbs Powder	8/—		16	—	
	4 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		6	—	
					4	2
					—	—
<hr/>				<hr/>		
28.	1 Match Coat	20/—	1	0	—	
	1 Shirt	16/—		16	—	
	1 Pair Leggings	12/—		12	—	
	1 Quart Rum	6/—		6	—	
	12 Broaches	2/—	1	4	—	
	1 Breech Clout	12/—		12	—	
					4	10
					—	—
				<hr/>		



# ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 401

Continued		£783 7 6			
	20 Matchcoats	[MS. burned]			
	4 Strouds	[MS. burned]			
	24 Shirts	16/—[MS. burned]			
	24 Pr. Leggings	12/—[MS. burned]			
	16 Breech Clouts	12/— 9 [MS. burned]			
	22 lbs Brass Kettles	8/—	8	16	—
30 <sup>th</sup>	500 Wampum	8/—	2	—	—
	15 lbs Tobacco	4/—	3	—	—
	4 Fuzees	40/—	8	—	—
	8 Petticoats	16/—	6	8	—
		117 14 [MS. burned]			
<hr/>		<hr/>			
31.	2 gallons Rum	24/—		2	8 —
<hr/>		<hr/>			
August 1 <sup>st</sup>	2 P-. Stroud	£16	32	—	—
	12 Plain Shirts	16/—	9	12	—
	6 Ruffled D <sup>o</sup> .	24/—	7	4	—
	4 lbs Paint	32/—	6	8	—
	12 lbs Tobacco	4/—	2	8	—
	5 Gallons Rum	24/—	6	—	—
		63 12 —			
<hr/>		<hr/>			
2.	1 P-. Match Coats	£	18	18	— —
	20 Shirts	16/—	16	—	—
	20 Pr. Leggings	12/—	12	—	—
	16 Breech Clouts	12/—	9	12	—
	10 lbs Powder	8/—	4	—	—
	20 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	10	—
	11½ lbs Brass Kettles	8/—	4	12	—
	5¼ lbs Tobacco	4/—	1	1	—
		66 15 —			
<hr/>		<hr/>			
	Carr <sup>d</sup> . forward	£1033 16 6			
	[MS. burned]	12/—	3	12	—

	[MS. burned]	32/—	3	4	—			
	[MS. burned]	16/—	9	12	—			
	[MS. burned]	24/—	1	4	—			
						42	3	—
	[MS. burned]							
	[MS. burned] Shirts	16/—	13	12	—			
	[MS. burned] Ruffled D <sup>o</sup> .	24/—	4	16	—			
	1 P-. French Matchcoats	£20	20	—	—			
	1 P-. Narrow Stroud	£14	14	—	—			
	21 lbs Powder	8/—	8	8	—			
	42 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	3	3	—			
	12 lbs Tobacco	4/—	2	8	—			
	6 P-. Gartering	8/—	2	8	—			
7 <sup>th</sup> .	14½ lbs Kettles	8/—	5	16	—			
						74	11	—
8th & 9 <sup>th</sup> .	40 lbs Powder	8/—	16	—	—			
	80 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	6	—	—			
	1 Gallon Rum		1	4	—			
						23	4	—
11th	12 Match Coats	20/—	12	—	—			
	2 Strouds	32/—	3	4	—			
	14 Shirts	16/—	11	4	—			
	14 Pr. Leggings	12/—	8	8	—			
	12 Breech Clouts	12/—	7	4	—			
	14 lbs Powder	8/—	5	12	—			
	28 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	2	2	—			
	1 Gallon Rum	24/—	1	4	—			
						50	18	—
	Carried forward					£1224	12	6
	24 Breech Clouts				[MS. burned]			
	30 Shirts	16/—			[MS. burned]			
	2 Strouds	32/—			[MS. burned]			
	4 lbs Paint	32/—	6	8	—			
	30 Pr. Leggings	12/—	18	—	—			

ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 403

14.	21 lbs Tobacco	4/—	4	4	—	
	5 Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	24/—	6	—	—	
	6 P-. Gartering	8/—	2	8	—	
						98 [MS. burned]
<hr/>						
15.	2½ Gallons Rum	24/—	3	—	—	
	6 lbs Tobacco	4/—	1	4	—	
	12 lbs Powder	8/—	4	16	—	
	24 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	16	—	
	1 lb Paint	32/—	1	12	—	
						12 8 —
<hr/>						
17th	7 Match Coats	20/—	7	—	—	
	2 Strouds	32/—	3	4	—	
	9 Shirts	16/—	7	4	—	
	9 Pr. Leggings	12/—	5	8	—	
	9 Breech Clouts	12/—	5	8	—	
	2 lbs Paint	32/—	3	4	—	
	6 lbs Tobacco	4/—	1	4	—	
	10 lbs Powder	8/—	4	—	—	
	20 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .	1	10	—	
	1 Gallon Rum	24/—	1	4	—	
	4 P-. Gartering	8/—	1	12	—	
	2 lbs Beeds	5/—		10	—	
						41 8 —
<hr/>						
	Carr <sup>d</sup> . forward					£1378 6 6
	[MS. burned]	20/—	1	—	—	
	[MS. burned]	12/—		12	—	
	[MS. burned]	8/—	1	12	—	
	[MS. burned]	18 <sup>d</sup> .		12	—	
						4 12 —
<hr/>						
	[MS. burned]					
	[MS. burned] Coats	20/—	6	—	—	
	[ ] Pr. Leggings	12/—	3	12	—	

	15 lbs Powder	8/—	6	—	—
	30 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	2	5	—
22 <sup>d</sup>	2 lbs Paint	32/—	3	4	—
	3 Gall <sup>n</sup> . Rum	24/—	3	12	—
					24 13 —

23.	3 lbs Paint	32/—	4	16	—
	10 Match Coats	20/—	10	—	—
	2 Strouds	32/—	3	4	—
	12 Shirts	16/—	9	12	—
	12 Pr. Leggings	12/—	7	4	—
24 <sup>th</sup>	16 lbs Tobacco	4/—	3	4	—
25 <sup>th</sup>	16 lbs Powder	8/—	6	8	—
	32 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	2	8	—
26 <sup>th</sup>	21 lbs brass Kettles	8/—	8	8	—
	4 P-. Gartering	8/—	1	12	—
					56 16 —

	6 Pr. Leggings	12/—	3	12	—
	6 Match Coats	20/—	6	—	—
	6 Shirts	16/—	4	16	—
	15 lbs Powder	8/—	6	—	—
	30 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	2	5	—
	1 lb Paint	32/—	1	12	—
	4 Gallon Rum	24/—	4	16	—
					29 1 —

	Carr <sup>d</sup> . forward	£1496	14	6
--	-----------------------------	-------	----	---

	30 lbs Powder	8/—	[MS. burned]
	60 lbs Lead	18 <sup>d</sup> .	[MS. burned]
	2 Blankets	25/—	[MS. burned]
	1 lb Paint	32/—	[MS. burned]

Also.—

	6 lbs Powder	8/—	2	8	—
	12 lbs Ball	18 <sup>d</sup> .		18	—
	1 Red Stroud	40/—	2	—	—
	1 ruffled Shirt	30/—	1	10	—

# ACCOUNT OF PHILADELPHIA MERCHANTS 405

1 Handkerchief	8/—	8	—
1 Pr. Leggings	12/—	12	—
½ lb Paint	32/—	16	—
		29	4 —

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64 Gallons of Rum dd to Captain Forbes for such Indians as he may meet with in Ascending the Ohio and whom he may be under the Necessity to talk with &c	@ 24/—	76	16 —
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£1602 14 6

Error in casting up 7 lbs Powder 14<sup>th</sup> April 2. 0. 0 over  
D°. D°. 8 lbs D°. 8th July 0.16. 0 short

---

£1. 4. 0 difference  
Deduct 1 4 —

---

£1601 10 6

---

[MS. burned] full for the foregoing Acc<sup>t</sup>  
[MS. burned] Signd three Receipts of this Tenor  
Baynton Wharton & Morgan

[MS. burned] 6.

Sum of One thousan[d][MS. burned] Currency of New York. All which [MS. burned] said Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, and [MS. burned] of Gordon Forbes Esquire of his Majesty's 34th Regime [MS. burned] to different Tribes and Nations of Indians at different Tim[MS. burned] his Majestys Service—Viz<sup>t</sup>. Edw[ard Cole] Com<sup>r</sup>. [MS. burned]

First. To two Partys of the Vermillion and Kaskaskia Indians, who came [MS. burned] the *Black Fly*, in Consequence of a Message sent to them by me to [inquire] into the Truth of a report which was spread abroad that they had rec[eived] a Belt to Strike their Fathers the English.

2<sup>ndly</sup>. To the *Black Dog* a Chief of the Piorias and sundry Parties of his Nat[ion] who came here on their Return from their Winters Hunt to take their [Fa]thers the English by the hand agreeable to their usual Custom with their late Fathers the French—Signifying—that as they now had brought their trade to the English, they expected and begged the same Encouragement which they were used to receive from their late Fathers the French.

3<sup>rd</sup>. To a Chief and Tribe of the Missouris, who returned from their Win[ter] Hunt, and expressed their firm Attachment to their Fathers the Engl[ish] and to Confirm their Speech made in March last, and also to acquai[n]t Us that as Peace was now Established on the Missouri River, they intend [*MS. burned*] should [*MS. burned*]

[4<sup>th</sup>. To the ] Kaskaskias and other Indians living at and around [*MS. burned*] take their Fathers the English by the Hand, and declare [*MS. burned*] Resolution to live in Peace and Promote it through out all the Coun[try] They begged, that as they had brought a Considerable Share of their Trade to this Side, they might receive Sincere Marks of our Friendship for them.

5<sup>thly</sup> To the Piorias at Pain Court, who had returned from their Hunt and had waited thus Long, knowing the Concourse of Indians which had resorted [?] at that Season to brighten the Chain of Friendship with their Fathers the English. On which Errand, they now also came and to Express their firm Attachment to Us. They also begged a Mark of our Friendship and peaceable Disposition toward them.

6<sup>thly</sup> To the Chief of the Osages with a large Party of warriors, who came to Trade and ask our Advice how to Act in Consequence of the Spanish Commandants having demanded their English Colours from them, which they had planted in their Village and were determined to preserve. They assured Us that in Consequence of the Insult offered to them by the Spaniards, that they would return early with their whole Summers Hunt and Bring [*MS. burned*] by us to them [*MS. burned*]

7<sup>thly</sup> To La Cloche and Tomasoia [*MS. burned*] to beg the means wherewith to prosecute [*MS. burned*] their firm Attachment to our Interest.

8<sup>thly</sup> To Seven Chiefs of the Putowatamies, with their Par [*MS. burned*] bring back the two Prisoners named Stewart (& his Wife) taken [*MS. burned*] Young Men from this place in April last. They expressed a Sin[*MS. burned*]ation of such an Act and to Convince their Fathers the English th[ey] had done everything in their Power, to wipe of the Stain, and that [*MS. burned*] Consequences might ensue, they humbly implored forgiveness—Promis[ed] faithfully that nothing of the Kind should hereafter happen. That in regard to some former imprudent Acts which their Young M[en] had Committed, they begged that they should be forever forgotten [*MS. burned*] hoped this Instance, will convince their Fathers the English of their Penitence and detestation of the Act, and begged to receive a Convinci[ng] Token of their Forgiveness to Shew their People on their Return.

9<sup>thly</sup> To the *Black Dog* Chief of the Piorias, who with great Part of his Nation came to acquaint us that they were going out on their Summe[r] Hunt on the Grand Prairies to Provide Meat for their Old Men, the [*MS. burned*] particularly those who came to [*MS. burned*] Chain of Friendship with the English, and to [*MS. burned*] to Trade with us, as might tend to the Advantage [*MS. burned*] they were egregiously imposed on by the French and Spaniards who came among them.

11<sup>thly</sup> To a Chief of the Arcanzas and one of his Warriors, who came to know whether or not the Report which the French had Spread, concerning the English Fort having fallen into the River was True, in Consequence of which they had carried their Skins home. But now demanded to know, whether they may hereafter come and Trade with Us on the Same Terms with the rest of their Brethren. For assurance whereof they begged a Token to carry to their Nation.

12<sup>thly</sup> To Pondiac and his Attendants, who came to Visit his Fathers the English. He had Wintered on the Wabash and had now Come to see all his Brethren the Indians in this Country and to know their Sentiments and Dispositions in General, and that if he found any bad reports amongst them, he might warn them to Shut their Ears against all bad Birds. As he intended not to return to Detroit [*MS. burned*] between all the Indi[*MS. burned*]

13<sup>thly</sup> To the Grand Chief of the Osages together [*MS. burned*] agreeable to their Promise with a Considerable [*MS. burned*] Example of their future Intentions. They say that [*MS. burned*] Nations intend soon to take their Fathers the English by [*MS. burned*] and for the Future to bring their Trade to this Place. On [*MS. burned*] Passage here the Spanish Commandant a Second Time demanded [*MS. burned*] Colours and the Wampum they had received with them, wh[ich] they left with him on his Promise that he would bring them to the English in Person in two days, and there deliver his Speech in Pre[sence] of Both Parties. They flattered themselves that their Fathers the English, would Consider them agreeable to their Promise in th[e] last Speech, that they would be entitled to their Notice in Proportion to the Trade they brought amongst Us.

14<sup>thly</sup> To Sundry Chiefs and Partys of Ottaways and Chippaways, who came to assure Us of their firm Resolution to Maintain and Promote Peace to the utmost of their Power, between all the Indian Nations and the English [*MS. burned*] different Nations of Ind[*MS. burned*] and then on their return from War, In [*MS. burned*] good Disposition, and to divert their Atten[*MS. burned*] entring into any League against Us. [*MS. burned*] Goods charged in the foregoing [*MS. burned*] Six hundred and one pounds ten shillings [*MS. burned*] of the Province of New York, were by my approval [*MS. burned*] from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Baynton Wharton & Morgan by Edward Cole Esquire [*MS. burned*] Affairs and were delivered by him and my self at various Times to [*MS. burned*] Tribes and Nations of Indians as particularly Specified in the foregoing [cer]tificate under the hand of the said Edward Cole Esq<sup>r</sup> Which Expen[*MS. burned*] absolutely Necessary to be made for the Benefit of his Majestys Service.

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand.

GORDON FORBES Capt

34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>



BUTRICKE TO BARNSLEY, September 15, 1768

[*Historical Magazine*, 8:259]

FORT CHARTRES, 15th Sept., 1768.

DEAR SIR:

I had the pleasure to write you the 24th June, the day before I left Philadelphia, and the 30<sup>th</sup> I joined Colonel Wilkins at the Crossings of Juniata, he had been detained 14 days by Col. Armstrong, for Want of Carriages. But lucky for me he had got them a few days before I joined him. The 14<sup>th</sup> July we arrived at Fort Pitt, which is now a most shocking place; the Works and Barracks are all gone to Wreck, But the Country about it seems to be in a thriving way, a great number of settlers are already there, and many more Coming to it daily. 20<sup>th</sup> July we embarked on the Ohio with five companys of the 7 we had Brought up, the other 2 Left there to garrison Fort Pitt. It would be needless for me to give you a detail of our Voyage, as we mett with nothing metairil on it but the Loss of one man Drownded. From Fort Pitt to the Scioto River, which you will see by the List of the distances from Each place I send you enclosed, is 366 miles. We met with little or no game till we arriv'd there. But from thence to the falls, which is 316 miles more, the River is covered with all kinds of Game. We killed so many Buffalos that We commonly served out one a day to Each Company, & they Commonly Weigh'd from 4 to 600 lbs. W<sup>t</sup>.; they go in Hirds of 20, 30 & some times 50<sup>s</sup>, some people say in 100<sup>s</sup> they have seen them. We had such plenty that when a Bull was killed we only took the tongue and left the Rest for the Wolves. Besides this there is the greatest quantities of Turkies, Deer, Geese, Ducks, Bears &c. I believe the Like is not to be seen in any part of the known World. The River does not abound so much with fish as might be imagin'd, which I believe is occasioned by there Being such quantities of Cattfish which are so Large and Numerous that I think they destroy all other But the Turtle. We had such plenty of these two that I think we might have subsisted on them and flour, without the assistance of any other food. We Caught some Catfish of 100 lb. W<sup>t</sup>: but their Common size is 30 to 70 lb. W<sup>t</sup>: The Turtle is commonly of 30 lb. W<sup>t</sup>: But seldom above that. They are Reckoned to be near as good as those taken at sea for soop. The 8<sup>th</sup> Aug. We arrived at the Falls, which you'll see is 682 miles from Fort Pitt, in 20 days. We Reckoned this good going, But I

think with two or three Boats it might be done in half the time. The Falls appear verry tremendous at first sight, and startled our people much, as thay had not been used to things of this kind before. I made Light of it, and after I had survey'd them well, offered to go down them immediately in my Boat, which made many of then swear that none but a mad man would attempt a thing of the kind. However this pleased the Colonel so much that he swore there was nothing I ever see that I would not attempt; however, he would not suffer me to go down that night. Next morning sent the Engineer Hutchins to see if a passage could be found in the South shore, who return'd at 11 o'clock with the report that it could not be effected. Col. Wilkins Came to me again, tould me to be cautious of what I did, that he did not, by any means, desire me to hazard my Life in such a manner But if I really thought it could be done he would give me Leave. I jump't at the opportunity, threw some Baggage out of the Boat to make her Light in the head, and went off instantly. I Reconitred the head of the fall well before I made the attempt, and when I had found the passage went off, and in 2 minutes and 5 seconds pass'd the falls, that are near a Mile in Length, without the Least difficulty. all the people was looking out to see what would be our fate and when the Colonel see I had gott safe down he Come to meet me on Return to the Camp by Land & gave me his hearty thanks. He then ordered the whole to prepare to pass them, and that night we gott of 8 more, & the next day completed the passage. These falls are near a mile in Length, and they appear much Like those you have seen on Hudson's River at Fort Miller. Having halted here a day or two to put every thing in proper order, in the 13<sup>th</sup> we embarked again, and the 23<sup>d</sup> arrived at the Mississipy River where the Ohio has its confluence 482 miles from the falls the Whole Length of the Ohio River makes 1164 english miles. We was very much surprised to see the difference of the two Rivers at First sight the Ohio Being a fine Clear Jentle Current and the Mississipy a great Rapid full of sand Barrs, and so muddy that its impossible to drink it. Having made our desposition to assend the Mississipi, we embarked Early nex<sup>t</sup> morning But mett with so many difficalties that we only got four miles that night. We continued in the same manner for three days more, and did not gain above 6 or 7 miles a day, the current in many places is so

very Rapid and the Navigation so much interrupted by great quantities of trees that falls with the Banks of the River and drives with the floods in the springs, that we many times Rowd for 3 and four hours and did not gain one mile these difficulties with the inexperience of our men and officers made the Colonel almost mad at last he came to a determination to send off some person to F<sup>t</sup>: Chartres to send down some empty battoes to Lighten some of ours that was so heavy loaded that they was not able to proceed. he again came to me to know if it would be agreeable to me to go on, I immediately embraced his offer and in half an hour Left the Detachment with four men and two Indians in a very small Boat, we Rowd night and day for three days and the 31st Aug<sup>t</sup> arrived at Keskeskee a Town & River on the English shore about 18 miles below F<sup>t</sup>: Chartres; this I think was the most dangerous and fatiguing journey I ever made, I was inform'd when I arrived at Keskeskee that I had, had the greatest Luck in the world that I had escapt the enemy Indians that several parties was then out and had Cutt off a boat of the Companies, with 8 men, one of which got in, and a Connoe with 3 men, I sent of some boats that night to meet the Colonel and next morning set off in a *Callash* For Fort Chartres, as I said before is 18 miles from Keskeskee and we pass'd thro' the finest Country in the known world not a tree to be seen for several miles and the finest Land my Eyes ever beheld, Here they plant Indian Corn in the Spring and never touches it 'til fall when they go fitch it home, and most of what I see is 10 & 12 foot high, they raze Tobacco as fine as in Virginia, they have the greatest quantity of black cattle—the plains for miles are Covered with them—indeed most of the french peoples Riches Lies in Stock of that kind for there is no kind of money Current there Butt what they make themselves, which is Little notes of so many Livers each, the horses are pritty good for Saddles, and might be made a great deal Better, But they are so careless of them that there is not one gelding in all the Colonie of the Illinois, all plowing & Hauling is done by Bullocks. The Country abutt F: Chatres is free for many miles Round it and the finest meddow ever was seen, grass grows here within a mile of the Fort to a great highht, and such quantities of it that there might be hay made for 100000 head of Cattle every summer, Fort Chartres is a midling sized Fort built of stone the walls

about 2 foot thick and 20 foot high, its Built in a regular Square with a Bastion at each angle with Loop holes to fire small arms thro', there are some port holes for great Guns, But they seldom use them for they shock the works too much, the barracks are very good built of stone, But they will not contain more than 200 men exclusive of officers.

We have been very Lucky both with men and officers in Respect to health, when we took possession of the Fort.<sup>1</sup>

ORMSBY TO MURRAY, September 15, 1768

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Revolutionary Papers, Colonial Wars, p. 111.]

DEAR SIR

I was a good deal Surprized when Mr. Gratz Shewed me your Ledger where I stand Indebted to you a bout five pounds, but suppose it must be owing to Mr. Burks mistake who did not give Credit for the five Pounds which I gave you out of Mr. Hancs's money.

You know that when I paid the first ten pounds it discharged what your Bill for Conveyancing came to 'till that time together with what I owed for my Board &c. And I thought that five Pounds was Sufficient for what you did for me afterwards; however this shall brake no squares between you and I, for, whatever you charge more shall be punctually paid, were it ten times the sum. Please to mention this in your next letter Mr. Gratz. I have taken up the Bond from Mr. Tweets and demolished it.

I hope you & Mrs. Murray got Safe to the Illinois, where I wish you all the Success & happiness immaginable. I shall be happy in hearing often from you, and be assured that I shall loose no time or Opertunity in Acquainting you of evr'y material Occurrence.

I believe the most of your old Acquaintances here are much the old way.

I am with best Complem<sup>ts</sup>. to Mrs. Murray Mr. Burk & Franky.

Dear Sir

[John Ormsby to William Murray, Sept. 15, 1768.]

Your most affec<sup>t</sup>. Hum<sup>le</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JOHN ORMSBY

Philadelphia Sep<sup>r</sup>.

the 15<sup>th</sup>. 1768

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of this letter is lost.

**P. S. I received all my Papers from M<sup>r</sup>. Gratz very Safe to whom I gave a Receipt for the safe [sic]**

**M<sup>r</sup>. William Murray**

**[Addressed—] To**

**M<sup>r</sup>. William Murray  
Commissary of Provisions at  
Fort Chartres in the  
Illinois**

**[Endorsed on third page—]**

**Colo John Ormsby, a distinguished Indian commissioner at the time of the French War.**

## CHAPTER VIII

INTERNAL, POLITICAL, AND INDIAN AFFAIRS IN THE ILLINOIS  
COUNTRY, OCTOBER 9, 1768—DECEMBER 4, 1768

ATTACK ON HUNTING PARTY—GAGE'S EXPLANATION OF THE  
INDIAN MURDERS—MEASURES TO PREVENT HOSTILITIES IN  
THE ILLINOIS—HILLSBOROUGH'S FURTHER OPINION ON THE  
WESTERN SITUATION—HUTCHINS' DESCRIPTION OF THE KAS-  
KASKIA RIVER—MORGAN'S PLANS FOR THE SPRING TRADE—  
EFFORTS TO REMOVE FRENCH FROM AMONG THE INDIANS—  
FURTHER INTRIGUES OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH.

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, October 9, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 397—A.L.S.]

Nº: 17

NEW YORK October 9<sup>th</sup>. 1768.

MY LORD,

Some Advices lately received from Fort-Chartres, give information of a Strange Mixture of French and Spanish Government on the opposite Side of the Mississippi, so that there is no knowing to whom the Country belongs. A French Officer, Monsr. S<sup>t</sup>. Ange, commands on the Mississippi, and receives Orders both from Don Ulloa and Monsr. Aubry. Don Ruis<sup>1</sup> a Spanish Captain, is appointed Governor of the Missouri. These two Commanders are said to be entirely independent of each other, and expressly forbid to consult together, on any public Matters. All Traders are prohibited going up the Missouri, without a Pass signed by Don Ulloa, and are obliged to go down to New-Orleans to give an Account of their Trade, and an order has been published for all young People of a certain Age to take

<sup>1</sup> In 1767 Ulloa sent an expedition under Don Francisco Rui to the mouth of the Missouri river to erect two forts on either side for the purpose of preventing the entrance of the English into Spanish Illinois and an effort to settle this part of the country. The settlement failed however as the officers soon became engaged in disputes and some of the soldiers and store-keepers deserted. It became necessary to recall Rui. Upon his return to New Orleans, Rui made a report relative to the settlements in the Illinois country and the custom of giving presents to the Indians. Piernas succeeded Rui as commander on the Missouri.

up Lands and Marry, or to quit the Country. The works undertaken by the Spaniards on the Missouri have been destroyed by an overflowing of the River, and of the People they sent up into that Country, only fifteen remain; all the rest have deserted. The French Inhabitants appear to be so much disgusted, that it was expected many of them would become British Subjects. The Priest<sup>1</sup> who retired to the West Side of the River when the King's Troops took possession of Fort-Chartres, has had Some quarrel<sup>1</sup> with the Spaniards, and is returned again, and become a Subject to His Majesty. The Trade of the Country is reported to be in a bad State, but I have not yet heard any particular Account of it's Situation.

A Tryal was made this year to strengthen the Bank of the Mississippi near the Fort, that might prevent it's being washed away by the Torrents of the River; and it has met with the Success that was hoped for. No part of the Bank was carried away this Spring, and it is thought, if the work is continued, that the Fort may be preserved.

These Letters advise also, that a hunting Party from Fort Chartres, had been attacked by a party of Indians of the Ouabache, who killed most of them, and carried nine Scalps and eight Horse-Loads of Peltry into their Village of St. Vincent. That the same Indians, afterwards attacked some Hunters from Virginia upon Green River, which joins the Ohio, about Ninety Miles below the Falls.

From the time when the above Murthers are related to have happened, and from the Circumstance of the Peltry, I apprehend they are the Same, of which an Interpreter in the Cherokee Country has given Intelligence. And he remarks, that the Indians were not so much to blame, as the Hunters, instead of killing Buffalo, in which Business only he concludes they were employed by the Commanding Officer at Fort Chartres for the use of the Garrison, were hunting on the Indians Lands, for the Sake of Bear, Beaver, Deer and other Skins. The killing such a Number of People must not pass unnoticed, and I have begged of Sir William Johnson to take Such Measures in this Affair, as should appear to him the most proper, to obtain Satisfaction. It also becomes necessary to try some Means to

<sup>1</sup> Father Meurin. For the facts relative to this episode see Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I.H.C., 10), 118-119. See also, *ante* 371 and *post* 502.

Secure the Navigation of the Ohio, which is precarious from the War-Partys of the Western and Southern Indians, who cross the Ohio to attack each other. And Sometimes meeting the Traders in their Boats, they too often insult and plunder them.

M<sup>r</sup> Steuart has acquainted me, that in Consequence of the new Arrangements made in his Department, he had wrote to all the Commissarys and other officers employed by him in the Management of the Trade, to acquaint them their Salarys would cease on the first Day of November. And had desired his Deputy in West-Florida to incur no further Expence after the Receipt of his Letter. He proposes to employ for the future, two Deputys, and to retain a good intelligent Person in each Nation, as an Interpreter, to inform him of Occurrences, to deliver and receive Messages, and to attend publick Meetings.

A Cherokee has been down with M<sup>r</sup> Steuart, to know the Reason why the Troops left Fort Prince George, And to see whether any Preparations were making to commence Hostilities. M<sup>r</sup> Steuart Says, the Fort was evacuated too Suddenly, before the Indians had been properly conciliated to the Measure. I find however, there had been a Message delivered upon the Subject, and as the quitting a Fort, has not the Air of any Design to commence a Rupture, I doubt not that M<sup>r</sup>. Steuart will be soon able to reconcile the Indians as to that Point.

Governors Franklin and Penn, and some Commissioners on the part of Virginia, are attending the Congress with the Six Nations at Fort-Stanwix. Sir William Johnson designed to open the Congress about the 25<sup>th</sup> ul<sup>mo</sup> but no Account has been received of any thing that has passed there.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, and Most humble Servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Majesty's principal  
Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York Oct<sup>ber</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage.  
(N<sup>o</sup> 17) R/ 20<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>ber</sup> A. 30. Ent<sup>d</sup>.



GAGE TO JOHNSON, October 10, 1768

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book.]

NEW YORK, Oct<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your favor of 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> <sup>1</sup> but there being nothing for me to answer, I have not troubled you with any Letters at a Time when you must have had so much Business upon your Hands.

This will probably meet you on your Return home from the Congress, and the inclosed Extracts of Letters from Capt Forbes<sup>2</sup> at the Illinois, and Lieut Col. Wilkins<sup>3</sup> in his way to Fort Chartres, will inform you of the Occasion of my writing by this Post.

From the Circumstance mentioned by Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes of the Indians carrying away some Loads of Peltry after they had murdered the white People, I apprehend they are the same murders of which M<sup>r</sup> Watts the Cherokee Interpreter sends advice: and adds, that the white People instead of hunting Buffalo for the use of the Garrison of Fort Chartres, which he conceives they were only employed to do by Captain Forbes, have been killing Deer Bear and Beaver, on the Indians hunting Grounds. Captain Forbes Design of seizing the Indians when they come to make escapes for these murders, does not seem to me the proper way to obtain satisfaction, as it has an appearance of a Breach of publick Faith. It strikes me in that Light, but you will know best in what sense the Indians look upon such methods to obtain satisfaction.

The Western Indians going to war against the Cherokees, seem to spare neither white or Red People who fall in their way, and some of the war Partys of the Cherokees have acted in the same way. And it is pretty plain, that the Navigation of the Ohio is become very unsafe. The Indians of the Ouabache, Miamis, Pouteatamies, and some Tribes of the Chippewas, which last killed the Boats Crew last year, are those who are principally concerned in committing Hostilities upon the Ohio. It is highly Necessary to take every step that can contribute to put an end to them, and to obtain satisfaction for what had passed. They make much noise when any of their People are killed and it gives us a great deal of Trouble and creates large

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> July 28, 1768, *ante*, 367.

<sup>3</sup> August 15, 1768, *ante*, 376.

Expences to make them Satisfaction. We can not let these murthers pass unnoticed, and I should be glad you would be so good immediately to take such Measures as appear to you the most efficacious to bring these People to Reason. Mr Hay will have informed you what he has done at the Detroit respecting the murthers of last year on the Ohio, and the killing the Traders at St Joseph and the Miamis the last winter.

You will hear of the Commotions at Boston, they are a most turbulent seditious People. Two Regiments are landed there from Halifax, and two more ordered from Ireland. I am obliged to go there to see into the state of affairs, and propose setting out from this Place after tomorrow.

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

GAGE TO WILKINS, October 11, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[V.S.L.—Clark Papers—L.S.]

NEW YORK 11th October 1768.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 15th of August,<sup>2</sup> wrote at the distance of 150 Miles below the Ohio Falls; I am very glad you have passed the Falls without loss, and are so far proceeded on your Route; By the same Opportunity I received a Letter from Capt Forbes<sup>3</sup> who Commands at Fort Chartres, Containing Intelligence that the Indians of St Vincent had brought in Nine English Scalps, and Eight Horses, loaded with Peltry, he likewise mentions the Same Indians having Attacked a party of Virginia Hunters upon the Green River (which he says Emptys itself into the Ohio) where they killed One Man and took another Prisoner who made his Escape to Fort Chartres and I suppose to be the Man You mention, but what he had to do at the Natches,<sup>4</sup> I can't Understand, I fancy it's some Mistake. I have likewise an Account, (which

<sup>1</sup> Printed by C. H. Ambler in *Branch Historical Papers*, 4:2:92.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 376.

<sup>3</sup> Printed *ante*, 367.

<sup>4</sup> For account see letter from Wilkins to Gage, August 15, 1768, *ante*, 376, and also January 2, 1769, *post*, 483.

Seems in general to agree with the above Narration) of an Attack made by the Indians, upon a party from Fort Chartres, from Mr Stuart, the Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern District, An Extract of which I transmit to you; Youll Observe a Remark thereupon, and indeed there is much reason in it for the Indians look upon their Hunting Grounds as their property, and Affording them the means of Subsistence; And if Our People will break in upon them without their Consent, & Destroy their game, which is their only means of Support, they must expect to be ill treated.

Captain Forbes Acquaints Me, that he hears the Chiefs of the Villages intended going to Fort Chartres, to beg Peace and Forgiveness, and that he shall detain them Prisoners till he hears from me, or they deliver up the Men that Committed the Murders. It is a bad method to Seize Indians when they come volantly to You, as it is Sort of a Breach of Publick Faith; And may Occasion their breaking out into Open Hostilities immediately: Sir William Johnson is made Acquainted with this Affair and desired to demand Satisfaction in a proper Way. You will restrain, The Traders and their People from going to Hunt, for the purpose of Collecting Deer Skin, or Peltry of any kind upon their Grounds, as they must Expect no Protection in such Undertakings.

I Should be very Glad, to Comply with your Request of Sending You the 2 Companys from Fort Pitt, if the Service would admit of it, but at present there is no prospect of it; You have a Company more than was at first Intended, and I can't but think, and I flatter myself You'll find it a Sufficient Force to manage the King's business in that Country.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

THOS. GAGE.

P:S: You'll acquaint Captain Forbes of my having received his Letter, & answered it to you.

LT: COLOL: WILKINS, Or Officer Commandg the 18 Regt at the Illinois.

[*Addressed:*] to the Comd officer 18th Regt Illinois 1768

[*Endorsed:*] H. N. The Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage 11 Oct<sup>o</sup> 69 2 Jan rec<sup>d</sup> 11 Mch. Ans.

RESOLVES OF THE SEMINARY OF QUEBEC, October 11, 1768.

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, p. 11]

Extrait du Régistre où sont écrits les résultats des délibérations plus importantes prises dans les assemblées de Messieurs les Supérieurs et autres officiers du Séminaire de Québec.

Le douze octobre mil sept cent soixante huit les Supérieurs et Directeurs du Séminaire de Québec assemblés en conseil considérans qu'ils n'avoient pas assez de fonds à Paris pour acquitter une lettre de change de trois mil livres qu'ils sont obligés de tirer pour acquitter une dette de pareille somme il a été représenté par Mr le Supérieur que selon l'avis qu'en donne Mr de Villars à Mr Boiret dans sa lettre du 4e mars dernier Mr le procureur des missions avoit entre les mains plusieurs années d'arrérages d'une rente de trois cent trente trois livres su l'hotel de ville de Paris appartenante à la mission de la Louisiane et que le dt Sr de Villars ajoutoit que le Séminaire de Québec pouvoit quand il voudroit disposer de cette somme avec l'agrément de Mgr sur quoi il a été conclu et délibéré que le Séminaire pouvoit effectivement disposer de cette somme 10 parce que Charles Danest n'ayant été reçu autrefois au Séminaire en qualité de donné que pour le service de la

[*Translation.*]

Extract from the Register wherein are written the results of the most important resolutions passed in the meetings of the Superiors and other officers of the Seminary of Quebec.

On October 12, 1768, the Superiors and Directors of the Seminary of Quebec in council assembled, considering that they had not sufficient funds in Paris to discharge a bill-of-exchange of 3,000 livres which they were obliged to draw in payment of a debt of like amount, it was stated by the Superior that, according to the information given by M. de Villars to M. Boiret in his letter of the fourth of March last, the solicitor of the mission had in hand several years arrears of an income of 333 livres on the *hotel de ville* of Paris belonging to the Louisiana Mission, and that the said M. de Villars added that the Quebec Seminary might dispose of this sum when it should wish, with the consent of the Bishop. Whereupon it was decided and concluded that the Seminary could in reality dispose of this sum; first, because Charles Danest, who had been admitted to the Seminary formerly as a *donné*, for the service of the Louisiana Mission only, was transferred

mission de la Louisiane il se trouve depuis plus de quinze ans qu'il a été renvoyé contre l'avis du Séminaire de Québec aux charges du dit Séminaire qui lui paye encore à présent et depuis plusieurs années pour sa pension à l'hôpital général et son entretien environ la même somme de 333 ll, 20 parce qu'il est juste que cette mission dont l'établissement a coûté au Séminaire de Québec plus de 30,000ll se fournisse maintenant à elle-même des prêtres missionnaires en contribuant à les former au Séminaire et qu'elle participe à ce qu'il en a coûté pour l'éducation de Mr Gibault prêtre qui vient d'y être envoyé lequel a toujours été aux charges du Séminaire pendant toutes ses études.

Que cependant sur cela on prendroit avis de Mgr l'Evêque qui seroit prier de signer et d'approuver la présente délibération et d'autoriser le Séminaire à tirer sur mon dit sieur procureur des missions à Paris le montant des dts arrérages.

A été arrêté enfin qu'on donneroit avis de tout ce que dessus à mon dt Sr Gibault par les premiers canots au printemps prochain.

(sign.) GRAVÉ, Supr JACRAU, Ptre  
J. E. PRESSART, ptre HUBERT, ptre  
BOREL, ptre, Dir.

[*Translation*]

more than fifteen years ago to the charge of the Quebec Seminary against the advice of the said Seminary, which has for many years paid and still pays for his board at the general hospital, and for his support approximately the same sum of 333 livres. Second, because it is just that this Mission (Louisiana), whose establishment has cost the Quebec Seminary more than 30,000 livres, shall now of itself provide for itself missionary priests by contributing to their education in the Seminary, and also share in the expense of the education of M. Gibault, priest, who has just been sent thither and whose entire education was charged to the Seminary.

That, however, the counsel of my lord the Bishop should be taken on this matter, who would be asked to sign and approve the present resolution and to authorize the Seminary to draw upon the said solicitor of the mission at Paris for the amount of the said arrears.

It was finally decided that information of all the above should be given to the said M. Gibault by the first boats the next spring.

Nous approuvons la susdite délibération des Supérieur et Directeurs de notre Séminaire. Nous en trouvons les motifs justes et nous autorisons le Séminaire à disposer pour le bien du diocèse des susdts arrérages. Fait à Québec le 13<sup>e</sup> 8bre 1768.

(sign.) J: OL: Evêque de Québec.

Je certifie l'extrait cy dessus du regitre des délibérations du Séminaire de Québec vrai et conforme à l'original.

A Québec 7 mai 1792.

GRAVÉ Supr du Séminre des Missions Etrangères de Québec.

[*Translation*]

(Signed) GRAVÉ, Superior	JACRAU, priest
J. E. PRESSART, priest	HUBERT, priest
BOREL, priest, Director	

We approve the above resolution of the Superior and Director of our Seminary. We find its motives just, and we authorize the Seminary to dispose of the said arrears for the good of the diocese. Done at Quebec October 13, 1768.

(Signed) J: OLIVER, Bishop of Quebec.

I certify that the above extract from the Register of the deliberations of the Quebec Seminary is true and conformable to the original.  
Quebec, May 7, 1792.

GRAVÉ, Superior of the seminaire des missions étrangères of Quebec.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, October 12, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, p. 327—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup> 13)

WHITEHALL Oct<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup>. GAGE.

SIR,

Your Letters N<sup>o</sup> 7.<sup>1</sup> 8. 9. 10, were received on the first instant, and having been laid before the King, I have great satisfaction in signifying to you His Majesty's approbation of your conduct, as well in the dispatch you have given to the execution of the orders for the future disposition of the Troops, as in the attention you have shewn to that part of the service more particularly connected with the department for Indian Affairs, which His Ma[jes]ty is well pleased to find

<sup>1</sup> August 17, 1768, *ante*, 377.

are in general in so good a situation; that the great object of negotiation concern<sup>s</sup> the boundary Line approaches so near to a conclusion; and that there is a favorable prospect that by the able conduct of M<sup>r</sup> Stuart We shall be, as we ought to be, the arbiters in the differences which subsist among the Southern Indians.

As Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson has in a Letter, which I received from him at the same time with your's, made some observations upon the nature & extent of the establishments and expences, incident to his department, and urged the propriety of continuing the boundary Line so as to include the province of New York, I cannot better answer those parts of your Letter N<sup>o</sup> 7. which relate to this subject, than by transmitting to you the inclosed copy of my Letter to Sir William Johnson<sup>1</sup> thereupon; and have only to add the great concern it gives me to find that S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson's expectations, in respect to the allowances necessary for his department, go beyond what was deemed a very full Estimate for that service, and that the settlement of a boundary Line, tho' it has been so long & ardently solicited by the Indians and considered as a Concession on His Majesty's part, must yet be attended with gratifications to them to so large an Amount as you mention.

It is hoped however that this expence, whatever it may be, will not be placed to the national account; His Majesty thinking it both just & reasonable that it should be defrayed by those Colonies for whose interest and safety this measure has been principally adopted.

The attempts made to excite in the Indians prejudices to the British Interest, by Messages & Belts sent amongst them for that purpose, seems to require the most vigilant attention; and as the very laudable testimony of the justice & friendly disposition of the french Government, given by Mr. Aubry, in the proclamation he has published & the Declaration he has made of a resolution to punish such incendiaries within his jurisdiction, will not allow His Majesty to entertain a suspicion that those Messages and Belts can come from any Authority of that Gov<sup>t</sup>, the suspicion consequently falls upon our own traders from Canada and the Illinois Country, whose conduct and proceedings cannot be too narrowly watched, nor their Treachery, if detected, too severely punished.

I must presume that Capt. Forbes had both good Reasons and proper Authority, tho' they do not appear from your Letter, for form-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:101 *et seq.*

ing the Inhabitants of the Illinois into a regular Militia; but I must wait for further information before I can with precision form any judgement or Opinion upon a Measure, which I confess, seems in the general view of it, considering the temper and disposition of the people with regard to whom it was to take place, at least of doubtful policy, if not of dangerous tendency.

Indeed the whole state of the Illinois country, whether it regards the proper Method of disposing of the Inhabitants or regulating the Commerce of it, is in the consideration too full of doubt and difficulty to admit of any sudden resolution upon it, and must be well examined and thoroughly discussed by the proper departments to which it belongs, before any certain or safe resolution can be taken; at the same time you may rest assured that this examination will not be delayed and that something will be speedily determined upon it.

Your candour, Sir, will I am persuaded induce you to forgive a liberty I take of observing that there is a little obscurity in that part of Your Letter N<sup>o</sup> 8. relating to the Troops to remain in West Florida, which makes it doubtful whether you intend there should be six or only three companies left there; if the latter I am apprehensive that it will be thought by those, who are interested in property and possessions in that Colony, to be much too small a force; and indeed when I consider the nature of the service, and that probably the State of the Illinois country and its commerce may induce an opinion of the expediency of some establishment at Iberville, I must confess that I have some doubts on that side of the Question, but cannot without further information take upon me to recommend any particular directions upon a Service, which His Majesty has thought fit to leave to your discretion, who must be best acquainted with the circumstances that are to determine what is most fit to be done.

I should be glad however to receive your sentiments in a more full and particular manner upon this subject, and that you would transmit to me the best intelligence, you can procure, of the actual state of the establishments at New Orleans and the Posts dependent thereupon, whether they have any or what fortifications, & if so, in what state and condition, what number of regular troops they have, and how posted, & what number of colony troops or Militia they could assemble on any emergency; and if you can accompany your intelligence upon these



Heads with any accurate plan of the Town of New Orleans, and its works & approaches, the information will be more useful and satisfactory.

If it would not occasion too great a trouble to you I should be glad also to receive from you the like intelligence of the State & condition of the establishments at the Islands of Miquelon and S<sup>t</sup> Peter as far as the above questions apply to the circumstances of those Islands.

I am sorry to find by your Letter N<sup>o</sup> 9. that you are of opinion that all the American Assemblies are disposed to combine in remonstrating against the authority of the supreme Legislature in the case of the Revenue Laws, and to approve the Letter from the Speaker of the Assembly of the Massachuset's Bay upon that Subject. His Majesty had entertained hopes that the irregularity and danger of such proceedings would have been seen before the mischief was felt, and that He should not have been under the necessity of bringing before Parliament proceedings of this nature, by which its authority is not only questioned, but openly denied.

His Majesty entirely approves your not having sent Troops to Boston untill properly called upon by the Gov<sup>r</sup> as you had not received His Majesty's Orders for that purpose, which I had the honor to signify to you in my Letter dated the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, and the King is very much surprized that on the 20<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>, you should not have received either my Original, or duplicate of that Letter, which was sent by the Pacquet of last July. The occasion of a miscarriage or delay in a matter of so great importance ought to be enquired into, & as I shall not fail to direct such enquiry to be made here, it may not be improper that you should do the same on your side of the Water.

Inclosed I send you a triplicate of that Letter, and am [*sic*]

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Draught to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, Whitehall October 12<sup>th</sup> 1768. (N<sup>o</sup> 13.) Ent<sup>d</sup>

HUTCHINS' SURVEY, October, 1768

[P.H.S., Hutchins Papers, 1]

[Courses of the Kaskaskia River]

The Point of Land at the Junction of the Kaskaskia with the Mississippi bears from the Beach composed of Mud & Land.

N 78 W 1. 50 a Tree on bank of Kaskaskia on the opposite Side bears N 84 E at 20 Y<sup>ds</sup> of this last Course to the Tree the Mud reaches the Water of the Kaskaskia and thirty Y<sup>ds</sup> from the opposite side the Mud continues to the Water The mouth of a dry Run on opposite side bears N 15 E—A Forked Tree on opposite side bears N 58 W

The Course of the Mississippi up from end of first Course is S 81 W 10 Chain at 2 thirds of this distance the bank of Mississippi is 2 Chains—

Up the Kaskaskia.

N 61½ W 5 Chain—from end of this Course to Waters edge 45 links the bank 20 feet high half of this Course close, the remainder this bank is 45 links from the Water the same highth N 70 W 1:50 links to edge of Water the bank here is 10 feet high from end of this Course an upper bank 75 links off 15 feet high perpendicular, The tree mentioned at the mouth of the River bears from end of this Course S 77 E, the mouth of Run bears S 85½ E the Forked Tree bears N 30 W

N 85 W 4 Chain beginning of this Course Run on other side bears N 24 E. from end of this Course to foot of upper bank one Chain, the mud is 20 Y<sup>ds</sup> wide at end of this Course, at end of this Course the lower band [*sic*] is 4 feet high, the Run bears N 68 E—

S 80 W 11:50 links Beginning of this Course opposite side bears N 52 W to a large Tree on Top of bank the mud is a Chain & ½ to the right of all this Course, and the upper bank is at end of it 1 Chain to left—from end of Course big Tree bears N 62 E—the lower bank here 3 feet West 10:50 bank Cross River bears N 76½ W at end of Course the mud 1 Chain to right the Top of upper bank 1 Chain to left—from end of Course bank Cross.

[*MS. trimmed*]

West 9 Chain all this Course bank 25 feet high close on left the Mud 50 links to right

N 80 W 8 Chain the Top of bank Cross River bears N 62½ W—all this Course along the lower bank the upper one is 1½ Chain to left 25 feet high Water all this Course close on R<sup>t</sup> The Top of bank Cross River bears N 15 W

N 86 W 6:25 link Water all this Course close on R<sup>t</sup> There is no Mud on opposite side. bank 75 l<sup>s</sup> on left

S 79 W 5 Chain bank close on left. River close on R<sup>t</sup> from end of this Course make on Off-Sett to top of bank 40 links—  
 S 69 W 2:50 links all this Course on top of bank from end of this Course an Off-Set N 36 W to the Waters Edge 75 links  
 S 66¼ W 3:50 from beg. of this Course bank on other side bears N 85 W—same bank at end of Course  
 bears N 56 W—bank 1 Chain to left all this Course  
 S 61 W 5 Chain bank close on left all this Course  
 S 76 W 6:25 Tree on top bank on other side bears N 74 W bank close on left all the Course. End of this Course Tree bears N 32 W  
 N 82½ W 3:50 bank close on left  
 N 70 W—5 Chain bank 50 links to left  
 N 49 W 2:25 Tree on other side top bank bears N 5 W bank close on left end of this Course  
 N 20 W 3:50 at 1:75 a small Gully in the bank the bank one Chain to left The Tree mentioned in a former Course bears N 64½ E  
 N 15 W 2:50 bank 50 links on left not very steep the bank on the opposite side 20 feet high & very steep  
 N 4 E 2:50 the bank on left not very steep nor high but steep on the Opposite bank  
 N 20½ E 3:25 Tree on the Top of the bank opposite side bears N 62 E bank but low and close on left bank high & steep on other side.  
 N 40 E 3:25 links the bank close on left but low The Tree on opposite side from end of this Course bears S 59 E  
 N 50 E 7 Chain high Steep bank on opposite shore The bank all this Course but low and shelving on left and a Gradual slope of 1 Chain to the Top

Friday 14<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1768

N 36 E 5 Chain the remarks the same as the last Course above only that the Mud is ½ Chain to Right  
 N 20 E 4 Chain low Shelving bank on left Steep bank on Right North 4 Chain At the begin<sup>s</sup> of this Course the Ridge on Opposite side bears due East 1¼ Miles a Tree on bank of River bears N 71 E

the Mud a Chain on R<sup>t</sup> all this & preceeding Course at end of this Course tree on bank bears S 63 E The bank still high on other side and low and shelving  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Ch<sup>n</sup> on this N 23 W 3 Chain to edge of Water the bank pretty steep close on left, the bank lowers on R<sup>t</sup> & begins to slope N  $36\frac{1}{2}$  W 2 Chain at beginning of Course Top of Ridge on other side bears N 67 E 40 Chain the Slope of the hill from Top to bottom is 350 yards—at end of Course bank close on L<sup>t</sup> and Steep, lower on R<sup>t</sup> bank

N  $45\frac{1}{2}$  W 4:50 link all this Course the bank close on left very steep, bank on other side low at end of this Course close on bank on L<sup>t</sup> are 2 or 3 Piccan Trees.

N 62 W 8 Chain all this Course high Steep bank close on L<sup>t</sup> low bank on R<sup>t</sup>

N  $63\frac{1}{2}$  W 11:50—beginning of Course Tree on bank bears N 15 W—At end of Course Tree bears S 89 E from end of Course the Hill over the River bears N 72 E 40 Chains—the remarks on both sides the same as last Course—the River at end of Course 1 Chain to R<sup>t</sup>

N 45 W 7:50—at beginning of this Course the bank takes off to the left and Runs into the Country, all this Course over low bank as is that on other side at end of Course are old Cabbins. the Water at end of Course one Chain to R<sup>t</sup>

N 44 W 3 Chain all this & last Course Subject to over flow the Creek at end of Course 50 links on R<sup>t</sup> bank on opposite side 5 yards high pretty Steep

N 41 W 4 Chain at end of Course the Creek  $1\frac{1}{4}$  Chains on R<sup>t</sup> the remarks the same as the last Course—Thee [sic] from end of this Course over River bears N 40 E 40 Chains to Top

N 33 W 5 Chains the remarks the same as the last the Creek from end of Course 25 links to R<sup>t</sup>

N 40 W 7:50 a Tree on bank bears N  $24\frac{1}{2}$  E The Tree on the bank from end of Course bears S 89 E, Steep bank on other side the bank Sloping on right but higher than last Course. The Creek 25 links on R<sup>t</sup>

N  $43\frac{1}{2}$  W 5:50 At end of Course Waters edge. the banks sloping on both sides—from end of Course is an Off Sett at Right angles 75

links 50 of which brings you to the top of the bank which is pretty Steep

N 40 W 9 Chain along the Top of the bank at 5:50 a Pican Tree close on Edge of bank at end of Course River 75 links on Right bank pretty steep on left shore & Sloping on R<sup>t</sup> the Land this Course very scarce of large timbr [sic]

N 54 W 4 Chain—from end of Course the top of Ridge where it begins to turn of from the River bears N 50 E  $\frac{3}{4}$  Mile—bank this Course Sloping on other side but steep on this from End of this Course an Off Set N  $43\frac{1}{2}$  E 75 links to the River again

N 56 W 2:50 Tree ove[sic] River bears N  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E this Course Steep bank close on L<sup>t</sup> Sloping bank on R<sup>t</sup> Tree on bank bears N  $37\frac{1}{2}$  E

N 59 W 3 Chain Remarks same as last Course

N  $54\frac{1}{2}$  W 2 Chain Remarks same as last Course

N 45 W 6:50 Tree on bank of River bears N 23 W Remarks the same

N 40 W 5 Chain and end of Course River 1 Chain on R<sup>t</sup> end of this Course on Top of bank which is 15 feet high and Sloping, all this Course another bank on left at end of Course 1 Chain Tree on bank on other side bears N 41 E—

N 25 W 4 Chain at 3:50 links The upper bank on L<sup>t</sup> turns off in the Woods it is about 10 feet high Sloping bank all this Course on this side and the opposite side Creek at end of this Course is 40 links on R<sup>t</sup> where we gan [sic] the next Course close at the Waters Edge

N 21 W 14:50 A Chimney on the other side near Edge of Bank bears due North— The Ridge bears N 46 E 60 Chain to the Top—Tree on bank bears N  $9\frac{1}{2}$  E At end of Course the Mud 50 links on R<sup>t</sup> to Edge of Water, a low sloping bank all the Course on L<sup>t</sup> Tree on bank bears S  $48\frac{1}{2}$  E Chimney on bank bears S 87 E High Steep bank all the Course on Right

N 35 W 6:50 Another Chimney bears N 50 E and another Chimney bears N 1 W a Tree on Ridge bears N 13 E first Chimney bears S 75 E The next Chimney bears N 38 E Tree on Ridge bears N  $23\frac{1}{2}$  E—

N 51½ W 2:50 Barn over River bears N 4½ E

Mouth of Run on other side bears N 43 W All this Course Steep bank on opposite side and at end of Course steep bank begins on this side. Barn bears N 17 E

N 69 W 3 Chain Steep high bank close on L<sup>t</sup> sloping Bank on opposite Side but pretty high

N 62 W 4:50 Steep Bank close on L<sup>t</sup> all the Course Sloping but pretty high bank on the other side from end of Course Mouth of Run bears N 2½ E

N 83 W 3:60 Tree on opposite bank bears N 39½ W all the Course on left high Bank close on L<sup>t</sup> at 2 Chains the bank forms a Cove of one chain deep at end of the Course the bank comes as usual from end of Course to River 1 Chain—Sloping bank on other side

N 53 W 3 Chain bank close high and steep all the Course on L<sup>t</sup> Sloping but pretty high on R<sup>t</sup> Creek 50 links on R<sup>t</sup>.

N 42 W 2:50 links banks on both sides as mentioned in the last Course end of this Course close to Waters Edge

N 53 W 6:50 at 3 Chain the bank which is high and steep on L<sup>t</sup> takes off for about a Chain & forms a Cove but come in the direction of the River—Tree on band [*sic*] from end of Course bears N 80½ E at end of this Course a Deep Gully— Opposite side as mentioned before

N 40 W 3:25 A Tree on Opposite side bears N 24 E at end of this Course a shallow Gully, steep bank on L<sup>t</sup> and low bank on other Side all the Course from end of Course Tree across the River bears N 56 E

N 28 W 7:25 links to a small Gully. bank pretty high on each side all the Course

N 20 W 10:30 The Chimney in the House in the fort on the Hill bears N 34 E A Tree on bank of the other side bears N 8 E At 5:50 links a Gully, at 10 Chain A Gully At end Course Tree on bank bears due East, [*sic*] Chimney in the Fort bears N 57 E bank on other side 15 feet high. at end of Course Creek 35 links on R<sup>t</sup> the bank close on L<sup>t</sup>

15<sup>th</sup> October

N 14 W 11:50 At 4 Chain a small Gully. at end of Course on R<sup>t</sup> 12 links—45 link to top of Sloping bank on L<sup>t</sup> from end of Course

South Point of Bastion bears due East.—End of Ridge at the bottom bears about S 84 E—

N  $18\frac{1}{2}$  W 5:50 A Green Tree on a Nob on Top of Ridge bears from beginning of Course N 72 E—The Ledge of Rocks in face of Ridge bears N 65 E—Tree on bank of River bears N 37 E At end of Course Tree on Nob on top of Ridge bears N 89 E—The Ledge of Rocks bears N  $86\frac{1}{2}$

Tree on bank of River bears S 82 E bank on other side Pretty Steep at end of Course Creek 75 links on Right end of this Course near top of bank which is sloping

N  $20\frac{1}{2}$  W 8 Ch<sup>a</sup> Old House with Stone Chimney on other side River bears N 24 E. Tree on bank of River bears due North. Tree on Top Ridge N 6 E all this Course near top of bank at end of Course Creek 55 links on R<sup>t</sup> down a pretty Steep Ascent to it—Old House over River N 89 E—Tree on bank of River N  $33\frac{1}{2}$  E Tree on Top Ridge N  $23\frac{1}{2}$  E, from bank of River on other side opposite end of Course  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Chain to foot of Ridge

N  $29\frac{1}{4}$  W 14 Chain all this Course long top of bank the bank Steep on other Side There is a Pond 12 y<sup>ds</sup> from the River all this Course Ridge one Chain from—N 43 W 16:75 Chimney on other side bears N  $11\frac{1}{2}$  E Tree on bank of River N 30 W At 13 Chain Creek 2 Chain to R<sup>t</sup> At end of Course is Top of bank which is one Chain from Creek bank pretty steep—At end of Course the Ridge has a small brake in it which makes it a little lower<sup>1</sup> than the lower part of the Ridge. All this Course bottom of Ridge 2 Chain from Creek. Tree on bank of River N 18 E

S 69 W 4:75 Mouth of Run below Madam Crayleys House bears N 52 E The Hollow it Runs down which divides the Ridge bears N 38 E Madam Craylies House bears N  $20\frac{1}{2}$  E which is Situate about 5 Chain from foot of Ridge. Tree on Top of Ridge bears N 13 E—End of Pond bears S 11 W end of this Course to the Top of bank which is 30 feet high here and all the Course at half this distance Creek 2 Chain on R<sup>t</sup> Mad<sup>m</sup> Craylies House N 40 E Tree at end of Pond bears S 43 E. there is a Rise Parrallel with this Pond on the side next the Plain all the way to the Village which begins at end of this Course Tree on Top of Ridge bears N 26 E. End of

<sup>1</sup> This word in pencil.

Top Ridge bears N 10 E it then inclines to the Right & forms a bottom and a brake in the Hill. Mouth of large dry Run on opposite side with high banks bears N 80 W—Top of Ridge after crossing brake bears N 17 W

S 34 W 4:75 Chain at end of Course mouth of Dry Run bears N 22 W all this Course on Top of bank which is very steep and 25 feet high. Top of Ridge bears N 8 W Steep high bank on R<sup>t</sup> Shire levell land away to the right of it

S 24 W 7:50 all this Course top of high bank remarks on the other side the same as before

S 33 W 8:75 Tree on opposite bank bears S 62 W end of this Course brings you to a large Locust Tree close on top of bank all this Course on top of high bank—Sloping bank on other side and levell land. Tree on bank on other Side N 32 W—from end of this Course a Locust Tree on this side bears N 67 E, another bears N 68 E, another bears N 79 E, another one bears N 86½ E, another bears N 89 E, another bears S 84 E Another bears S 75½ E, another bears S 11½ E another bears S 29 W S 38 W 5:75 link remarks the same as the last Course at end of this Course first Locust Tree bears N 47 E the next N 54 E, the next N 68 E the next N 70 E the next N 71 E the next N 72 E the next N 85 E, next S 75 E the next S 23 W

S 57 W 8 Chain a Tree aCross the River on bank N 55 W Remarks as before, at end of Course the Top of bank is 25 links on R<sup>t</sup> Tree aCross River bears N 24½ E

S 72 W 8:40 Tree aCross the River bears on bank N 80 W at 4:50 link deep Gully end of this Course brings you to the Post of the Gate next the Creek which is 81 links from top of the Bank. At end of Course Tree on bank on other side bears N 25 W—The Bainer fence bears from end of Course aCross the Plain S 22 E—

S 55 E 4:50 along the Road at 3 C 25 Links Passed head of the Gully mentioned in the last Course the Creek

S 62 E 24:5 A Tree along the fence bears S 9 E at 4:50 came to top of small descent the Course of which from end of 4:50 links is N 41 E but it loses it self To the right Hand— from end of 4:50 the Tree in the fence bears S 26½ W end of this Course brings you opposite the Centre of Pittmans House which is 70 links to the R<sup>t</sup> Hand



**SOUDREY TO WILKINS, OCTOBER 21, 1768 433**

Length of one Side of the Fort 2 Chain 80 links Side next the Village lays N 30 W & S 30 E

Set out from the Centre of Main Gate next the South S 32 E 1:68  
S 35 E 1.50 at one Chain descent of Hill begins S 45 E 3:40 at  
end of Course descent grows Steeper S 32 E 2:50 all this Course  
almost level it is on a Spurr and a Steep declivity on each side the  
Spur is 30 Y<sup>ds</sup> wide

S 39 E 2:10 at end of Course the Spurr grows very steep

S 13 W 2:25 this course down a steep descent to the bottom of the  
Spurr to the low land

N 80 W 3:75 along bottom land

**16<sup>th</sup> October continued**

S 60½ W 1:25

N 80 W 1:—The bott<sup>m</sup> Ridge on R<sup>t</sup> from end of Course 1:50

N 78 W 3:50 to the fork of the Road

N 75½ W 3:70 at end of Course bottom of Ridge is 3:50

N 79 W 4:—

N 85½ W 2:35

N 72¾ W 2:50 to top of bank of Creek from the end of this  
Course the end of the last Course of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant Viz<sup>t</sup> 10:30 bears  
S 35 W. and end of the first Course of the 15 Ins<sup>t</sup> Viz<sup>t</sup> 11:50 bears  
N 45 W

*[Endorsed:]* Course of the Kaskaskia River

**SOUDREY TO WILKINS, October 21, 1768**

**[K. MSS.—D.S.]**

TO THE HONORABLE JOHN WILKINS, Esq<sup>r</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Colonel of his  
Majestys 18th or Royal Regiment of Ireland Commander in Chief  
of all the Illinois Country & its Dependancies &c &c &c

Humbly sheweth

The Petition of Lewis La Soudré of Kaskaskia Village Trader—  
Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioner had a large Cannoe stole from him at S<sup>t</sup>  
Josephs by the Indians Who brought the same to Kahoki & there sold  
her for five Dollars to a certain Inhabitant of that Town named

Jerardan—Who refuses to deliver her back to your Petitioner notwithstanding he has repeatedly offerd to pay him the Sum he gave for her to the Indians.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays such Relief as you in your Wisdom shall esteem just & your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever Pray.

LOUIS DE LA SOUDREY

KASKASKIA October 21<sup>st</sup> 1768.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON, October 30, 1768

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

DEAR M<sup>R</sup> BAYNTEN

On the [*blank in MS.*] of August I rec'd all you very affectionate Letters of the 9th 10th & 12th of July P Vaughan & on the 15th Instant that of the 25th of June & three dated July 30th<sup>1</sup>—all of which I have already fully reply'd to in the Company Letter—At least all the material Parts relative to Business—Formely there was, but I do not think there is now, any necessity fo[r] a double Letter. If there should be aney Thing necessary to keep to Our Selves, it shall be communicated to You alone. All that I have wrote to the Company is the Simple Truth Without aney Gloss or colouring—At least as near to it as I can possibly judge. It is impossible for me to say what We Shall or Shall not be able to do. We have long experanced that an absolut Dependance cannot be placed in any distant Prospect. Ours is far from being worse than formely—but there is no such Alteration as to encourage aney great Expectations. At least, not abundantly more so than what I have Wrote to the Company by this Opportunity. I was so greatly deceiv'd last spring in the Sales, about which I was so sanguine, that I shall never again Venture to give so positive an Opinion. Nothing was to be done, from the great Sums the Traders where indebted at New Orleans to Merchants Who have their Attornies here to keep a good Look Out. The Sugar, Coffee, Rice & Chocolate With the Pemento & Pepper received by M<sup>r</sup> Rigbys Boats. are Considerably damag'd, owing to their not being pack'd agreeable to Derrection The large casks with Ware &c are all safe—but the small casks are so full of Worm Holes & so badly Made that they have occasioned a great Loss.

<sup>1</sup> None of these letters has been found.

The green Tea is also much damaged & is of an excessive bad Quality—I mean that in the Chest—So is the Bohea Which We shall find great Difficulty in getting off at two Dolars, especialy should any other arrive. The Intelligance you give Me relative to the Indian Department, confounds me. Col. Coles has a Letter from the Commissary at Detroit, Which gives him full Information thereof. He may esteem himself very fortunate in this Change— as he would most certainly have been discharged himself from the Servic with Ignominy. At least this is what the Warrior tells me & what I make no doubt but you are acquainted with. But how or Wherein he has offended is not made known Except it be in the largeness & Multiplicity of his Expences. His frequent Abuse of our F—— A—— a of Whom he has entertained a most rooted Jealousy, has been too great for me to bear. And his Ungentlemanly Behavior on the Arrival of Cope, set me beyond the Bounds I had prescribed to Myselfe Of this I informd you particularly by Cope, but should have done it, only to convince you of the bad Effect, secret Expresses may have— In my Letter to the Company as well as now I skip from One thing to another as they occur. This needs no Apology and therefore I shall not begin to make One.

In a postscript to One of Your Letters you ask whether We might not be advantageously concern'd in a Mill below. We certainly Might, agreeable to what M<sup>r</sup> Hollinshead Wrote to You by My Request, provided You could send such Person as recommended & I stay here a Year or two Longer, or M<sup>r</sup> Wharton succeeds me at this Place. I have my Eye on a very good Situation for a Ghrist & Saw Mill within three Miles of Fort Chartres. The within Copy of an Address<sup>1</sup> to Colonel Wilkins will shew You to What Despair our Friend Blouin Sr persuaded an ignorant Set of his Acquaintances to set their Mark to this Paper & assured them it contain'd Nothing but a Remonstrance against the Restrictions laid on the Buffaloe hunting. In my Letter of the 16th of Dec<sup>r</sup><sup>2</sup> I describe the Construction of a Boat suitable for the Trade from Fort Pitt to this Place—& cannot add or alter except by takeing something from the depth. Meldrum

<sup>1</sup> The address has not been found. This is one of the earliest intimations of the formation of a factional party under the leadership of Daniel Blouin in opposition to Morgan and his friends, later espoused by Wilkins.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 138.

the Carpenter has done great Injustice to Every Boat he has built & I fear is very deficient in his abilities notwithstanding the Recommendation formely given him.

This must be the Case or he has designedly slighted his Work—The Contractors Boats are by far better built & Contrived than any of ours of the same Size & Much stronger. Our large Boats are by far too weak for their Burthin & not long enough for their Width. Their heads & Sterns are too high out of Water to admit of a Person rowing to advantage at either place. Therefore they should be built in a Straight Mold or nearly so. They should never be bult of green wood or with Clench or Lap Work. Their Timbers are too small & too far apart, Which occasions their being very tender—Square Sterns are most convenient—When a Boat is built with clinch work the under Planks should be on the outside, or cover the first of the Side Plank at the Garboard Streak—As otherways that seam opens the first time she strikes the Ground. I know not whether You understand Me in this, but a Workman I believe might. I would indeed flatter myself that we shall not have Occasion to build many more Boats. Those we have had here have lain in Ruins ever since their Arrival a very few excepted. Since my Arrival I have taken all possible Care of them—but the great want of Rope has Occasioned the Loss of Most of them. I have been oblig'd to purchase several Cables for them at 4/6 & those very bad twice laid Rope. I cannot but attend to every Part of your kind and affectionate Letter—particularly those in which you speak with so much Warmth of the Time of my Return. But I dare not think of visiting Philadelphia This Fall nor indeed untill I here the joyfull News of the Restitution or see M<sup>r</sup> Wharton here & deliver my Charge over to him. I have been a great Means of your forwarding the well assorted & great Cargoe now on the Way. And were I to disert my Post untill properly reliev'd, I should justly be branded with Infamy. God forbid that I should ever do it give you cause to complain or Reason to be ashamed of My Conduct—However I Cannot help indulging My Self w<sup>th</sup> the Prospect I have of Embraceing You next Spring or sumer.

My plan is this—In the Month of May or June Next (provided I here of the Restitution or M<sup>r</sup> Wharton arrives in time) I purpose packing all our Peltry at this place & haveing it ready to put on

board a Boat for New Orleans by a particular Day By which time I shall proceed to Post Vincent by Land & from thence forward all that I can possibly collect there so as to meet the Boat from hence at the Confluence of the Ohio & proceed in C<sup>o</sup> therewith to New Orleans.

As I suppose M<sup>r</sup> Rigby Will Accompany them, he may meet Your Orders at New Orleans. From Post Vincent I can proceed by Land to Fort Pitt & I imagine may make an easy Journey of it in twenty odd Days. What think you of my Plan, Sir? Which if it should take Place, May surely be the Means of My having the Happiness to be with You at farthest, by the 10th or 15th of August. But should there be the least Probability of an Indian War, I shall certainly descend the Massppia Once More.

In Which Route there will not be the least Possibility of Danger. I flatter myself this will not be the Case—for Exclusive of more Important Concerns, I would by far prefer Walking to fort Pitt from hence to traversing the Atlantick.

I have already mention'd to You the unfortunate & affecting Situation the Royal Irish have been in for some weeks past. The Colonel is now perfectly recover'd. In the Height of His Illness I could not avoid Laughter at the Good Man, When there was but about twenty Men capable of Duty—Nothing would serve him but he Must Write the Orders of the Day & to encourage the Soldiers to support their Spirits he began to tell them what a Healthy Climate We were in & that this Illness was by mere accident. We shall, by & by says he, all have perfect Health & then the Country will flow with Corn, Wine & Oil, & all from the Industry of the Royals of Ireland—Cold Comfort this to the poor Souls who were just gasping their last Breath or raving with the most violent Feaver. God be thank'd I have been abundantly bless'd with perfect Health, to the Surprise of every One here—And now the Season is past.

I pray My Most dutifull & Affectionate Love to my Dearest M<sup>rs</sup> Baynton. May that Kind Providence Which has so often supported her, carry her through all her Difficulties & spare her to you & your dear Children for our mutual Happiness. This is the last Sheet of paper that I have of this kind, Which is the Occasion of my now laying down my pen. But only to begin a new Letter tomorrow

morning, should I have time. My Affectionate Love to Hetty Betsy, Peter &c.

I am my dear Friend & Father Your truly Affectionate Son

GEO: MORGAN

KASKASKIA October 30th 1768

To MR JOHN BAYNTON—

G. MORGAN TO BAYNTON, WHARTON AND MORGAN,

October 30, 1768

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

KASKASKIA October 30th 1768

DEAR PARTNERS

On the [*blank in MS.*] of August I rec<sup>d</sup> your several Favours by Vaughan & on the 15th Instant those by M<sup>r</sup> Elliot, which were design'd to come by M<sup>r</sup> Rigby—On the 4th Ult<sup>o</sup> Col. Wilkins With the Company who man'd our Boats arrived here,<sup>1</sup> but brought no Letter for me Neither did M<sup>r</sup> Rigby. This I supposed was occasion'd by Butlers falling sick on the Road.

I proceed to answer all your Favours which have come to hand since Copees Departure—Who I promise My Self—is ere this safely arrived with You, as Col. Wilkins met him nere to the Falls of the Ohio & Johnny Elliot pass'd him between the two Mincamis It gave me great Pain that I could not make You a handsome Remittance by him, & now I have an hundred fold greater, at not being able to accomplish but so inconsiderable a Part of Your Expectations—I flatter my self I shall incur no Censure, As it has been out of Power with Prudence to do more than I have done. The reasons Why & Wherefore, You shall have dispersed in different Parts of this Letter, as I may have Occasion to speak of different Occurrences in Our Business. My not being able to collect the Sums or make the Remittances you have recon'd on, Will be a sufficient Apology for your not having hear'd from me so often as you have desired, As the enormous Expence of Expresses would not permit it—The Bearer hereof, One Mons. Meyot, I have engaged by Desire of Colonel Wilkins, to carry his Dispatches to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. He is to have the sum of [*blank in MS.*] Dollars paid to him at Fort Pitt or Philadelp<sup>a</sup> Which with the

<sup>1</sup> This is the only document we have which fixes the date of Wilkins' arrival at Fort de Chartres.

Remaining Part of His charge, I am to include in Col. Wilkins Publick Acc<sup>t</sup> You will therefore to place the Above to the Debit of the gen<sup>l</sup> Adventure—He promises to Deliver his Packet at Fort Pitt in Twenty five days Accidents excepted—And on receipt of the Generals and your Letters he is to bring Us answers in as short a Time from Fort Pitt. I shall write to M<sup>r</sup> Campbell by him and give him the Necessary Directions. Your Sentiments<sup>1</sup> with respect to the Prospect of Our obtaining the Farmers Lands, cannot but be agreeable to Me, as they so much flatter Our wishes. M<sup>r</sup> Wharton has had a fine Field for the exercise of His Invention, Prudence & Retorick. If this Matter be to be carried through without the Aid of a large sum of Money, It must by this time be accomplish'd—Or at least such a part as can be executed on this Side the Atlantick.<sup>2</sup> I expect Johnny Elliot up with his Boat in two or three Days—I cannot conceive the Reason Why they could not asscend the Mississippi so strongly Mann'd as they are, Without further Assistance from Me Unless she be Overloaded, With the Men, Who came Express from the Mouth of the Ohio in ten Days, tell Me is the Case.

I have no Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Campbell or Acc<sup>t</sup> of this Boats Cargo—I suppose M<sup>r</sup> Elliot has both with him.

Since Colonel Wilkins Arived He, every officer & almost every private Man, have been most Violently attacked with a Feaver—For want of Experience— Attention & Attendance, they were brought to a Most distressed Situation—on their Arrival here I believe they had not even One Invalid. They cintinued helthy until about the 20th of September, When they Were Attack'd by twentys in a day & so severely that in the Course of about a Week there was but Nineteen Men capable of Duty at Fort Chartris & every Officer was ill at the same Time. These Gates were lock'd Day & Night & not a Person could be seen living except the necessary Centenels & Guards. The Groans & cries of the Sick Was the only Noise to be heard within the Fort. The Surgeon of the Regement held it out longest, but was during the Height of their Illness, confin'd to his Chamber & Bed Doctor Connolly was then called in & has been of great Sarvise & has Shewn

<sup>1</sup> We have no letter containing such sentiments.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Wharton's activities at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, which was about to take place when Morgan was writing. For information see Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2:61-89.

great Attention & Skill. He still continues at the Fort, as the Surgeon is not Yet perfectly recover'd & the men Yet want His Assistance. At present there are about fifty Men capable of Duty & the Violence of the Disorder is greatly abated. All the Gentlemen have recover'd or in a very fair way, except Capt<sup>n</sup> Stewart & Lieut<sup>ts</sup> Turner & Patterson Three most worthy officers to Whom the Disorder proved fatal. They were ill but a very few days. About Thirty Men & a number of Women are also laid in their Graves. The worthy M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey has been frequently & Most Violently attacked—M<sup>r</sup> Rigby has not been able even to set his hand to paper for several Weeks—and M<sup>r</sup> Brown has been obliged to have almost daly recourse to his Bed since the 1<sup>st</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. Our good Friend M<sup>r</sup> Hollinshead has also felt the Weight of the general Affliction—but is now thank God perfectly recovered & in as good Spirits as ever. I do not recolect a single Englishman in the Country that has held it Out except My Self—Which I have done to the surprise of every body. Col: Wilkins has began & I believe Will pursue every possable Method to benefit the English Trade to this Country. He has in several Instances shewn an Inclination to the particular Intrest of our Company. Indeed so far as to incur the Ill will of the French Traders.<sup>1</sup> You must perfectly understand this & therefore It needs no further Explanation had it not been for his late Illness and that of His Regements he would ere now have made some Progress in the Plans laid down to him by the General, Which would have been a Means of My makeing You a very considerable addittonal Remittance This Fall or Winter, as all the Expences would have fallen into my Hands. Necessity will oblige him to defer carrying on the Deffi<sup>t</sup> Woorks proposed, Until next Year. I have however sold the Colonel a Boat for two Hundred Dollars Which M<sup>r</sup> Hutchins is now fitting up as a Guard for the Ohio River<sup>2</sup> & to convey a Detachment of the Regem<sup>t</sup> to post Vincent.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to follow the relationship existing between Wilkins and the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. During the early part of his régime, Wilkins favored the company as was evidenced by his consent to the issuance of land grants to them and by other acts of friendliness. Before the end of his rule however, there was a break in their relationship. Consult index to this and succeeding volumes.

<sup>2</sup> This was in compliance with Gage's orders to patrol the rivers. See Gage to Shelburne, April 24, 1768, *ante*, 267.



At least this is what We have talk'd of. The sugar, Coffee & Rice have recev'd a little Damage Owing to their not being pack'd in good Barrels as recommended. The green Tea the Chest is of a very bad quality & so is the Bohea. I fear I shall meet with Difficulty in disposing of the former at 6 Dollars & the latter at two dollars P lb—particularly if any other should arrive. Until then I will keep up the Price. These Articles w<sup>th</sup> the Chocolate Tin Ware & Nails compose the Whole of M<sup>r</sup> Rigbys Cargoes. The article of Rice is rather overdone, but We shall in the Course of the Winter I believe, run it off. If not, I can at Saving price have it put into the King Stores in the Spring. I wish we had been so fortunate as to have order'd a few hundred W<sup>t</sup> More of Oakham, As I have sold the whole we had at 4/6 P lb & am now in want of 50 lb for the Boat M<sup>r</sup> Hutchins is fitting up. A large Q<sup>ty</sup> of Coffee is arrived from New Orleans Which has indused me to lower the Price thereof to half a Dollar P lb. At which Rate I hope to make considerable Sales by May Next. The Chocolate is very bad, Which has oblig'd me to lower that Article to 4/6 P.:Y. The Gentlemen of the 18th brought such great Supplies down With them, that Ye are not Yet in want of aney Articles. But the late and indeed the present Sickness of the Soldiers, has taken off every Drop of Our Wine. Neither have We a single Box or pound of Soap left.

I could wish for three thousand Weight of that Article of the best Castille—such as We formely had of Shute & C<sup>o</sup> & not such as sent last. The lowest Price known is 4/6 P lb—but most frequent 6/. Our want of Shoes has been & is great—by our not having a supply We have lost the Sale of several hundred Pairs—Coarse & fine. I have not but Boys & Small Mens left. The French Convoy or part thereof consisting of three Boats are arrived—two others are daly expected. They are generally laded with Taffia & Wine, but have a considerable Q<sup>ty</sup> of Other Goods, though not near so many as formely. Wethout Reckoning on any Thing from our Neighbouring Rivals, I have a good Prospect of makeing up by May or June next about two hundred Packs of Peltry—and if the same Measures be pursued the following Year, We may with propriety count on double the Quantity, as We are just entering into the proper Channel. Yet even this Q<sup>ty</sup> is triffling to what you seem to look for, though so Much

More than What We have heretofore experienced. I most sincerely wish that instead of teling you these Tales, I could inclose you Remittance for My part of the List of payments you purpos'd Making to Our Trustees & Creditors. The Distress I feel on this Acc<sup>t</sup> is not easily to be described & nothing is Wanting to excite Me to do All in the Power of Man in my situation to perform. Capt<sup>n</sup> Campble has again disapinted me, notwithstanding his Most solemn Promises & Oaths. His Debt is £500—& I have been under the Necessity of Paying £300 Bills of Exch<sup>o</sup> for a House Store & Lott at Fort Chartres. I could now indeed have had a thousand pounds More from diff<sup>t</sup> Customers—but we should injure Ourselves by distressing them at Present. Inclosed is a copy of my last Letter to Capt<sup>n</sup> Cambell—Whom I shall be obliged to put to trouble I fere shortly—I have had repeated Conversations with M<sup>r</sup> Murrey Agents to M<sup>r</sup> Franks & C<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup> respecting the Goods he Brought with him & those on the Way. Unless I am much Mistaken he will not greatly interfere with us. He has disposed of all his Shoes & most of his Rum in coming down the Ohio. Most of his other Goods will rest sometime with him, unless we find it prudent to purchase the whole from him—Which I assure You I am no Ways Anxious to do. Although from Your so repeated & pressing Desires I shall exceed My own Judgment rather than let him into the Spirit of the Trade. But in doing this I shall be in no hurry—for except a very few Quarts of Rum & some Pairs of shoes he has sold nothing. The Amount of M<sup>r</sup> Murreys own Invoice of Goods which he bought of Sproat & Co—is about £350 for Which He has given them his Bond payable in December next. The Invoice of Goods sent by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Franks & Levey, I imagine were more to get off that Qy of Goods than an Expectation of great Profit thereon at this place. The amount to about £600 & are on Acc<sup>t</sup> of Moses Franks, Arnold Drummond & C<sup>o</sup>. They have also sent an Invoice of Silver Work Amounting to £100 Which close [?] also on Acc<sup>t</sup> of Drummond & C<sup>o</sup> & bought from M<sup>r</sup> Simons of Lancaster, at I think extravagant Price. This Silver Work & the Rum are the principle Articles that I am desirous immediately to deprive him of—Wine they have sent none of—Neither have We a drop left. In-

<sup>1</sup> This appearance of Murray in the Illinois country as the agent of Franks and Company, marks the end of the monopoly of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. Consult the Murray-Gratz correspondence printed *ante*, 341-344.

closed is Mr Hugh Forbes Letter to his Nephew Captain Forbes, returnd. That worthy Officer left this for Fort Pitt the 14th Ult<sup>o</sup>, & I fere will meet With great Difficulties in Ascending the Ohio—He has four of Our Boats with him beside the Barge which I lent to him for his own Convenience. He is to deliver the Whole in good Order at Fort Pitt or we are to be paid the Value thereof by the Crown should aney Accident arrive to oblige him to leave aney of them behind. By him I sent to you the Sep<sup>r</sup> Indian Acc<sup>t</sup> Which for the reasons formely assigned to you amounted to no more than £2156.. 17,, 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> New York,—I was so very Much engaged at the time of his Departure that I wrote but a very few Lines to you by him. The Evening Capt<sup>n</sup> Forbes & his Detachment left Fort Chartres We were allarm'd with the News of Ensigne Forbes Boat having overset by running on a Log, & that he with near twenty Men & several Women were drowned. This unwelcome Intelligence prevented my following them next Day to the Island Opposite the Place, to take my Leave of Cap<sup>n</sup> Forbes &c. But I was soon agreeably in Part releived, by certain News of Mr Forbes being safe & most of the People—Inclosed is his note of hand for sundry Necessarys he got out of our Store here, amounting to £16:17—O Penns<sup>a</sup> Currency.

I have already, & by several Opportunitys given you full Information of ever Thing relative to Mr Hollinsheads Undertaking. I now refer you to him respecting his Intentions, how & When He will returne Home. Though I believe he is not Yet fixed in either. Whenever he pleases to signifie to Me his Desire to leve the Country I Will as soon as possible provide an Opportunity, by Land or Water as he may think proper. I have Disposed of All his Beef except—15,000 W<sup>t</sup>. I have a promise shall shortly be taken into the Kings Store at Eight Pence P C P lb.

I beg leave to refer you to the Enclosed Agreement to Shew You what I have done With Mr Murrey in the Provision Branch. The Buffaloe Meat I have sent different French Hunters Out for—The Whole of Which I am to pay for at the same Rate as Mention'd in the With in Copy of an Agreement with One Mons<sup>r</sup> Dane who supplies me w<sup>th</sup> 20,000 W<sup>t</sup>. Nothing could be done for Mr Hollinshead in this Way for many Reasons—Which I have Requested of him to mention particularly to You. You Will observe that I have Mr

Murreys Order for but 35,000 W<sup>t</sup> for the Garrison at Fort Chartres. But I think we shall manage Matters so between us as to lay in about 50:000 W<sup>t</sup>.

The Flour I have also agreed for, to be deliver'd by the Month of February. The Bills for all this Provisions you shall receive if possible early in the Spring. In the beginning of your Letter of 9th of July<sup>1</sup> You mention an Intention to forward 500 Bushels of Salt down the Ohio. That Letter is in answer to Mine of the 5th of Aprile continued down to the 24th of the same Month<sup>2</sup> Wherein I tell You that I shall not want aney from you, or other Assistance relative to the Buffaloe Hunt. I therefore hope you have laid aside that Resolution, as otherways you must be considerable in Advance until I Otherways dispose of the Salt, Which I shall do to a small Profit. What M<sup>r</sup> Hollin'shead wrote to you on this Head I know not, but he must have been perfectly known that we had plenty of that Article, & I read to him that Paragraph of My Letter to you & Every other which related to him. I must have been much mistaken with Respect to the Non Acceptance of M<sup>r</sup> Gibsons Bill—But it came upon Me at a most Unlucky Season.

His demand of 20 P C<sup>t</sup> Damages, together with Interest & Payment of the Whole of his & his Boat Mens Expence with a string of &c's—Made it necessary for me to dispute with him as I did. However I hope I settled that affair to Your Satisfaction, though I fere, greatly to M<sup>r</sup> Callenders Loss—Who I make no Doubt, with others Who have behaved in the like Ungenerous Manner, Will give Me the Character of being a very troublesom Person. I have already Acquainted you With the Reasons Why & Wherefore, I could not make the large Sales, Which I last Spring told you I had a Prospect of—M<sup>r</sup> Jennings will fully inform you of the Efforts I made to Accomplish my Designs & how many Days & Nights I must have spent from my Disappointment therein—I do not imagine that M<sup>r</sup> Clarkson can require the Continuance of his Salary, after refusing to returne home, When there was an Opportunity waiting for him & his Answer to Me on this Head. I flatter my self that no Disadvantage has arisen from the Method I pursued in sending our Handfull of Peltries by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clarkson & Jennings. From My Letters to them

<sup>1</sup> This document has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 222.

and You, You will Observe that a Disposal of the Peltries or Bills contrary to my Direction would be criminal in a high Degree.

From the Letter We have nothing to dread, but the former cannot reconcile himself to the Contents of Your Letters to Me Which he Open'd &c. The Heaters for the Box Irons shall be Made here, as I have the promise Of Iron Sufficient for that Purpose from the Kings Stores—But you might have sent a few assorted small, in doing of Which You could not have gone wrong. We are in Want of —40 M White 20 M black Wampum as a Party of Misouris have lately taken all we had. My remark on the Execution of the Order shall be sent after I have an Opportunity to examine the Goods From the Invoice it appears that great Attendance has been paid to it—but the Direction should not in any Instance have been deviated from, & if not understood should be left unexecuted—particularly in common articles—For Instance the Apalache Handkerchiefs—the Cotton Romalls sent in Lieu thereof By no Means answer being altogether defferent in Colour Size & Texture & entirely unsaleable. All that were at first sent in 1765 remain yet on Hand. The Chees you are to have from M<sup>r</sup> Bringhust will just answer our Purpose I wish we had a part of them here now. Pleas to send 100 lb of Chalk or thereabout, by the first Oppertunity. M<sup>r</sup> Campbel has sop'd that You design'd for Us, Although We so want it for our Beef Barrels &c.

When I receve the Kettles & examine them You shall have a particular Acc<sup>t</sup> thereof. M<sup>r</sup> Peter's adopted son will be highly Servicable if he answers your Character of him. So far as I am capable, his Morals shall be properly attended to. M<sup>r</sup> Rigby understands French very well—but the Fever has so greatly disconcerted him, that he is already anxious to Return home. The Active part of Our Business—I know not if he be calculated for, but his Integrity is greatly to be esteem'd. M<sup>r</sup> Brown has also been severly attack'd—he is very well Adapted as an Assistant to a Person of Capacity in our Business & begins to be Attentive. From the number of Sick I have had to take Care of & Administer to, I have not now Quite  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a Pound of Cortex left. We Shall therefore expect a few Pounds more of it against the next approaching Season. The Febrifuge you so warmly recommended will do very well from this till May next, When each of Us may expect to be attack'd in Turn.

I hope Dobson has not unpack'd any Goods w<sup>ch</sup> May be liable to Damage—The Application & Capacity M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey has discover'd in the Buseyness he has undertaken, will forever do honour to him & to Your Choice of so Worthey a man. Without throwing Virgil or Homer entirely a Side, he is become just the Person you wish him to be. He now pays abundently more Attention to Livres & Soles, then he ever did in his life before to Pounds—And there is nothing that has the Appearance of serving us too difficult for him to Undertake. Inclos'd are copys of M<sup>r</sup> Murreys & Mess.<sup>rs</sup> Franks & Levy's Invoice. If his Assistant, one M<sup>r</sup> Burke, be not well qualified for this Country, We have little to fere from that Quarter. The Rum he has sold the Most of & all His Shose in coming down the River. The Silver Ware is a good Parcel, but the Principle Articles thereof & Many of the small ones are Charg'd from 20 to 50 P C<sup>t</sup> too high for. Some of His Other Goods will command an Advance, but he has many unsalable Articles. You will observe that the Price of Provisions which I have engaged to deliver to M<sup>r</sup> Murrey, are at High Rates then formely Except Pork, as every Species was formely dd in at the French Weight Which are 12 P C<sup>t</sup> though the Paris standard is but 9 P C<sup>t</sup> hevier than ours—I am to Deliver at the English Weight. Besides which You will observe that I am to be allowed half a Bushel of Salt to every Barrel of Beef of 220 <sup>lb</sup> W<sup>t</sup>. You may perhaps expect an intelligible Relation of every thing else We are doing here, but this is impossible unless we send you the Sales & every daly Occurence which I have not had Leisure to do. We are all of Us constantly employ'd when the fever will permit, in One thing or other. When Matters of particular Consequence do not engage our attention, We are busy in those of Lesser Moment—In short from Morning till night we are occupied in greater or lesser Matters—so that although Remittances seem to come so slowly to You Yet We daly Make Advances in our Sales, & are now in a fairer Way than ever of carrying the greater part of the Trade here, Which We shall be enabled to monopolize provided the Col. pursues the Good Work he Has set his hand to. Inclos'd is all the Remittances I can Possibly make to You, a Mounting to [*blank in MS.*] I have reason to think Col Wilkins will in January or February next, have Occasion to send an Other Express to the General—By that Time I

hope to receive Letters from you p<sup>r</sup> the barer of this. I shall then make a Point of Inclosing to You at least £3000 Curr<sup>r</sup>. I need not tell You that nothing Will be Wanting in aney of Us to Make a handsome Addition to limited sum. By your Letters I cannot tell whether to Expect any other Boats down this Fall or not, Come When they May they will be acceptable, & We will w<sup>th</sup> all the prudent Dispatch in Our Power vend their Cargoes, so as to make as quick Remittances as possible. But the Length of Time they are on their Way and the necessary Credit to be given here will render it impossible for You to receive timely Aid from us to pay for them. I would therefore Wish that You had attended More particularly to My Request P Silver Heels. I have as Matters occured, answered all your several Letters fully, & acquainted you though irregularly with the Situation of Our Business here. I must beg Your Excuse for flying from one thing to An Other so hastily.

I refer you to M<sup>r</sup> Williamsons Letter from Post Vincents to You, for What I have entrusted to his Care. I shall direct him to wright to you very particularly by Mons<sup>r</sup> Mayot as he is to tarry a day with him on his March to Fort Pitt. Either M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey or My selfe shall pay M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup>son as [*sic*] Visit this Fall to see how he goes on and Conduct himselfe there. It is impossable for Me to Say What change the new regulations in Indian Affairs will make here. The Colonel treats all the Indians very genersly Who visits him; but few are yet come, as it is not the Season. He has taken the Whole Management out of M<sup>r</sup> Coles Hands, & Makes it a Point of inviting all of them to bring their Trade to Us promising to treat them According to the Q<sup>ty</sup> of Peltry they bring in. A Perseverance on this Plan, will no Doubt be attended with a good Effect.

Novem<sup>r</sup> [*blank in MS.*] on Sunday M<sup>r</sup> Elliot arrived with the Boat at the Mouth of the Kaskaskia. M<sup>rs</sup> Murrey & her Children came also at the same Time & have now a Room with Me.

On Munday Morning I rec'd a Card from Col: Wilkins that he would Dine with Me that Day L<sup>t</sup> Chapman Col. Cole M<sup>r</sup> Richardson M<sup>r</sup> Murrey M<sup>r</sup> Hutchins & M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>o</sup> Mullin also As I have ever since then had the Pleasure of the Company of thos Gentlemen & M<sup>rs</sup> Murrey, My Time has been mostly devoted to them. M<sup>r</sup> Elliots Cargo appears as Yet to be in good order, except some of the



Guns Which have got Wet & are rusty. I shall take Care hereafter to furnish you with an exact Acc<sup>t</sup> of every thing that occurs with & perhaps more correctly than I have heretofore done, as the Ague Season is now entirely past.

Please to present my most Respectful Regards to all our Worthy Trustees & to all our good Friends. I am with most affectionate Love to each of your Familys, Dear Partners—

Yours with sincere Affection—

G. MORGAN

Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1768.—

I have this Moment agreed to pay Mons<sup>r</sup> Meyot the Whole of his Wages here, which will prevent your making that Advance—  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 6th

Monsieur Mayott has unexpectedly been detained untill this Evening, which gives me an Opportunity to inclose you the Within Draft of W<sup>m</sup> Murreys on Levy & Franks in our favour for £500 Which he has advanced to me on Acc<sup>t</sup> of Provisions to be delivered, as I have rendered the Contractors a particular Service.

I am so much hurried in opening M<sup>r</sup> Elliotts Cargo, Which is in a most confused Situation & Without any Invoice, that I cannot add more than that I am as ever

Your most Affectionate Partner

G. MORGAN

To MESS<sup>RS</sup> B W & MORGAN

BUTRICKE TO BARNSLEY, October 30, 1768

[*Historical Magazine*, 8:260]

(Illinois) FORT CHARTRES, 30th October, 1768.

DEAR SIR:

I had the pleasure to write you by Captain Forbes the 15<sup>th</sup> September when the 34th Regiment embarked from hence for Fort Pitt, I had the pleasure to acquaint you then we were all arrived here in good health, and as the season was so far advanced we were in hopes we should not be troubled with the disorders frequent in these Climes for this year, But we was soon convinced otherwise, On Sunday the 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. I was sitting at Dinner when a sudden Coldness struck me all over without saying any thing of it I Rose from table and walk'd



into the fields thinking to shake it off, But to no purpose, I then went to Bed and found myself siezed with a Hott fitt which did not last long and afterwards slept pritty well till morning when I found myself quiet well, I tould the Doctor of what had happened, who said it would turn into an Intermitting fever and indeed so I found it, that day Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stewart L<sup>t</sup>: Turner and 20 men was siezed in much the same manner and so it Continued that in 3 days time there was not one Commissioned Officer, non Commissioned or Private man But one Serg<sup>t</sup>. 1 Corp<sup>l</sup>. and about nine men but what was siezed in the same manner next day as the Doctor had said mine came on again and in such a Violent manner that it laid me up for good. I had it six days with a Cold and hott fit every day But no shaking till the seventh when I had a very severe Cold fitt, and shuck very much the Doctor was pleased to see it and said he would soon put a stop to it, which he accordingly did, for from that time I had no more of it, in this seven days I had five different servants all taken ill, and should have been in the greatest distress had it not been for a Woman of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. whom a few days before had Claimed me for a Country man & was very tender and good to me till I was quiet recovered in a few days I was able to make my appearance on the parade being the first of the whole Garrison that was taken ill, on going out I found that all the rest of them was in a much more dangerous way than I had been that there was hardly any but was dangerously ill of a nervous fever and I Could plainly see we should Loose a great many men the first Visit I paid was to my Dear good friend, Capt Stewart who to my unspeakable grief I found was a dying man, and this had Like to have thrown me into a Relapse with greef, the 29th Sep<sup>r</sup>. Lieut Turner died who you may remember was a very modest good man, the 30<sup>th</sup> my Dear Stewart died and the 3 October Lieut Paterson, the men now began to go off fast we for several days Carried out in a Cart four and five a day, at one time, men and their wives have been Carried to the graves in the same Cart, and the poor Little Infant Orphans following, and no person to help or do the Least thing for them, we was not arrived at the greatest scenes of Calamity in the midst of which Col. Wilkins (who was then Lying ill himself) sent for me to ask me to do the Adjutant's duty. I was unwilling to engage in it but thought this was no time to Refuse any thing, and I

was immediately put in order to do the duty, you may easily Conceive what a situation I was in with all the Officers and men of the five compys so ill that we Could only mount a Corp<sup>l</sup>. and six men and had to Guard a fort in the heart of an Enemys Country, The disorder still Ragged and I have the greatest Reason in the World to believe it was Contagious for hardly had any one Came into the fort but found themselves siezed soon after. We have now sent to the Grave three Officers, twenty five men Twelve Women and fifteen Children, since the 29<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> and many more in a Very dangerous way, tho' I am in hopes the could Weather will soon help us.

Since I Recovered I thought it highly Necessary to make my Will in which I have Left every thing to your Disposall tho' Little as I have it comes with a hearty welcome I hope you will Receive this time enough to write in the Spring, if I dont hear from you then shall be very Uneasy.<sup>1</sup> . . . . .

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, November 8, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 457—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 20)

BOSTON Nov<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1768.

MY LORD,

I learn by Letters which I have received since my Arrival at this Place, that the Indians were not assembled to hold the Congress at Fort Stanwix on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October; but Sir William Johnson was well assured they would all come in by the 17<sup>th</sup> of said Month; and would amount to near 3000, in number. Sir William has transmitted me some Intelligence concerning the Disaffection of the Indians of the Ouabache and the Mississippi and of their Attachment to the French and Spaniards, whom they consider as one People. Also Indian Intelligence of Designs in the French and Spaniards to make War upon the English. But by the last News from Fort-Chartres, those Nations showed a Desire upon all Occasions to keep up a good understanding with us in those parts; tho' they endeavored to prevent the Indians from visiting our Posts, and to conciliate the Several Tribes of Savages inhabiting those Countrys to their own Interests.

Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup> Dougal, to whom His Majesty has lately granted an Island near the Fort of the Detroit, concerning which I had the honor some time since, to receive Letters from your Lordship, has

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the letter is omitted in the *Historical Magazine*.

given in Proposals to Sir William Johnson, for the removing the Vagabond French Settlers from amongst the Indians, by means of the Militia of the Detroit, and to that End desires to have the Command of the said Militia. Sir William approves very much of the Proposals, and recommends the Project to me very strongly. As Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup> Dougal is connected with some of the best People in the Settlement, and at the same time an Officer on the half-Pay in His Majesty's Service, there is no Person more proper to be at the head of that Militia, and I mean to make Tryal of his Proposals. Not expecting however, that the Militia will immediately be brought to execute all that is intended, but tho' they may at first obey with some Reluctance, I think they may, by Degrees, be induced to do everything we can in Reason expect them to do. And if they are brought to act in any Material Matters, for the English Interest, it can't fail to have a good effect with the Savages.

Brigadier General Haldimand gives Accounts in Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of August, of the Preparations he was making in West-Florida to remove the Forces out of that Province to S<sup>t</sup> Augustine; and relates the Difficultys he met with in procuring Vessels to transport them, thro' the Dread the Sailors have of the Bar of S<sup>t</sup> Augustine. He proposed to remove the Troops first from Mobile, where they are very Sickly and have lost near twenty Men. Lieutenant Governor Browne has desired, that some Artillery and Ammunition may be left at the Natchés, which will be complied with, and the Post of the Ibbeville is to be entirely demolished.

The People of Pensacola have made Representations against the Troops going out of the Province. I have the honor to transmit your Lordship a Copy of their Representation, with a Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Governor Browne to Brigadier Haldimand, and an Extract of a Letter, wrote in French, from the Brigadier to me, on the Subject of removing the Troops. His Majesty's Ministers have had such full Information of the Exports and Imports, of the Indian Trade and Spanish Trade, as well as of the future Benefit to be expected from, West Florida and the Expence of maintaining it, that it is unnecessary to say anything on those Heads. I would only observe with respect to their safety from the Incursions of the

Savages, that they are in a better Posture of Defence, than almost any of the Frontier Settlements in North-America.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient and most humble  
Servant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Sec<sup>ry</sup>'s of State.

[*Endorsed:*] Boston Nov<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1768. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 20)

R/ 23<sup>d</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup>; A.34. Ent<sup>d</sup>

HUTCHINS TO HALDIMAND, November 15, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21,686, f.39—A.L.S.]

FORT CHARTRES 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1768

SIR,

Please to allow me to observe that your Exalted Station like many other high places in Life, is not, I presume, free from some degree of care and trouble, at least so much as to deprive me of the smallest hopes of the Honour of your Correspondence; however, abstracted from the great obligation a Letter from you would lay me under, I shall beg leave to intrude so much upon your time as may be necessary for the persual of the enclosed, it is a short description of the Country near (and River of) the Ohio, from Fort Pitt to its Junction with the Mississippi. You have it in the form of a Journal wrote in haste,<sup>2</sup> I flatter myself it may notwithstanding serve to assist in passing a few of your leisure minutes.

I would trouble you with the Occurences of this place, but am apprehensive that a detail of them would swell this Letter to a tedious length, you will pleased therefore to excuse the Liberty I have taken in referring you to M<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson to whom I have wrote the particulars of them.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by J. P. Dunn, "Documents relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 2:417.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison of the inclosed journal with Captain Harry Gordon's journal, published in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime (I.H.C., 11)*, 290-311, shows that the former was abstracted practically *verbatim* from the latter. This fact raises the question either as to the honesty of Hutchins or the authorship of the Gordon journal.

The fever and Augue since our arrival has raged with such uncommon violence as to put it out of our power to do scarce anything more than bury some of our Officers and Men who were carried off by those disorders.

We expect next spring if the Health of the Garrison permit to take possession of Post S<sup>t</sup> Vincent on the Ouabache, if I should be furnished with any occurrences worth your notice. during my stay there, I shall do myself the pleasure to acquaint you with them.

Col. Wilkins who is quite recovered from his illness has desired me to present you with his most respectful Compliments.

It will always afford me pleasure to be favoured with your commands.

I am, with the Greatest Respect Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

THO: HUTCHINS

N. B. I must pray you will not permit any person to take a copy of the enclosed.

TO BRIGADIER GENERAL HALDIMAND  
[Endorsed:] r—15. of Octob<sup>r</sup>

L<sup>t</sup> Hutchins of the 15<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> 1768

Rec<sup>d</sup> the 15 of Octo<sup>r</sup> 1769.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, December 4, 1768

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

DEAR SIR

NEW YORK, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1768

It is time I should return you Thanks for your Letters of Sep<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup><sup>1</sup> which were transmitted to Boston where I received them. In the first you inclosed a Paper of Intelligence given you by a Delaware Indian from the Illinois, with a Speech to the Indians of St Joseph's, said to have been delivered by a French-man in the Name of the Spaniards. The Letters from the Indian Country are constantly full of the Machinations of the French and Spaniards and Disaffection of the Indians. The Indians must be sensible already of the false assurances given in the above speech and I trust it will have no bad Consequence.

<sup>1</sup> These letters have not been found.

I am glad you acquainted the Indians with our Design to withdraw the Garrison of Ontario. This Province has not yet taken any Resolution concerning that Post so I must wait some time longer before the Garrison is ordered to remove I am informed the heavy Artillery and Stores are carried away.

What you propose to me in your Favor of 13<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> concerning Lieu<sup>t</sup> McDougal, I think may be very usefull tho' it will require a good deal of Management to bring the Detroit Militia to execute all our Designs. I shall consider in what manner Lieu<sup>t</sup> McDougal can be appointed to that Command, without clashing with other appointments, in the upper Country which must be avoided if it is possible, but I mean to follow your Advice in this Affair, as far as I can—

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble  
Servant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE.

## CHAPTER IX

COURT OF JUDICATURE, DECEMBER 6, 1768—JANUARY 30, 1773  
COMPOSITION—SESSION OF THE COURT—WILKIN'S PROCLAMATION RELATIVE TO THE COURT—MEMORIAL OF THE COURT TO WILKINS—BREAK-UP OF THE COURT.

COURT RECORD,<sup>1</sup> December 6, 1768—January 30, 1773<sup>2</sup>

[K. MSS.—Official]

At a Court held at Chartres Village in the Illinois this Sixth day of December, in the Eighth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith &ca &ca &ca, in the Year of Our Lord Christ One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty eight. 1768.

Present; George Morgan, James Rumsey, James Campbell,<sup>3</sup> James Mc. Millan, Jean Baptist Barbeau,<sup>4</sup> and Peter Girardot,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On November 12, 1768, Commandant Wilkins issued a proclamation declaring his intention to erect a court for the settlement of all civil disputes. (Court Record, 463-464.) There had been no settled judicial power in the Illinois, since the beginning of a British occupancy. Disagreements were numerous among the English residents, and between the English and French. The French lived in almost continual strife among themselves. They were thrown into confusion when the judicial system to which they had been long accustomed, was transferred to the Spanish side. The first English commandant had indeed, ordered the establishment of a civil court, with the right of appeal to the commandant. (See Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime, I.H.C.*, 11, 124.) There is no record however, of any activity on the part of such a court. It is certain that in the various villages there were local courts of some description and that resort was frequently had to courts of arbitration. To correct the difficulties growing out of this situation Colonel Wilkins declared his resolution to establish a new court. The result will be seen in the following pages. The composition of the court from time to time illustrates the vicissitudes of party life in the colony.

<sup>2</sup> The court record is printed as a whole without reference to the chronological order followed in the volume.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably the Captain Campbell so often referred to, the barrack master at Fort de Chartres.

<sup>4</sup> For biographical notice see Alvord, *Cahokia Records (I.H.C., 2)*, lvi, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For biographical notice see, *ibid.*, n. 3.

Esqrs. Justices, Commissions of the Peace, Granted by John Wilkins Esq. Governor, and Commandant, of the Said Country, and Directed to the Gentleman Named, were produced and Read.

Whereupon the Said Justices took the usual Oaths of Allegiance to His Majesty's Person, and Government, and also the Oath's of Justices of the Peace, which Oaths were administred to them by The Governor, and Commandant aforesaid.

A Commission from the said Governor to Dennis Mc. Crohan Esqr., to be Sherrif of the Country aforesaid, was Produced by the Said Dennis Mc. Crohan and read, Who took, and Subscribed, the usual Oaths of Allegiance, to His Majesty's Person, and Government, [P. 2] also the Oath of a Sherrif for Said Country.

The Governor, and Commandant aforesaid, entered into a Recognisance in the Sum of Five hundred pounds Lawfull money of Great Britain, for the Said Sheriff's due Performance of his Office.

Viviat & Dalchruct	Plts.	} in Debt
v		
Antonie Paltie <sup>1</sup>	Deft.	

[P. 3] At a Court held at Kaskaskias 2d, January 1769.<sup>2</sup>

Present

George Morgan, James Rumsey, James Campll., James Mc. Mil-  
lan and Jean Baptist Barbeau Esqrs. Justices, Proceed to Busness.

Viviat & Dalchurute	Pltf	} Debt
v		
Antoine Peltie	Deft.	

Attacht. against the Defendants Estate for 1127 Livres with Costs.

Patrick Kennedy	Pltf	} Debt
v		
Antoine Peltie	Deft.	

Attacht. against the Defendants Estate for 800 Livres

Baynton Wharton & Morgan	Pltf	} Debt.
v		
Francois Drouart <sup>3</sup>	Deft.	

Judgt. for the Plaintiff for the Sum of 130 Livrs. with Costs

<sup>1</sup> See note in Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2), 632, n. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Handwriting changes.

<sup>3</sup> Consult index, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I.H.C., 5).



George Morgan Plaintiff }  
 v } Debt.  
 Francois Drouart Deft. }  
 Judgt. for the Pltf in 821 Livres with Costs  
 [P. 4] Paulette Desruisseau<sup>1</sup> Pltf }  
 v } Debt.  
 George Morgan Deft. }

the Plaintiff Non Suited with Costs

An order from John Willkins Esqr. Govr. and Commandant Addressed to the Court to Examine into the Meritts of a Dispute Between Joseph Morea of Kaskaskias Cooper Pltf Against. George Morgan Mercht. is by Mutual agreement Deferred untill the next Court to be held at Chartres Village 1st. Tuesday in February Next—and then the Court was adjourned untill 4 oClock this afternoon

The Court Being Mett acording to adjournment proceeds to Business.

When pail Desruisseau made a Motion by his Attorney, that the Judgt. given against him this Mornng be revised—alledging that for want of a proper Interpreter, the Authority to him given was not fully Explained—having full power from his Constituent to Transact all Buisness in this Country and elsewhere for him, and at the time of giving Such power the Said Constituent was Remooving to his Catholick Majestys Dominions

on the<sup>2</sup>

[P. 11] At a Court held at Kaskaskeas 7th. March 1769

Present

George Morgan James Rumsey, James Campbll and Jean Baptist Barbeau Esqrs. Justices, Proceeds to Business.

When agreeable to an Order from the Governor and Commandant Directed to the Court to Examine into the Merritts of Msr. Perraults Claim,—But upon the Mutual Request and Desire of Messrs. Blouin and Rocheblave<sup>3</sup> the two persons therein Concerned it is Defered the Court of June Next.

<sup>1</sup> Consult index, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I.H.C., 5).

<sup>2</sup> Several pages missing.

<sup>3</sup> For the sketch of life and character see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2), xxvi.

The Court agreeable to an Order to them Directed from L<sup>t</sup>. Chapman Comand<sup>t</sup>. of Kaskaskias, entered into an Examination of the Dispute Between George Wittmer and Nicholas BrodBach, and are of Oppinion from the many Coroborating Circumstances and the validity of Wittnesses, that the Said Geo. Wittmer did abuse and ill Treat the Said Nicholas BrodBach, and are farther of Oppinion that Some Restitution be Made him for the Damages Sustained thereby to His health Cloaths and Loss of time Moreover that the Said Wittmer Should be detained in Custody

[P. 12] untill he finds One Substantiall person to joyn him in a Bond of £100 New York Currency as a Securety for his future good Behaviour for the Space of Six Months from this day—the Damages Sustained by the Said BrodBach is Esteemed at Twenty pounds New York Money to to [sic] be pay'd him Imediately by the Said Wittmer.

Signed

Geo. Morgan

J Rumsey

James Campbell

James Mc. Millan

George Wittmer Pltff

v

Nicholas BrodBach Deft.

} Debt.

The plaintiff to pay Costs and give an aquittance to the Defendant

Nicholas BrodBach Pltf

v

George Wittmer Deft

} Debt

The plaintiff to pay Costs and give the Defendant an aquittance.

The Court is adjourned untill 4 oClock this afternoon.

[P. 13] The Court Being Mett according to adjour. proceeds to Buisness.

An Order from the Governor Directed to the Court to Examine into the Nature of a Complaint Brought. by Dennis M. Croghan Esq<sup>r</sup>. against M. Charlevile,<sup>1</sup> Both of Kaskaskias, Concerning a Quaintity of Swine that were Stolen from the Said Dennis M. Crohan Esq,

<sup>1</sup> For data on Charleville family consult indexes to Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2), and *Kaskaskia Records* (I.H.C., 5).

Part of which were found Conceald in the Negro house of Charlevile afforesaid.

The Court are of Oppinion that M. Charlevile pays unto Dennis M. Crohan Esq. The Sum of two hundred and fifty five Livres Together with Twenty Livres Costs which Makes in all Two hundred and Seventy five Livres or Fifty five Dollars.

Baynton Wharton & Morgan Pltfs.	}	Debt
v		
Jirard Rode <sup>1</sup>	Deft.	

Judgt. for the plaintiffs in the Sum of  
with Costs of Suite.

The Court is adjourned until the first Tuesday in april next Comming then Meet at Chartres Village.

[P. 14] At a Court Held at Chartres Village Tuesday 4th. Apl. 1769

Present

George Morgan, James Rumsey James Campl. and James Mc. Millan Esqrs. Justices

Richard Winston was appointed Clerk of this Court and Sworn to the true performance of his Office

La Duc	Ptlf	}	Trespass on the Case
v			
Paul Desruisseau	Deft.		
Defferred untill Next Court			
La Duc	Ptlf	}	Case
v			
Paul Desruisseau	Deft		

—Continued—

The Court is adjourned untill 4 OClock this afternoon—The Court Being Mett according to adjournment and no Buisness to be done is Adjourned untill the first Tuesday in May Next and then To Meet at Kaskaskias.

[P. 15] At a Court Held at Kaskaskias Tuesday the 2d. May 1769.

Present

James Mc. Millan Esqr. Justice

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in the letter of Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, April 5, 1768, *ante*, 232.

A sufficient number of Justices not Being Present, the Court is adjourned untill next Tuesday Being the Ninth Instant, and then to Meet at Chartres Village.

The Court Being Mett according to Adjournment.

Present

George Morgan James Rumsey, James Campbell James Mc. Milan and Jean Barbeau Esqrs. Just.

J. Dubord	Pltf	}	Case
v			
James Campbell Esqr.	Deft		

Judgt. for the Plaintiff in the Sum of 574# in Cash with Costs

[P. 16] Baynton Wharton & Morgan	Pltfs.	}	Debt
v			
Louis Dela Foudray	Deft.		

Continued

The Same	Pltfs.	}	Debt
v			
Jirard Langlois <sup>1</sup>	Deft.		

Continued

The Same	Pltfs.	}	Debt
v			
Cortineau	Deft.		

Judgt. for the Plaintiff in the Sum of 1498# 7 Sols & Costs

The Same	Pltfs.	}	Debt
v			
Duilos [2]?	Deft.		

Judgt. for the plaintiff in the Sum of 1050# 5 Sols with Costs

and in Consideration of the Defendant absconding—Attachment is Immediately awarded against his Estate

Daniel Bloüin	Pltf.	}	Debt
v			
Dennis Mc. Crohon Esqr.	Deft.		

Judgt. for the Pltf in the Sum of 1895#. Costs<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For references to Langlois family consult indexes to Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2), and *Kaskaskia Records* (I.H.C., 5).

<sup>2</sup> Pages 16 to 21 are missing in the original.

<sup>1</sup> Resident of Prairie du Rocher.

adjourned untill the first Tuesday in January Next Comming, and to meet at Chartres Village.

Chartres Village 2d. Jany. 1770

A Sufficient Number of Majestrates Not Being present the Court is adjourned till the first Tuesday in Feby. Next Comming and then to meet at Kaskaskias

Kaskaskias 6th February 1770

The Court Being met acording to adjournmt. When Lewis Viviat Esqr. Presented and was read to the Court Commission Granted by John Wilkins Esqr. Governor and Commandant of the Country of the Ilinois, appointing him the Said Lewis Viviat one of the Judges or Justices of this Court, whereupon the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty [P. 23] as well as the Oath of a Justice of the pace was Tendered to and taken by the Said Viviat after Which he took his Seat Accordingly.

Present

James Rumsey Jean Baptist Barbeau David Williams and Lewis Viviat Esqrs. Justices.

Richard Winston	ptf }	Attachment of the Moneys of Jozon in the Hands of Dennes Mc.Crohon
v		
Dennes Mc.Crohon	Deft. }	

Deferred untill Next Court

Lieut. Chapman	Pltf }	Debt
v		
Dennes MCc. Crohon	Deft. }	

Judgt. for the Plaintiff in the Sum of £54.10.6 Pennsa. Currency, with Costs of Suit.

Roger O Neil	Pltf }	Debt
v		
Dennis Mc. Crohon	Deft. }	

Judgt. for the Plaintiff in the Sum of £20.19.2 N. York With Costs Baynton Wharton & Morgan Plts.)

v	Debt
Dennis Mc. Crohon	Deft. }

Judgt. for 1330 Livres with Costs.

[P. 24] February Court Continued

Franness Durcy	Plt.	} Deteneau
v		
Daniel Blouin	Deft.	}
Defferred till Next Court		
Franness Durcy	Plt.	} Acot. Render
v		
Daniel Blouin	Deft.	}
Defferred untill Next Court		

And then the Court was adjourned untill the First Tuesday in March Next Coming and then to meet at Chartres Village.

At a Court Held at Chartres Village on Tuesday the 6th. day of March 1770 When was Produced and Read to the Court a Commision Granted by John Wilkins Esqr. Governor and Commandant of the Illinois Country.<sup>1</sup> Directed to the Court and is as follows Viz.

[Seal] By John Wilkins Esqr. Lieutenant Colo. of His Majestys 18th. or Royal Regiment of Ireland Governor and Commander in Chief of all His Majestys Forces in the Illinois Country &c &c &c.  
To the Civil Court of Judicatory in the Illinois Country Established

[P. 25] Whereas I have Heretofore to wit in the Month of November in the Year of our Lord 1768. by Virtue of the power to me given by His Excellancy Major General Thomas Gage Commander in Chief of His Majestys Forces in North America,<sup>2</sup> Authorized and appointed Several of the Most Respectable and Fit Inhabitants for Such office in the Said Country to form a Civil Court of Judicatory with powers as Expressed in their Commissions to hear and try in a

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this did not have the desired effect in bringing about coöperation. Further evidence of this is found in a letter of March 12, 1770.

<sup>2</sup> We have found no such order. Gage may have known of the existence of such a court from the suggestion in his letter to Wilkins, March 24, 1769, *post*, 508. There is, however, no intimation in his correspondence with home authorities that he was aware of the action of Governor Wilkins. In fact in a letter to Hillsborough, under date of August 26, 1771, he asserts that there is no method of settling disputes. There may be in papers we have been unable to find, some positive evidence. For further discussion of this point see Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 66-67.

Summary way all Causes of Debt and Property that Should be Brought Before them and to Give their Judgment thereon according to the Laws of England, to the Best of their Judgment and understanding.

And Whereas Several Disputes & Controverseys have from time to time Arisen Between the Inhabitans of the Country afforesaid as well as assaults & Batterys Committed which by the Power by me Heretofore given to the Said Court may not appear to be Cognizable by them and Whereas it is my full Intention and Most Earnest desire, that all Legal ways & Means be pursued, that may any ways tend to the Tranquility and Happiness of the Inhabitants of the Country afforesaid—[P. 26] and as the present Establishment of the Country does not admit of Tryals by Juries. On account of its Small Number of Inhabitants as Well as their want of Knowledge of the Laws and Customs of England, I do hereby therefore Further Authorize and Impower the Said Court to hear Try and Determine in a Summary way all Disputes Controverseys and Debates Brought Before them Whether the Same be assaults &c. upon the Person or Trespass upon the Property of the Inhabitants of the Country afforesaid, and to Impose & levey Such fines and inflict Such Corporal Punishment, or Commit offenders to Jayle at the Discretion of the Said Court in Such Manner and for Such time as might be Legaly done by any Other Civil Court of Judicatory, Established Agreeable to the Laws and Customs of England, where the punishment of Offenders Dont Extend to Life or Limb, and Generally to Act in Every Respect as Justice may Legally do for the Conservation of the Pace, for the Support of Lawfull Government & Authoroty, and the Benefit Civil Society

By the Governr. & Commdt.	} Given under my hand and Seal at Arms this 4th. day of March 1770	[ Seal at Arms ]
J. Rumsey Secy.		
Jo. Wilkins Commandant		
[P. 27] Present		

James Rumsey Jean Baptist Barbeau David Williams, & Lewis Viviat Esqrs. Justices.

Richard Winston Pltf	} Attacht. of the Moneys of Jozon in the hands of the Defendant.
v	
Dennes MCc. Crohon Deft	



Judgt. for 145# 9 Sols which is all that Appears to Remain in the hands of Dennes Mc Crohon.

Franness Durcy	Pltf	}	Detenieau
v			
Daniel Bloüin	Deft.		

the Plaintiff Nonsuited and to Pay Costs

Franness Durcy	Pltf	}	Accot. Render
v			
Daniel Bloüin	Deft.		

Defferred untill Next Court

And then the Court was Adjourned till the first Tuesday in April Next Comming and then to Meet at Chartres Village.

[P. 28] At a Court Held at Chartres Village on Tuesday the 3d. day of April 1770.

Present

James Rumsey Jean Baptist Barbeau David Williams &  
Lewis Viviat Esqrs. Justices

Dennis Mc. Crohon	Pltf	}	Debt.
v			
George Wittmer	Deft.		

Judgt. for the Sum of 151# 5 with Costs

Daniel Bloüin	Pltf	}	Debt.
v			
Joseph Decelle	Deft.		

Not to be found.

Franness Durcy	Pltf	}	accot. Render
v			
Daniel Bloüin	Deft.		

Dismissed the Plaintiff to pay Costs

And then the Court was adjourned untill the first Tuesday in May Next Coming Then to Meet at Chartres Village

[P. 29] At a Court Held at Chartres Village on Tuesday the first day of May 1770 When Joseph Chovin alias Charlevile and Antoin Louviere<sup>1</sup> Esqrs. Produced And was read to the Court Commissions to them Granted by John Wilkins Esqr. Governor and

<sup>1</sup> Prominent resident of Prairie du Rocher.

Commdant of the Country of the Illinois, Appointing them Judges or Justices of this Court, Whereupon the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty as well as the Oath of a Justice of the pace was Tendred to and Taken by Them Whereupon they Took their Seats accordingly.

Present

Jean Baptist Barbeau, Lewis Viviat Piere Girardot, Joseph Charleville and Antoin Louviere Esqrs. Justices.

Francess Durcy	Pltf	} Case
v		
Daniel Bloüin	Deft.	

Non Suited and to pay Costs

Richard Bacon <sup>1</sup>	Pltf	} Case
v		
Lajoy	Deft.	

Deferred untill Next Court for further Proof and then the Court was adjourned till the First Tuesday in June Next Comming and then to Meet at Chartres Village.

[Pages 30 to 36, inclusive, French Documents.]

[P. 37] At a Court held at Chartres Village on Tuesday the fifth Day of June 1770.

Present

Geo. Morgan	Presedent	
J. B. Barbeau	} Justices	
Antoine Louveire		

As the President had some Doubts with Respect to M. Louviers Commission which had been made out on the 23d day of December 1769 & therein express'd that he should make or constitute one of the Court to meet in *December next* & other Improprietys which Colonel Wilkins assures the Court shall be immediately rectified The Court therefore adjourn'd untill Nine OClock tomorrow Morning then to meet at Kaskaskia Village for the greater Convenience of the Court & the Inhabitants & to save them the great Expences they would other-ways be obliged to be at in attending at this Place

G. Morgan Presdt.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Bacon represented George Morgan in his farming enterprise.

[P. 38] Kaskaskia 6th June 1770. The Court of Judicatory for the Colony of the Illinois being met agreeable to Adjournment, proceeded to Business The following Magistrates being present Viz

Geo. Morgan President	}	Esqrs.
Joseph Charleville		
Jean Bt. Barbeau		
Pierre Jiredot		
Lewis Viviat &		
Antoine Louveire		

The Court was presented with a Petition by Poulet des Reusseau dated at Kaskaskias the 5th Instant informing them that Ensign William Richardson in Company with One other Person unknown did in the Night of the 20th of Feby last enter the Petitioners House & take from thence a Slave belonging to said Petitioner for which he alledged he had Orders from the Governor Which Slave the said Ensign William Richardson has ever since detain'd against the Consent of the Petitioner to his great Damage & Expence, And therefore he prays the Court will order such Justice done in the Premisses as may secure to him the Property of the said Slave & [P. 39] defray such Costs, Charges & Damages as he has thereby sustain'd. The Court having taken the said Petition into Consideration do order a Citation to be serv'd on the said Ensign William Richardson that he appear before the Court on the first Tuesday in the Month of July next then & there to make known to them Why & Wherefore he did take the Negro of the Petitioner & detain him as set forth above And at the same time to give him Notice that in Case of Failure the Court will proceed against him agreeable to Law & Equity.

Daniel Blouin	Pf	}	Plea of Debt.
v			
Francis Durcy	Dft.		

Return'd by the Provost not to be found The Court do therefore order an Attachment agreeable to the Request of the Plaintiff to be issued against the Effects of the Defendant in the Hands of Joseph L'Esperance & all others wheresoever the same may be found.

Then the Court adjourn'd untill three OClock PM When being met they were presented with a Petition from Raphael Beauvais Inhabitant of Kaskaskia setting forth [P. 40] that he is possess'd of an

Obligation of Philip Pittman<sup>1</sup> Lieut. in One of his Majestys Regiments of Foot, late Assistant Engineer in the Illinois Country for three thousand Livres payable to Jean Baptiste Beauvais Who has assign'd the same Over to him the said Raphael Beauvais. That he has in Vain repeatedly Apply'd for Payment thereof & demanded from Lt. Col. John Wilkins our Governor such Justice in the Premises as to him should appear equitable. That our said Governor referr'd the Petitioner to James Rumsey Esqr. for Redress to Whom he accordingly apply'd & pray'd a Writ of Attachment against the aforesaid Philip Pittmans Estate or that the House belonging to him at Kaskaskia for Which the above mention'd Debt of three Thousand Livres was contracted, should be sold to discharge the same & that the said James Rumsey gave for Answer "*qu'elle ne sera pas Vendu*" That the said House should not be sold. Which is all the Satisfaction he has yet received. Said Rl. Beauvais therefore prays of the Court to order such Remedy as to them shall appear just.

The Court having taken the [P. 41] said Petition into Consideration & having examin'd the Obligation of said Philip Pittman to the aforesaid J B Beauvais assign'd & transferr'd to the said Raphael Beauvais are of Opinion that the House in Kaskaskia Village belonging to Philip Pittman aforesaid now occupied by Lieut. Benja. Chapman & a Detachment of his Majestys 18th Regt. ought of Right & is hereby order'd to be seized & sold on Tuesday the Seventh Day of August next to pay & discharge the aforesaid Debt of three thousand Livres together with all Costs & Charges of Suit & Sale. The Surplus to be deposited in Secure Hands or to be paid to the said Philip Pittman or his Attorney legally appointed.

The Court taking into Consideration the great Expenses & Inconveniences attending the Inhabitants being obliged to go to Fort Chartres should the Court be in future held there where there are no Houses of Entertainment or other Places they can be supplied with Provisions & Lodgings at, or Oats & Hay for their Horses, DO DETERMINE & UNANIMOUSLY AGREE that the Court shall for the next ensuing six Months, & longer if not hereafter unanimously agreed on to the Contrary, be held at the Village of Kaskaskia the first Tuesday

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notice see Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period* (I.H.C., 10), 264 n.

in every Callender Month. [P. 42] Gabriel Cerré<sup>1</sup> then presented a Petition to the Court setting forth in behalf of his Mother in Law Marienne Giard that a certain Francis Menier deceased had made his last Will & Testament in favour of his said Mother in Law Which Will & Testament he produced to the Court & pray'd she might be put in Possession of the Effects devised by the said Will to her, Which a certain Joseph Marie Menier Brother to the deceased Testator has taken Possession of & detain'd from her the aforesaid Marienne Giard under Pretence of Conformity to the Orders of our Governour.

The Court having Consider'd the Contents of the said Petition & examin'd the Will do order that the aforesaid Joseph Marie Menier appear at the next Court to shew just Cause Wherefore he detains the bequeathed Effects as aforesaid from the said Marienne Giard in failure Whereof the Court Shall proceed to give Judgement as to them shall appear equitable. Joseph L'Esperance Attorney at Law informs the Court, that he has demanded [P 43] several Writs from James Rumsey Esquire Secretary to Colonel Wilkins, who is charged with the Sale of Writs &c & who positively refused the same to him. That One of the Writs which he demanded from said James Rumsey Esqr. was as follows—by desire of George Morgan his Client—Viz.

Walter Shee, Bertles Shee  
Thos. Bond Junr. Geo. Fullerton  
& Robert Harris Assignees  
in Trust of the Estate real  
& Personal of John Moore  
late of Philada. deceased

to Acct. render

v

Dennis M'Crohon of Kaskaskia  
Another Was at the Desire of Geo. Morgan aforesaid.  
The said Assignees

v

Detenue

Dennis M' Crohon

Which Writs the said Joseph L'Esperance assures the Court he could not obtain. Geo. Morgan Esqr. President of the Court assures

<sup>1</sup> For a biographical notice see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2), xx, n. 2.

them of his being a Witness to the Above & Moreover that he himself has several Times since the fourteenth Ulto. Applied to Coll. John Wilkins & James Rumsey Esqr. for a Writ [P. 44] of Attachment against the Monies & Effects of Edward Cole,<sup>1</sup> late Commissary for Indian Affairs, in this Country which attachment he demanded as Attorney in behalf of the Assignees of John Moore deceased—Who had before empowered said Edward Cole to act for them & Who had receiv'd Stills & other Goods to a great Amount, the Property of said Assignees to Whom he has never accompted for the same That said Geo. Morgan has not yet been able to procure the said Writs but has been positively refused the same & further that the aforesaid James Rumsey has asserted the Demand made by the said Morgan to be illegal & Unjust. Therefore the said Geo. Morgan & the said Joseph L'Esperance do jointly & seperately protest before this Court against said Refusals & pray the same may be recorded by Us to serve in Case of Need

The Court having taken the foregoing into Consideration do Unanimously determine to present a Memorial to the Governor Which they do as follows. Viz.

[P. 45 French Document omitted]

[P. 46 English Translation of same as follows.]

To the Honourable John Wilkins Esqr. Lt. Colonel of his Majestys 18th or royal Regt. of Ireland Govt. & Commandant in the Illinois Country &c &c &c

Sir

Whereas several Representations have been made to the Court of Judicatory now sitting at Kaskaskia, that Writs have been refused to be issued—We the Magistrates forming Said Court do take the Liberty to assure you that very great Evils may arise to the Inhabitants of this Country or such Persons Who may be reduced to the disagreeable Necessity of having Recourse to such Methods of obtaining their Rights independant of the Prejudice they may more immediately suffer by such Delays which may give Opportunity to their Debtors to conceal themselves or their Effects And as we are persuaded it is your Desire that Justice shall be duly administred to every Person, We have the Honor to pray of you Sir to issue Orders that for the

<sup>1</sup>For details of Cole's relationship with the merchants and military authorities, consult index to present volume.

Time to Come No Person shall be deprived of their Right or meet with any Difficulties in obtaining such Writs as they may demand. This is what we have the Honour to hope from your Equity & Justice dated at Kaskaskia the 6th day of June 1770 sign'd Geo. Morgan pt.

J. Charleville

Viviate

J. B. Barbeau

Louveire

Geraedot

[P. 46 repeated] Then the Court adjourn'd to meet at Kaskaskia on the first Tuesday in July next at 9 O'Clock A. M.

[P. 47] Proceedings Thursday 16th August 1770

Mr. Bloin & Segon'd having made their Appearance enter'd upon the Subject of Monsieur La Flammes Affair,<sup>1</sup> and produc'd a Conditional Sale of a Family of Slaves made over by said La Flamme, to Segond aforesaid as a Security for a Sum of money due to him Amounting to £3095. by him Transported to Monsieur Bloin during the Imprisonment of said La Flamme & for which he was not arrested. The Validity both of the Sale, & Transportation was for sometime disputed, at length it was decreed that as the said La Flamme had agreed to deliver up all his effects for the benefit of his Creditors & had by a written requisition made desir'd the Slaves above mention'd to be Sold for that Purpose, The Sale was order'd and made Agreeable thereto.

NB Before the Sale Commenc'd all Parties Concern'd were ask'd if they had any objections, upon which Messrs. Bloin Segon'd & La Flamme.

The Slaves after a Considerable Contention between Monsrs Segond & Rumsey they were knock'd to the latter for 3600# in money Payable in Peltry to which he swore an order sent to Captn. Evans to dispose of the same at Publick Vendue for the benefit of his Creditors,

[P. 48] Proceedings Monday 27th. August 1770

Appeard before the Court a Certain Monsr. Mercié, of Kaskaskias and one Trotier<sup>2</sup> of Caho. the former who was in possession of the Estate of his deceas'd Brother who had made a will which was in possession of said Trotier by which it appears that the said Mercié was

<sup>1</sup> For further details of La Flamme case consult succeeding volume.

<sup>2</sup> For data concerning the families of Mercier and Trotier see Alvord, *Cahokia Records (I.H.C., 2)*, 626, n. 22 and 624, n. 2.

cut off by his Brother, and made over the greatest part of his Estate to others among whom the said Trotier was principal Legatee—who disputed said Will Mr. L'Esperance Advocate for Monsr. Mercier having declar'd that according to the French Laws & Customs the Will was invalid—he was desir'd to prepare himself again Monday.

The proceeding matter being finish'd Mr. L. Esperance was Examin'd respecting a Deposition he was said to have made before Geo. Morgan & others who insolently & in Contradiction to order & Good Government assembled and met together & Call'd themselves a Court the 5th of June last at Kaskaskias by which it Appears that said L Esperance had accus'd James Rumsey of refusing Writs when Demanded & in other respects being dilatory in the Execution of his Office—all which he positively denied & gave the following Declaration under his hand.

[P. 49] Thursday. August the 30th 1770 No. Business done.

Monday September 3d. 1770 No Business done.

[P. 50] Thursday September 13th 1770

Examination of J. B. Barbeau.

Being ask'd if he did not particularly for himself complain of being obliged to attend the Court at Kaskaskias & moreover if he ever gave his voice to the Contrary

A . . . . Answer'd that he did Complain & allways gave it as his opinion that it ought to be at Fort Chartres which was allso the Opinion he gave When Mr. Morgan Sat as President & Carried the Court to Kaskaskias.

He declar'd in General Terms that he did not conceive he was in any ways acting repugnant to good order & Duty towards Colo. Willkins. If he Acted Wrong he must have been deceiv'd in the Request made him by Mr. Viviat & Charleville thro. Mr. Bloin, he added, that it was very likely he might have Sign'd his name to papers that were unconstitutional & Improper as he was an Utter Stranger both to the Language & the Law—that with respect to the moving the Court he made the observation that it ought to be Agreeable to the Tenour of the Commt. by which they acted. which was Alternatively from one place to the other.



He likewise observ'd than when he found the plurality of Voices against him he declar'd he should be frequently Sick if the Court was to be held at Kaskaskias.

[P. 51] Monday 17th Juin 1771

Appear'd before L Coll. Wilkins Commanding in the Illinois, Monsr. Chauvin Charleville acting as attorney for Monsr. Bloin, from a writ granted at the Request of Monsr. Wittmer to answer a Demand of a Bond by Monsr. Blouin Which Mr. Charleville acknowledged to be just & Due after a long hearing the Party by the recommendation of Coll. Wilkins came to the following agreement. To Wit—N. B. Monsr. Charleville was then released from his arrest.

*[Agreement in French]*

[P. 52] Signed Charleville Wittmer—

[P. 53] Thursday 1st August 1771

This day appear'd before Lt. Colo. Wilkins George Wittmer To answer a Charge Exhibited against him by Monsr. Datcherut to Witt—That he had purchas'd of Indians a Stolen Canoe the property of said Datcherut, & detain'd the same to the great prejudice of his Interest.

After attending particularly to the Charge & Defence of the Plative & Defendant It was recommended by Lt. Colo. Wilkins to the parties to refer their cause to the determination of an Arbitration of Merchants, and by them Agree'd to, & Confirm'd by Lt. Colo. Wilkins as the result of the present Tryal.

*[Inserted in blank space in different hand.]*

B. The Merchants chosen for the above arbitration were Mr. Windsor Brown by Mr. Datcherut & Mr. Phillip Barbour by Mr. Wittmer who in case of disagreement in Opinion are to name a third;

*[Lower third of page out off]*

[P. 54] Joseph Chauvin Charleville confined by Lieut. Coll. Wilkins for audaciously attacking his character, in a Paper called a Protest, by him signed, & sealed; bearing Date the third day of August 1771. & delivered to Ens. Conolly Commanding at Kaskaskias the 4th Inst.

[P. 55 Blank]

[P. 56] Whereas a Suit having commenced during the command of Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins in this Country between Madam

Deruisseau inhabitant of New Orleans by her Attorney M James Rumsey Merchant of this Place & Mr. Jean Baptist Hubardeau<sup>1</sup> Merchant also of this Place, and Judgment Delay'd on account of reasons alleged by by Sd. Jean Baptist Hubardeau on condition that he should appear to defend his Suit before Sd. Lieut. Colonel Wilkins on or before the first day of December 1771 which he having neglected to do the Prosecution ceased untill the Attorney of Madame Deruisseau's return from New Orleans when he continued the Suit before me & obtained Judgment in behalf of his Client. Mr. Hubardeau not being able to invalidate his own note of hand. In consequence of which [P. 57] the House of Sd. Hubardeau was attached & sold by execution by my order for the acquital of his Sd. note of hand he having refused other wise to pay it Given under my hand at fort Gage Illinois, Jany. the 30 1773

Signed HUGH LORD Capt.  
Commdt. in the Illinois<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For items on Hubardeau consult Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I.H.C., 2).

<sup>2</sup> Captain Hugh Lord succeeded Major Isaac Hamilton as commandant in the summer of 1772. He was made a captain in the army in 1762, and in 1770, he was attached to the 18<sup>th</sup> Royal Irish Regiment, which had been transferred to America in 1767. This regiment in whole and in part was employed in the interior of America in 1776. It is of interest to note that the board of trade received a memorial from Captain Lord under date of December 3, 1776, in which he represented the desirability of erecting a civil establishment in the district between New Orleans and Natchez to be dependent on West Florida. He died in 1829.

## CHAPTER X.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, DECEMBER 10, 1768—  
MARCH 24, 1769

PROPRIETY OF MAINTAINING THE WESTERN POSTS—STATE OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE ILLINOIS—WILKINS ADVISES THE ERECTION OF SEVERAL POSTS TO SECURE TRADE TO GREAT BRITAIN—LOSS OF MEN AT FORT DE CHARTRES DUE TO FEVER—CONTINUED FRENCH AND SPANISH INTRIGUE—DISMISSAL OF SUBORDINATE OFFICERS UNDER COMMISSARY COLE—FAVORABLE DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—ILLINOIS PEOPLE ORGANIZED INTO MILITARY COMPANIES—COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE IBERVILLE RIVER—THE BOUNDARY LINE.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, December 10, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86, f. 429—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup> 15.)

WHITEHALL, 10th Dec<sup>r</sup> 1768.

HONBLE MAJOR GENERAL GAGE.

SIR,

I have received & laid before the King your Dispatches numbered 17<sup>1</sup> and 18, and have it in Command from His Majesty to express to you His Majesty's Approbation of the Representation<sup>2</sup> you have made to Sir William Johnson respecting the Murther of the Party from Fort Chartres, & the Measures you have requested him to pursue upon that occasion.

With regard to that Fort and the propriety of securing the Navigation of the Ohio, I have nothing in command from His Majesty to communicate to you at present it being intended very shortly to take the sense of the rest of His Majesty's Servants as to the expediency of either retaining or abandoning such Posts as still remain in possession of His Majesty's Troops both upon the Ohio & Mississippi.

His Majesty approves your activity & the attention which you have shewn to His Service in your Resolution to go to Boston, & hopes that your presence there will greatly conduce to remove the

<sup>1</sup> October 9, 1768, *ante*, 414.

<sup>2</sup> October 10, 1768, *ante*, 417.

difficulties which have occurred in quartering the Troops, and to prevent any just cause of Complaint on the part of the Inhabitants, as well as to assist the Governor in reducing them to a just sense of their Duty, & in the preservation of the Peace and the execution of the Laws, in which he appears, as far as the weak state of Government would admit, to have exerted a becoming spirit & to have shewn a due regard to His Majesty's Service.

With my last Letter to you I transmitted a Memorial of the Merchants & others of London interested in the Colony of West Florida respecting the removal of the Troops stationed there, & I now inclose to you, by the King's command, an Address of the Council & Assembly of that Colony, together with a Memorial of the Merchants of Liverpool upon the same subject.

I am also commanded by His Majesty to send you the inclosed Copies of two letters from the Governor of Nova Scotia stating the danger and disadvantage which, in his opinion, will result to that Colony by withdrawing the Garrisons from the interior parts of it; upon which you will report your opinion to me for His Majesty's Information, and pursue such measures, as you shall judge most expedient for His Service.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to the Honble Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. Whitehall  
10<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1768. (N<sup>o</sup> 15) Ent<sup>d</sup>.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, December 24, 1768

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.86 p. 473—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup> 16)

WHITEHALL 24<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1768.

HON<sup>BLE</sup> MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE

SIR,

I have this Day received and laid before the King your Dispatches from Boston dated the 31<sup>st</sup> October, and 3<sup>d</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of November numbered 18 19 & 20.

The account contained in these dispatches of the conduct and proceedings of the Council, & of the inferior Magistrates at Boston upon the repeated applications made to them for quartering His

Majesty's Troops pursuant to Act of Parliament, is a further testimony of the weak & disordered State of Government in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, & of the disposition that prevails in almost all ranks of the People to obstruct and embarrass the King's Service in a case in which His Majesty has shewn so great a regard to the peace and Security of a Town, where Government had been so repeatedly insulted, and set at defiance.

As every circumstance relative to the State of the Province of Massachusetts Bay is now before Parliament, I have only to express to you His Majesty's Approbation of the measures you have taken, in concert with Gov<sup>r</sup> Bernard, for providing for the reception and accommodation of the Troops during the Winter, and of the caution you have used to execute this Service in such a manner as to avoid all grounds of reasonable discontent, and to secure His Majesty's Officers from the hazard to which the uncertainty and want of precision in the Law might expose them in a place where every effect of malice seems to be exerted to ensnare and distress them.

For my own part I shall not fail to submit your observations upon the mutiny Act to the consideration of the rest of His Majesty's Servants, and shall be very happy if any alteration can be made therein, which without giving up the principle may render it more easy in the execution, & less hazardous to the Officers.

As you appear to think that there is no probability that any inconvenience will arise from allowing the Provincial Garrison to keep Possession of Castle William, The King is satisfied with the reasons you give for permitting them to remain in it for the present. What may be necessary hereafter in respect to this Fortress, as well as to what you suggest of building Barracks upon, & fortifying the eminence behind Boston, must depend upon the future conduct of that Town.

It has given great pleasure to the King to find, by your Letter N<sup>o</sup> 19, that the measure of sending Troops to Boston has been so fully justified by the effects of it, which His Majesty hopes, from the present appearances, will finally produce that Spirit of order and obedience to lawfull Government, upon which the happiness and security of Society depend.

As I am entirely ignorant of the grounds upon which the Prosecution you mention to have been commenced in the Court of

Admiralty has been taken up, or of the names of the Persons prosecuted, I shall be glad to be further informed of the particulars of this case, hoping, in the mean time, that it will produce those good effects which you say are likely to be the result of it, and that the People will be convinced, by some example, that Crimes of so dangerous a nature, as have of late been committed in Boston will not go unpunished.

The Accounts which you say in your Letter No. 20,<sup>1</sup> have been received from Fort Chartres of the friendly disposition of the French and Spaniards in Louisiana, leave room to hope that Sir William Johnson's intelligence is not well founded. We cannot, however, be too attentive to what passes in the Indian Country.

I make no doubt but the measure you have adopted with regard to the removal of the vagabond French from among our Indians, by the Militia of Detroit, is founded upon right and prudent principles, & will be well conducted by Lieut<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Dougal, but you have not so fully explained it as to enable His Majesty to form a precise Judgement concerning it.

I have already more than once wrote to you upon the subject of the removal of the Troops from West Florida, and have desired your opinion in the fullest manner upon that measure, which is so much complained of by the Inhabitants of that Colony, and by the Merchants here who are interested in its Welfare. I will not therefore detain you at present by entering into any further observations upon it, but so soon as I receive your final report I will not fail to give that matter the fullest consideration.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to the Honble Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. Whitehall  
24<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1768. (N<sup>o</sup> 16) Ent<sup>d</sup>

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, December 25, 1768

[Johnson MSS., 17:19—A.L.S.]

Phill<sup>a</sup> Deb<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1768

I aply<sup>d</sup> to Docter Evens an able [*MS. burned*] [P]hisision in this place for the Broom [*MS. burned*] for you and he has prepair<sup>d</sup> [*MS. burned*] as Directed In the Recept, which [*MS. burned*] Send you

<sup>1</sup> November 8, 1768, *ante*, 450.

by M<sup>r</sup> Picken with the Docters Leter to me and he will gett More W<sup>h</sup> I will Take up with Me [W]hen I go about the begining of Feby and hope you will Receive a benifett [fr]om itt

I have Received by Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes from [MS. *burned*] Chartres M<sup>r</sup> Coles Accounts a[moun]ting to £2156 butt No Leter only a Draft on me for [MS. *burned*] ount. Sir William Johnson Bar<sup>t</sup> I Wont Truble your honor w[MS. *burned*] att present M<sup>r</sup> Cole Writes M<sup>r</sup> [MS. *burned*] he will by Way of New Orlande [MS. *burned*] a full acount of his Department [MS. *burned*] there is No Late acounts from F[MS. *burned*] I am Dear Sir with Great Respect [MS. *burned*]

Most obeedant & [MS. *burned*]

Humble Serv[ant]

GEO: CROGH[AN]

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir William Johnson

MORGAN TO HIS WIFE [after September 5, 1768]<sup>1</sup>

[Smith MSS.—A.L.]

detain me—So that although my Anxiety has been very great You may rest perfectly satisfied that you shall see me in the Month of September or perhaps in the Month of August.

You must not give yourself the least concern at the Reports you may hear of an Indian War or any Disturbances whatever— They may be true or false—but let the Worst happen that can, I am altogether safe & so is our Property except a small Part that we are obliged to risque or put an entire Stop to our Trade.

In a very few Days Silver Heels will leave this to go to Fort Pitt by Land— I intended to have detained him to Accompany me—but Colonel Wilkins has requested me to engage him to go Express for him as there is at present no other suitable Person—& as I am not yet determin'd what Rout to take nor shall untill I again hear from you which I expect will soon be the Case for the last Time as We have Reason to look out for the Return of the French Express every Hour.

<sup>1</sup>This is part of a long letter, written presumably by Morgan from Fort de Chartres, of which pages 1, 2, 5, 6, and all after page 16 are missing. No date or place appears, but from the context it was written after Wilkins' arrival, September 5, 1768, and evidently during the winter of 1768-1769. The letter is in the collection of Mrs. T. C. Smith, Santa Barbara, California.

There were three Men, a Woman & two Children arrived the other Day in a Canoe from Fort Pitt & brought a Number of Letters but None for Myself— As I suppose Mr. Campbell imagin'd that the Express would be a safer & better Opportunity— However he might have wrote me a Line to have inform'd me when he might have last heard you were well &c— This would have been some Consolation to Me—

[*End of page 4*]

[*Beginning of page 7*]

desired that you would not Write to me after this Month—As I cannot expect to receive any Letter from you after the Arrival of the first Boats—This I repeat—Which will be a convincing Proof to you that I am determined Nothing shall detain Me after the Month of June— But there need not be the least Occasion of this as I well know my dear Molley will not have the least Doubt when I say I am resolv'd in this Matter.

I believe that I have wrote to Cousin Betsy by the last good Opportunity— I think We have but One Cousin Betsy have We?— So that you will know Who I mean— It is my dear good Cousin Betsy Anderson— When you see her—do embrace her Affectionately for me—I shall forever love her because she has ever shewn so much Love for you.

What shall I say for our dearest Mammy—Kiss her ten Thousand Times for Me—Ten Times Ten Thousand would not be half the Measure of my grateful Love to her.

\* \* \* \* \*

I remember that last year I used to be writing to you about my Plantation—Garden—Chickens & Thousand little Triffles that little as they were were not disagreeable to you Tis true—that my Plantation & Garden have drawn Part of my Attention this Year for w<sup>th</sup> out either I should be but badly off here—Yet I have not look'd after some Lesser matters half so much as I could wish, Which will be sensibly felt by those who may succeed me.

However there will be no Danger of Starving for I have now two Years Provisions in the House consisting of Salt Petred Gammons, Rounds of Beef, Buffaloe Tongues, Vennison & Bears Hams &c &c—

<sup>1</sup> So in the original.



So that I am not in quite the Same Situation that poor honest Jennings Used to be formely—When his Letters were fill'd with his Fears of Starving &c.

The worthy & good Soul Mr Hutchins generally lives with me—We have One Standing Dish for Dinner which I call my Charter Right—This is a Rice Pudding which my negroe Boy constantly exhibits to Us after Meat—I am often laughed at for this Custom—but I generally perceive great Pleasure in the Countenances of those who rally me on the Occasion—& the addition of a glass of Wine, Whilst we had it, always made the Company good humoured.

Col. Cole has interrupted me for a Q<sup>r</sup> of an Hour last past, or I might have run on to the end of this & another Sheet—I have settled some Difficulties he had, for him—His Professions of Regard & good Wishes have been heaped upon Me.

\* \* \* \* \*

Should Col. Cole meet with Mr. Croghan at Philad<sup>a</sup>—he will tarry there I suppose three or four Days—Otherwise Not so long, but will proceed immediately to Sir William Johnsons.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have a Pidgeon House built in the Shape of Parson Smiths Folly & full as large— It contains more than two hundred couple—there has been at one Time upwards of five hundred Couple in it but as the House was vacant a long While before I removed here & no care taken of them they are greatly diminished—I can however at any Time procure a dozen of Squabs for a Friend out of it—This will be a great Refreshment during the Sickly Season When no fresh Meat is to be procured elsewhere.

I have likewise a good Stock of Poultry      You cannot conceive what a good Manager I am      I have already set Eleven Hens with 13 Eggs each & expect to raise from those & more which I shall set—More than One hundred Chickens—I already count thirty One from three Hens—These will also afford a good Supply of fresh Meat during the Summer Months & with a Piece of Bacon & a few Peas & Beans or other Truck is a most excellent Dish—I have made a sufficient Q<sup>ty</sup> of the best Bacon in the Country to last me as long as I shall stay here—Besides twenty Bears Hams, Near One hundred Venison Hams & two hundred Buffaloe Tongues—With twenty

Pieces of excellent smoked Beef—All of which I have attended to myself.

You may well say I do not intend to starve but I want to show People how they ought to manage—I shall to be sure sell most of all these Articles—I did not expect to make great Use of them myself but intended that Mr. Wharton should have a good Store.

I have made it a point not to taste his Wine—but shall now sell it.

Besides all these I have settled a small Plantation & built a little Log House—Where I keep Six Milch Cows & Twenty breeding Sows besides other Stock & was it possible to get a good Woman, I would pay for the Place in Butter only in less than twelve Months—for the French seldom or never made any—Although all of them are fond of it & would give a great Price for it—I have already planted fifteen Acres of Indian Corn & expect to have fifty if no Accident happens to my Horses or Oxen—From these fifty Acres I hope to have near two thousand Bushels of Indian Corn—And I am sure (provided no Accident Arrives to my Hogs) of having One hundred Pigs before Christmas Day next.

In about a Month I expect fifty Head of Cattle from Post Vincent—All of Which except the Cows (& them I shall keep) I shall fatten on my Plantation & sell to the Garrison—You may now view me in the light of a young Farmer—Which I have ever had a great Desire to be.

I have One of the best Men in the World to manage this Place for me. His name is [*blank in MS.*]<sup>1</sup> He wishes his wife was here. He is a New England Man—She is at Providence—I pay him no Wages—He is to draw One half the Profits after fencing in One hundred Acres, building the House, Stables, Barn, Cow Houses &c—Which will make my Place very valuable without any expense to Me—If the Country agrees with him he can get a suitable Person to take Charge of the Place a few Months he intends to go for his Wife next Year.

Col. Cole has enter'd largely into the Farming Way & has wrote for his Wife positively to come.

[*End of page 16*]

<sup>1</sup> Richard Bacon. Consult index.

WILKINS TO GAGE, January 2, 1769

[V.S.L., Clark Papers—E.]

The 2d. Janry. I was honored with Y.E. letter of the 11 Octo.<sup>1</sup> & beg to Observe that the man that came from the Natches was one of the Virginia hunters returning from that place with several horse-load of Skins which was taken from them near the Greenriver in the Cherokie Country, that poor fellow is just now come from Fort Pitt, & very ill haveing had a riffle ball shot thro his leg by Accident

I shall pay a due regard to the property of the Indians it is endless as it may be groundless to Acquaint Y.E. with the various reports of different Nations going to war. The Nati[on of] Illinois Indians with our French subjects are jealous at the Cherokies & Chickasaws & being such fast friends to us & have often spoke to me thereon. I seemingly persuade them all to peace & in some respects it might make the passage of the Ohio safe for a little time but Querie [whe]ther or not in time those Nations united might not be of worse Consequence, I believe so,

In the last part of Y.E. letter of the 11 Octo gives me but little hopes of more of our C<sup>os</sup> coming to this place, I presume that your E. will Excuse my repeated requests on that head as it was with a view of making this Country a real benefit to G. Britain.

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, January 6, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, f. 55—A. L. S.]

N<sup>o</sup> 22

NEW YORK Jan<sup>ry</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1769

MY LORD

I have had the honor to receive your Lordship's Letter N<sup>o</sup> 13.<sup>2</sup> together with a Copy of a Letter from your Lordship to Sir William Johnson, on the Subject of the Allowances he deems necessary, to carry on the Business of his Office;<sup>3</sup> The Expences of the Treaty for Settling the Boundarys, between certain Provinces and the Lands of the Six Nations, and other Matters relative to the Department of the Superintendant of the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 418.

<sup>2</sup> October 12, 1768, *ante*, 422.

<sup>3</sup> This letter does not appear.

The Limits between the Provinces and the Indians Lands have been adjusted by one general Treaty; to defray the Expences of this Negotiation, Sir William Johnson conceived, he was empowered to draw Money from the Crown without waiting the Result of Applications to the several Provinces concerned, to provide Funds to defray the same. It is impossible to Say what Success a Demand upon the Provinces may meet with to repay the Money that has been advanced, I can't recommend any Method more certain for the Crown to be indemnified, than to sell the Lands in the Manner I have taken the Liberty to mention, in my Letter by this Opportunity Number 21.

The Principle upon which Captain Forbes acted with respect to the Inhabitants of the Illinois was, that as they are all armed, He thought they ought by his Direction as Commander, to appear in their Companys with their Officers, and be ready to receive his Orders for the Service, in the Manner they were accustomed to do, in the time of the French; and to give their Assistance when called upon. It was ill expressed to tell your Lordship, that Captain Forbes had formed the Inhabitants into a regular Militia, we found all the Inhabitants of the Interior Settlements, formed into a Militia, and when we took Possession of the Illinois, had we attempted to disarm the People, they would have abandoned the Settlement and gone over to the West-Side of the Mississippi, and complained with a Shew of Reason, they were left defenceless to the Mercy of Savages, in the heart of the Indian Country. I must confess myself at a Loss to Say, in what Manner the Inhabitants of these distant Settlements could be best disposed of, In Case of a Rupture with the French they could not be relied on, and if disarmed, would leave us, immediately, and increase the French Settlements. In the mean time, by keeping a Command over them they may do Some Service; the Militia of the Detroit has been useful on some Occasions.

I have the honor to transmit Your Lordship, Extracts from a Letter which I have lately received from Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins,<sup>1</sup> wherein he gives Some Account of the Illinois, from the Intelligence he had gained of that Country, in the Short time that he had been in it, And I likewise transmit your Lordship, Some Accounts of the

<sup>1</sup> September 13, 1768, *ante*, 388.

Illinois Country, which I have Obtained of Captain Forbes,<sup>1</sup> who resided there some years.

Your Lordship will also receive herewith, a State of the Settlements in the Illinois, and of S<sup>t</sup> Vincent on the Ouabache.<sup>2</sup> This last Settlement has increased within a very Short time, in a Manner that is Surprizing. I find that Strollers and Vagabonds from Canada, Detroit, Illinois, and other Places, have assembled there, to live a lazy kind of Indian Life, or taken shelter there from Justice. It becomes very proper whilst we have Troops in that Country, to Send a Detachment to S<sup>t</sup> Vincent, to govern the Inhabitants, and prevent such Sort of People from increasing the Settlement. The French and Canadians have always been remarkable for roving in the Desarts and seating themselves amongst the Indians tho' the French Government took great Pains to prevent it.

It was my Intention in my Letter N<sup>o</sup>. 8, to acquaint Your Lordship, that three Companys only had been ordered to remain in West-Florida, and wish I had expressed Myself in a clearer Manner. This Force was judged Sufficient, with the Inhabitants, for the Defence of the Forts of Pensacola and Mobile against the Savages. But as Your Lordship is apprehensive, that this May be judged to be too small a Force, it is easy to augment it, And I shall send Directions to leave Six Companys at Pensacola and Mobile: One of which may be detached to Ibbeville, if found Necessary.

With respect to an Establishment at Ibbeville or other Place in that part of the Mississippi, whilst the only Communication with it is by Sea, and up the River by New-Orleans, where we are under the Necessity to build Boats, hire Store-houses, and purchase Many Conveniences, with the Permission and Consent of the French or Spaniards to support such Establishment, it is presumed, we can reap little advantage from it, but that it will be of more Service to those, who are Masters of New-Orleans; and in effect at their Mercy, upon the first Rupture with Great Britain.

It appears, that Nothing could render an Establishment in that Situation Usefull, but our having another Communication with the Mississippi by the Lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and the River

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 381.

<sup>2</sup> See Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* (I.H.C., 11), 469.

Ibbeville. Many Schemes have been formed to make this Route Navigable. The Loggs and Trees were removed which at first was Said to be the only Impediment to the Navigation, and then a Height of Land was discovered, of about nine miles in length, which is dry the greatest part of the year. But it was alledged, that it was covered with Water for Some Months in the year, when the Freshes raised the Waters of the Mississippi; during which time Canoes and Boats might pass. And I understand upon Some Tryals made of that Navigation, that a Boat has, with a good deal of Difficulty, made it's way up the Ibbeville into the Mississippi. But I can't find that any People have taken that Route from West-Florida to any part of the Mississippi, and even those, Troops as well as Traders and Passengers, who have come down the Mississippi in their Way to West-Florida, have passed the Ibbeville as a Route impracticable, and proceeded down to New-Orleans.

I inclose Your Lordship a Paper, which contains Some Information respecting the Ibbeville, given by Lieutenant Thomas of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, who resided above two Years at Fort-Bute.

The Plan your Lordship is pleased to desire of the Works and Fortifications of New-Orleans is also transmitted herewith, with a Paper containing a List of the Spanish or French Posts and Settlements upon the Mississippi, from the River Missouri to the Sea: and the Number of Regular or Colony Troops and Inhabitants in each. Also the Number of Troops and Militia, it is thought could be assembled in the Colony, upon an Emergency.

I would beg Leave to referr your Lordship to Admiral Pallisser, for the Information you require of the State and Condition of the Islands of S<sup>t</sup> Peters and Miquelon, as the Admiral has had the best Opportunity to gain good Information on those Points. The only Account I have been able to procure of those Islands has been from an Officer who commanded at Halifax, and received his Information from Officers of the Navy, who occasionally came to Halifax. I have learned in general, that there was two Officers and forty Men at S<sup>t</sup> Peters and fewer at Miquelon; that no works of any Consequence had been raised at either Place. It is however some time Since this Account was given, and the French may have made the Islands more respectable lately

The Duplicate of your Lordship's Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, came to my Hands before the Original. The Halifax Packet with the July Mail, got to her Port before the Lord Hide Packet, who sailed first from Falmouth, with the June Mail. It was said, the latter got into Latitudes where she was often becalmed, and met with contrary winds. It is observed in general, that the Packets do not compleat their voyages with the Expedition they used to do. People give this Reason for it; that they are hired by the Year and have hard Bargains, which makes them think too much of Saving their Sails and Rigging.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient and most humble Servant.

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Sec<sup>rys</sup> of State

[*Endorsed:*] New York, Jan<sup>y</sup> 6 1769. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup> 22)  
R 11 Feb<sup>y</sup> B. 3. Ent<sup>d</sup> C & E.

WHARTON TO JOHNSON, January 26, 1769

[Johnson MSS., 17:53—A.L.S.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> January 26 1769

SIR

Inclosed you have Colonel Cole's Draft upon M<sup>r</sup> Croghan for Two thousand One hundred and fifty six pounds, 17/5¼ New York Currency, Which I must beg the Favor of your Honor to expedite the payment of, all in your power, As I shall not have any Money remitted to me, Until this Draft is paid. Colonel Croghan has the Accounts & vouchers.

I set off for the packet on Monday Next and shall by all opportunitys communicate to you from England Whatever is entertaining or important.

I beg my respectfull Regards to Sir John, Colonel Clause and all the Family and with the warmest wishes for the Continuance of your Health.

I am Sir very respectfully Y<sup>r</sup> truly Obliged Fr<sup>d</sup>

SAM<sup>L</sup> WHARTON

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Baronet.

[*Addressed:*] To The Honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet his  
Majestie's Sole agent & Superintendant of Indian affairs at  
Johnson Hall P favor of M<sup>r</sup> Croghan

[*On back:*] Congwayadoragh Cos konwayadoreagh Turtle Tribe  
Konwayadoreagh a Person who Attracts the general respect.

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia 25<sup>th</sup> Janr<sup>y</sup> 1769—M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>i</sup> Whartons Letter  
w<sup>th</sup> Coles Draft. for £2156,,17,,5¼

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, February 3, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87 p. 143—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 25)

NEW YORK 3<sup>d</sup> February 1769

MY LORD,

I have received Dispatches lately from Fort-Chartres to the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, which contain very alarming Accounts of a dreadfull Sickness in the Illinois Country, that had not only affected the Soldiers to a very great Degree, but likewise the French Inhabitants and the Indians. The Troops had lost three officers and twenty Six Men: and out of four Companys at Fort-Chartres, only one Serjeant, one Corporal, and Seventeen Men were able to do their Duty; and a Company left at the Village of Naskaskies, was in the same bad Condition. The North-West Winds were happily Set in, and the Sickness had begun to abate, and as the Winter was beginning, I hope the next Letters from that Quarter, will bring better Accounts.

Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins informs me, he was endeavouring, notwithstanding the present Calamity, to put Affairs into the best Posture he was able. He had prohibited the Importation of foreign Manufactures under pain of Confiscation, and forbid all foreign Traders and Hunters, comeing into the King's Territorys. He had likewise cryed down the *Bons*. A kind of Notes issued by People at Pleasure, for much more than they were able to pay. And tho' they were in great Discredit, they passed amongst the Inhabitants, who raised the Price of all their Commodities in Proportion. He also acquaints me, that the Indian Expences will be greatly lessened, for the Indians in that Neighbourhood, who through a profusion of Presents and Strong Liquors, were become a Set of idle Vagabonds, had been properly talked to on the Subject of Presents; which has



had so good an Effect that many of them are gone out to their hunting Grounds, and it was expected would bring in a Quantity of Peltry.

Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins hopes, a considerable Trade may be carried on in the Illinois Country for the Benefit of Great Britain, but repeats the Necessity of erecting the Posts frequently mentioned, to Secure the Trade to His Majesty's Subjects.

The Accounts transmitted of the Commerce of the Mississippi since the King's Troops took Possession of Fort-Chartres; have in general agreed, That the French Goods are sold cheaper than the English, by some Accounts 30 p<sup>r</sup> C<sup>t</sup> cheaper. That the Traders of both Nations carry their skins to New-Orleans, being the cheapest and most expeditious Route to the Sea. That Peltry is sold dearer at New-Orleans by 25 p<sup>r</sup> C<sup>t</sup>, than at the British Markets; and a still greater Profit arises to the Trader, if he embarks his Peltry there in foreign Bottoms, for foreign Markets. That the Vicinity of the French and the Extent of Country to guard, would render it next to an Impossibility to prevent French Merchandize being smuggled into the King's Territorys. And no method has yet been suggested, by which the British Trader can be forced to carry his Furrs and Skins to a British Port, or to detect him if he sells them at foreign Markets. Upon the whole, there is no good Prospect that the Commerce of the Mississippi will prove of much Advantage to Great Britain.

With respect to any Benefits which may be expected from keeping Possession of the Illinois Country, they may be reduced to the following particulars. There are a Number of Inhabitants who will be kept under some sort of Government. An Interest may be maintained with the Indian Nations in those Countrys and the French thereby prevented having them entirely at their Disposal, so as to excite them to commit Hostilities at their Pleasure. And, by erecting the Posts proposed, the French Traders and Hunters may be prevented coming on the East Side of the Mississippi, to interfere with the Trade upon the Ohio, the Ouabache, or the Lakes.

I have repeated many Circumstances transmitted in former Letters to His Majesty's Ministers on this Subject, but as Your Lordship is pleased to tell me in your Letter No. 13<sup>1</sup> You think the whole

<sup>1</sup> October 12, 1768, *ante*, 422.

State of the Illinois Country must be well examined and thoroughly discussed, before any certain and safe Resolution can be taken; I take the Liberty, after reconsidering every Account that has been given of that Country, to venture again my opinion upon the Advantages and Disadvantages likely to arise from keeping Possession of it. I have omitted however to enumerate the Difficulties and Expences that must attend the Maintaining Possession of it, and the Circumstance of Great Britain being drawn into an Indian War upon a Rupture with the Savages in Consideration of the Safety of the King's Garrisons.

Sir Henry Moore will have informed Your Lordship, of the Reasons which induced him to dissolve the Assembly of this Province, before they had taken any Resolution concerning the Regulations necessary for carrying on the Indian Trade. The Provinces of New-York and Quebec are chiefly interested in the Trade of the Lakes, Pennsylvania has likewise some share in it. I fear it will be a long time, before those three Provinces will come to an Agreement about the Regulations proper to be adopted, or the Laws Necessary to be passed for the better carrying on the Trade: and more particularly, the ascertaining the Expence which each should respectively bear, to support it. I have not observed that either New-York or Pennsylvania have yet given much Attention to this Business. The Trade has for some time been supported at the Expence of Great Britain, and they seem to choose that it should be continued in the same Hands. Without considering how many People here gain their Livelihood by the Indian Trade, its said the Profits thereof center in Great Britain. People argue about this Trade, as they do about the Colonies. They say the Colonies are so usefull to the Mother Country, she will not choose to quarrell with them. And the Indian Trade is so Beneficial to her, that she will take Care to support it.

I have endeavoured to discover if there was any Hopes, that this Province would upon a proper Requisition, pay any part of the Expence of the Boundary Treaty, lately concluded with the Six Nations; in Consideration of the Tract of Land added thereby to the Province. And I have been informed by a very intelligent Person, that the Province would certainly refuse, unless the King would grant them a Charter for the Tract; In which Case the Assembly might possibly

consent to it. This would be throwing an Additional Weight into Hands, where too much is lodged already; by empowering the Assembly to make Grants of Lands to whom they pleased.

I have only to acquaint your Lordship further by this Opportunity, that a ship from S<sup>t</sup> Eustatia has lately brought us the Agreeable News, that the Raven Transport having Colonel Mackay and three Companys of his Regiment on Board, was arrived at the Island of S<sup>t</sup> Christophers.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem,

My Lords Your Lordship's most Obedient and most humble  
Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Sec<sup>rys</sup> of State

[*Endorsed:*] New York 3<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1769. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. (N<sup>o</sup> 25)  
R/ 3<sup>d</sup> March. B. 6. Ent<sup>d</sup>

GAGE TO BARRINGTON, February 4, 1769

[P.R.O., War Office, Class 1. vol. 8, p. 455—L.S.]

NEW YORK February 4<sup>th</sup> 1769

MY LORD,

I am honored with your Lordship's Letters of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> of November, I have been waiting for some time past, an Opportunity of writing to Major Farmar, and communicating to him the Result of the General Court Martial, I shall not fail to signify to him by the first Conveyance, the leave of Absence his Majesty has been pleased to grant to him.

The Suit at Law that Lieutenant Benzell has been so long engaged in, has been terminated some little time since, and that Gentleman set out immediately afterwards for Europe in order to join his Corps.

I am very sorry to be obliged to acquaint your Lordship, that the Part of his Majesty's 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment, in Garrison at Fort Chartres, and Kaskaskias, in the Illinois Country, have sustained a very great Loss, by a violent Fever that has raged there last Fall; Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins acquaints me in Letters of a late Date, that they

have scarcely well Men sufficient to attend the Sick, but as the North-West Winds were happily set in, the Sickness had began to abate; Your Lordship will see by the List of Promotions recommended to his Majesty, that accompanys this, that they have lost a Captain, and Two Subalterns, In the Succession of the abovementioned Vacancys I have taken the Liberty to recommend to his Majesty M<sup>r</sup> James Rumsay for a Pair of Colours, this Gentleman has served before in his Majesty's Forces, and bore the Character of a Good Officer, but being allured by some flattering, and apparently advantageous Offers that were made him, of making a speedy Fortune in the Illinois Country, he quitted the Service, and has resided for some Years, at or near Fort Chartres, where he has constantly afforded every Assistance in his Power to his Majesty's Service, and met the Good Will, and Approbation of every Officer that has commanded there: Things not having turned out as he was made to hope, in that Country, he is very desirous of serving again, and from what I know of him myself, the Representations that have been made to me of his Behavior, and the strong Recommendation now given me of him by Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, I have no doubt, of his proving worthy of this Mark of his Majesty's Favor, should he be lucky enough to succeed therein.

Your Lordship was pleased, upon a Representation of the State of the Garrisons at Placentia, and S<sup>t</sup> Johns, Newfoundland, to direct that those Troops should be supplied with Fuel, and Candles, by the Barrack Master General of North America, but that the Bedding and Barrack Furniture, was to be furnished them, as heretofore, by the Board of Ordnance; at the same Time your Lordship gave me Reason to hope that all Deficiencies in those Articles, wou'd be immediately supplied, I have the Honor to transmit to your Lordship Extracts of two Letters from the Commanding Officer of each of those Garrisons, which will shew your Lordship how much they are in want of those Articles.

Your Lordship will receive herewith, General Returns of the Army for the months of September, and October, with Returns of the Garrison Staffs, and Lists of Officers attending the Forces in North America, as also a List of Promotions recommended to his Majesty's Consideration.

*GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, FEBRUARY 4, 1769* 493

I have the Honor to be, with great Regard and Esteem,  
My Lord Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Ser-  
vant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> LORD VISC<sup>T</sup> BARRINGTON

his Majesty's Secretary at War.

[*Endorsed:*] New York 4<sup>th</sup> Feb[rua]ry 1769. Major General Gage  
R/ 3<sup>d</sup> March.

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, February 4, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87 p. 151—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 26)

NEW YORK February 4<sup>th</sup> 1769

MY LORD,

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of Your Lordship's Letter N<sup>o</sup> 14; together with Copys of His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and of the Addresses of the Lords and Commons to His Majesty: Likewise a Copy of a Memorial presented to your Lordship, by the Merchants trading to West-Florida. The Account transmitted to your Lordship, concerning French and Spanish Officers assuring the Indians of the Interior Country of a War with the English, proceeded from the like Intelligence given by an Indian, in whom the Indian Officers confide; and Sir William Johnson seemed to credit the Report. Almost every Letter from the interior Country, gives Accounts of French and Spanish Intrigues, and I often receive Reports of the same kind from Sir William Johnson. I make no doubt, that the French as well Traders as others who infest the Indian Country, do constantly amuse the Savages, who are very credulous, with idle Storys; and endeavor to animate them against the English by every Means they can devise; and I apprehend these Storys, greatly Magnified, are brought to us by Indians in our Interest, who expect to be rewarded for their Intelligence. I have never been able to discover, that any Intrigues have been carried on with the Indians, under the Sanction of the French or Spanish Governors; or have I any Reason to suspect that either Don Ulloa, or Mons<sup>r</sup> Aubry have had any Concern in them. The Report in question has been transmitted to the Illinois, and Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins has sent it to Don Ruis, the Spanish Commander on the Opposite Shore. Don Ruis is on bad

Terms with the French, and will have heard of the treatment his General and the rest of his Country-men met with at New-Orleans; and as he is on very good Terms with Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, I flatter myself, if he has any Knowledge of this Affair I shall receive an Account of it in the next Dispatches from Fort-Chartres.

Your Lordship will believe that Nothing could give me greater Satisfaction than His Majesty's gracious Approbation of my Conduct; which you so obligingly impart to me, And I hope never to fail in the Vigilance and Attention which I owe to His Majesty's Service. The Forces at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine had Notice given them some Months ago to consider the best Means to provide Shipping in Case they should receive Orders to embark from thence; and I find Vessels may be hired in South Carolina fit to transport Troops. I trust therefore that those Forces will be in readiness in Case any Requisition for the Aid of the King's Forces should be made from the Colony of Virginia; and whatever part of the said Forces may have been sent to South-Carolina for the Winter, will be nearer at hand.

With respect to the Contents of the Memorial of the Merchants trading to West-Florida, I had the honor to acquaint your Lordship in my Letter N<sup>o</sup> 22<sup>1</sup> that Six Companys should be ordered to remain in that Province: But reconsidering the present uncertain State of Affairs in this Country, I have wrote to Brigadier General Haldimand to direct him, in Case he shall have removed all the Troops first ordered from West-Florida, which I conclude he has already done, he should only reinforce the three Companys directed by the final Disposition to be left there, with such an additional Number only as he shall judge absolutely Necessary to protect the Persons and Propertys of His Majesty's Subjects, till he should receive further Orders on that Head.

I shall pay the greatest Attention to the general Plan communicated in your Lordship's Dispatch of the 15<sup>th</sup> <sup>2</sup> of April last, and keep the Troops at the Stations allotted for them, in as large Bodys as the Service will permit.

Your Lordship will permit me with the rest of His Majesty's faithfull Subjects, to testify my Joy, on the Occasion of the Queen's

<sup>1</sup> January 6, 1769, *ante*, 483.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 247.

happy Delivery of a Princess, and that Her Majesty and the young Princess are So well.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Maj<sup>ty's</sup> principal Secretaries of State &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] New York Feb<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1769. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. (N<sup>o</sup> 26)  
R/ 3<sup>d</sup> March. B. y. Ent<sup>d</sup>

COLE TO JOHNSON, February 12, 1769

[Johnson MSS., 17:66—A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

Yours the 26<sup>th</sup> <sup>1</sup> of July last came to Hand the 12<sup>th</sup> of December last. I Immediatly dischar<sup>d</sup> all the Subordinate officers under me, and Hartily Wish these alterations may, *Turn out for the best* I am in Hopes that I shall be able to Leave this Country, in two or three months at Farthest,—I shall Loose no time to wait on you—and Flat-ter myself I shall be able to give you a more Satisfactiry account, of the Indians in this part of the world, then has been in my power to do heretofore.<sup>2</sup>

And Doubt not if any thing Should happing—wherein I might be of Service, you will be as Mindfull of me as formerly, and be assured I Shall ever Retain a Grateful Sence of the many Favours I have Received from You. My best Compliment to Sir John, and your Family and believe me to be D<sup>r</sup> Sir with the utmost Esteem

Your Most ob<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

EDW<sup>D</sup> COLE

FORT CHARTRES Feb<sup>y</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1769

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Chartres, Feb<sup>y</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1769 Coms<sup>ry</sup> Coles letter

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> The instructions from Johnson were issued in accordance with the change of ministerial policy which transferred the management of Indian trade to the colonies.

BUTRICKE TO BARNSLEY

[*Historical Magazine*, 8: 261.]

(ILLINOIS) FORT CHARTRES, 12th Febuary 1769.

DEAR SIR

I had the pleasure to write you the 30<sup>th</sup> October last by an Express that went from hence by land, with despatches for the Commander in Chief which was to acquaint him of our distressed situation at that time, I then wrote you we had Lost three Officers & twenty five men, since that we Buried fifteen men more, Almost all the Women and thirty Seven Children that arrived here with the five companys in perfect health.

The Colonel has been kind enough to Recommend me for one of the vacant Ensigncy should the promotion go in the Regim<sup>t</sup>. But there is so Little probability of it that I dont flatter myself the Least with hopes of succeeding, tho' one would think it hard too as there are so many Vacancies that some might not take Besides the Gent: that died here we have an Account of one Ens; Tracy being killed in a Duell at Fort Pitt, and Ensign Howard is on the decline of life here.

When I wrote you 15<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> (which I sent by Capt. Forbes of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup>) I gave you some Account of this Country It is certainly the finest Land in the known World, it Wants for nothing but inhabitants and cultivation to make it exceed any part of America I have ever been in, You would be surprised to see how Luxuriously every kind of Vegetables grows here,—they grow Wheat, Oats, pease, and Indian Corn, in great abundance, and there are such quantities of the finest Meadow that the grass is in Common to all, Their Cattle run in grass so high that you may be within five yards of a large Ox, and not see him, When the french (whom you know are a very Idle set of people in all parts of America they are in) Cut their grass its Common for them to take three or four teams to the Meddow in a morning, mow all day, and bring it home at night, which is all the Making the Hay gets here. The reason they give for bringing it home so soon is, that Were they to Leave it out two days it would be so much dryd with the excessive heat that it would be good for nothing. The Indians that live hereabouts are a very mean, Indolent Drunken set of people, whom the French have entirely at their command.



Col. Wilkins is taking great pains to settle the Affairs of the Colonie in some kind of Regulation, which as yet has been (since the English possessed it) without any kind of Laws but that of Military Decision. He has now<sup>1</sup> granted commissions of the peace to several people, both french and English; of those he has formed a Court of Judicature, who are allowed to determine on all causes of Debt, without a Jury. How this may answer with the Laws of great Britain I will not Pretend to say. He has appointed Mr. George Morgan President of this Court, which has given great offence to all the french inhabitants in the Colonie, he being Universally hated by all those people, and indeed has but few friends of any other Nation here (The Commandant excepted). Indeed it would surprise you much to see how we are perplexed with party affairs in this Infant Collonie. The French to a man oppose the Morganians with all their might and I believe would not scruple to spend their Estates to have their Ends accomplished, Indeed, if half what they allege be truth, they have great Cause of Complaint—for my own share I think there are faults on Both sides. The french are here (as in all other parts I have seen them in) a Cunning, litigious, jealous, set of people, By what I can Learn their grand dispute arises from an Opinion of the Commandant favoring the Company which he is obliged to do in Consequence of his orders from Gen. Gage because they are the only people that make use of English manufactures the others being all French Wines &c., and of Course is Contraband trade. It would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the many scandalous practices that is made use of by both parties, to ruin others, Petitions from the french party to the Commandant daily *Replete with Rebellion*. He on the other hand is endeavoring to support the Company all in His power by issuing His Proclamations for bringing them to Justice and settling all their affairs on a solid foundation which he takes great pains to do, tho' I am afraid he will not accomplish it shortly: The 19th December last Col. Wilkins ordered a Court of Inquiry to be held to settle some disputes—betwixt Mr. Morgan and the french people. It was Carried on from day to day till the 20th January with the greatest *Rancour* by both parties, and when it was over not the least thing settled to either parties satisfaction, What is most extraordinary the

<sup>1</sup> His Proclamation, based on Gage's order, is dated November 21, 1768. The courts began December 6, 1768.

french was not able to proove any one thing They Alleged against Mr. Morgan, It is said here the proceedings will be published in one of the Philadelphia papers But I hope they will think better of it, and not expose themselves so far.

The Spaniards make but an indifferent appearance here, You know, by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, they were to have all the Lands to the Westward of the Mississippi River, in Consequence of which they sent one hundred men from the Havana Under the command of one Capt. Don Rose,<sup>1</sup> an old experienced officer, to take possession of their part of the Louisiana Country He took post at a place called paincour, about forty miles above this Fort where he has Commanded so much to the people's satisfaction, as will redound much to his honor, tho' he has been so Unlucky with his people by deaths and desertions, that he has now only seventeen men left out of the hundred, It is now said there is another Officer coming up from the Havana to Relieve him and five hundred Spanish Soldiers, who are to be employ'd building a Fort on the Missouri River, which you may see by a map is about sixty miles from hence, on the Spanish shore, It is in the heart of the Country of a Tribe of Indians of that name, who are very numerous and give law to all the Indians hereabout.

It has been talked ever since we arrived here, of Col Wilkins having orders to establish a post at a place call'd by the French Post St. Vincent, the English call it O Post.<sup>2</sup> It is on the Wabash River, Its by Land 240 English miles but to go by Water is 600 at lest from this place, and for this purpose he is fitting up a very Large Boat, by Way of a Row-galley which is to row with 24 Oars, to Carry 35 men With six Months provisions &c and a Brass sixpounder Mounted on her forecastle, Her Gunwales are raised so high that the men are not to be seen Rowing, This Boat is to be Commanded by a Commissioned Officer, and is also to Cruise on the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, to intercept the french and Spanish traders from New Orleans, Carrying on an Illicit trade with our Indians at O Post and on the

<sup>1</sup> Rui reached St. Louis in 1768, but St. Ange, the former Commander of Fort Chartres, remained in command till 1770.

<sup>2</sup> This is Vincennes, which the English, who thought that every French place must necessarily be a Saint, changed to St. Vincent. The French have a way of using *au* or *aux* before names, and this has led to mistakes like that in the text. They would speak of Post Vincennes as *au Poste*, at the Post. Hence we have *aux Arcs*, Ozark; *aux Sables*, Ausable.

Rivers, It is likewise to prevent them from killing Buffalo, which the people from New Orleans have done in such quantities lately that were they allowed to continue it, they would soon destroy all those animals.

I believe when I wrote you by Capt. Forbes I mentioned the farm Capt. Stewart and I had bought in Company, from which we had great expectations, But that poor man being so soon Cutt off, has Rendered all our hopes fruitless, for we was obliged to take in other partners that quiet destroys all our endeavors, and things of all kinds being so extravagantly dear that I fear I shall not be able to save any thing out of my pay, had not these poor Gents: died since we came here, I had some hopes of getting leave of absence to go to England, But since it has so happened, I fear I may now give up all hopes of it for life, Indeed I should not so much mind that were I in a part of America that one could have the least hopes of health, I cannot so much complain of it myself for I have been very hearty ever since the Stroke I had in Septem<sup>r</sup>, that I mentioned to you in my last, But it would shock a Turk to see what the Poor men, women, & children, have suffered for want of proper nourishment. You may easily Conceive what Wretched state a poor man must be in when in the high of a fever to have nothing to drink but Cold Water—

When the fevers had somewhat abated, a great many of the men was seized with a Bluddy flux, which now makes great havock amongst them, not a Week but we Burry some and when it will end God only knows, for there are numbers of them just at Deaths door, you would pity them much to see them so shortly changed from a sett of fine stout hearty Young men, now a week, feable, emaciated poor Souls. I Believe by the time you have Read this far you will wish for a Conclusion, and indeed so it really is time. But my heart wishes much to Converse with you and as I Cannot have that happiness, hope you will excuse this long epistle, Ensign Howard has been very ill all winter It has been offered to him that if he would give in his Resignation he might return to Europe and I believe I might have the offer of it on the same Conditions I had Mr. Raymond's, I consulted the Colonel in it and he advises me to wait and see what may be the Issue of the Last Recommendation. We have had several

expresses from Fort Pitt this Winter and I was in great hopes of hearing from you by some of them but not a line has made its appearance, however there is a good time coming in the spring, I long much to know what luck I have had in the Philadelphia Lottery, and hope to hear you have put out that trifle to Interest.

We have had a fine Winter here as any I have ever seen since I came to America and all the Gents: (except Howard) have been pretty healthy, I still keep bustling about am now busy fencing in a Garden for the men, which w<sup>th</sup> my own and the adjutants duty that I have done ever since poor Turner Died keeps me constantly employ'd and I am sure ads much to my health. Pray make my most sincere Respects to Miss Shippard to all my Little Countrymen, Miss<sup>r</sup>: Bamsley, Shiphard and Smith, and the Rest of your good family, and may he who has the giving of all good gifts ever Bless you Sir & all your Undertakings, is the fervent prayer of

Dear Sir, your poor but sincere friend,

GEO: BUTRICK.

GIBAULT TO BRIAND, February 15, 1769

[A.A.,Q., Mission des Illinois, 13]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Je n'ay pu jusqu'à présent avoir l'honneur d'asseurer Votre Grandeur de mes très humbles respects et de mon entière soumission, mais je la prie de croire je serai aussi respectueux et aussi soumis que j'ay été et que je serai obéissant. Je souhaiterois faire à votre Grandeur un parfait détail du bon et mauvais état de chaque poste de ce pays, de ses besoins et nécessités, mais je ne les connois pas assez moi-même, ayant été depuis mon arrivée presque toujours malade des

[*Translation*]

MY LORD,

I could not before have the honor of assuring Your Grace of my very humble respects and of my complete submission, but I beg you to believe that I shall be as respectful and as submissive as hitherto and that I shall be obedient. I should like to make to Your Grace a complete report of the good or bad state of each post in this country, of its distresses and needs, but I do not know them well enough myself, having been since my arrival almost constantly sick with

fièvres tremblantes qui sont le tribut ordinaire qu'on paye pour se faire au climat. Je diray cependant ce que j'en scay. J'ay été mieux reçu que ne n'aurois pu me l'imaginer à la douleur près de ne pouvoir rester que dans un seul endroit, tous désirant m'avoir résident chez eux. Je me suis vû contraint par plusieurs raisons de choisir ma résidence aux Kaskaskias parce que ce sont eux qui ont adressé à Votre Grandeur un placet auquel elle a répondu par une lettre adressée au père Le Meurin dans laquelle elle leur asseuroit un curé, ce sont eux qui se sont engagé a payer les frais de mon voyage, c'est le village le plus peuplé. D'ailleurs les habitants de ce village haissant le père Meurin et le dt père ne les aimant pas plus je ne sçais pourquoi, ils étoient tout à fait abandonnés et bientôt sans religion la plus part ne voulant point aller à confesse au dt père et luy ne faisant rien pour les y exciter. De plus le gouverneur anglois dont j'ay tout lieu de faire des louanges, me fit connoitre bien clairement qu'il vouloit que je restasse aux Kaskakias, car j'aurois bien désiré rester au Tamarois ou sont les biens des Mrs du Séminaire que je n'ay pu encore arrenger

[*Translation*]

chills and fevers, which are the ordinary tribute one pays for acclimation. However, I shall tell what I know of them. I have been better received than I could have hoped, judging by the sorrow at my being able to remain in but one place, for all desired to have me resident among them. I have found myself constrained for many reasons to choose my residence at Kaskaskia, because the Kaskaskians are the ones who addressed to Your Grace a petition, to which you replied by a letter addressed to Father Meurin, in which you promised them a curé; because they are the ones who engaged to pay the expenses of my voyage; and because Kaskaskia is the most populous village. Besides, since the people of this village hated Father Meurin, and since he loved them as little—I know not why—they would have been entirely abandoned and soon without religion, the greater part not wishing to go to confession to the father, and he not doing anything to inspire them to go. Furthermore, the English governor, whom I have every occasion to praise, made me see clearly that he desired that I should remain at Kaskaskia; for indeed I should have liked to stay at Tamaroa where the properties of the gentlemen

parce que l'hyver ne permettoit pas qu'avec la fièvre je fis un si long voyage. J'ay cependant toujours desservi Ste Geneviève qui est à deux lieues de ma paroisse sur l'autre rive du Mississipi et par conséquent aux Espagnols. J'en ai eu avec facilité la permission du gouverneur anglois; et le commandant espagnol étant tout devot auroit voulu que jy eusse toujours été. Le père Meurin n'a point de permission d'y aller. Le titre très ample de Vicaire Général l'a fait chasser de Ste Geneviève où il auroit resté comme simple missionnaire; mais un Jésuite avec tant de pouvoir en Espagne est devenu suspect. Je ne vais sur l'autre rive que pour les malades et pour les mariages et baptêmes. Le père Meurin est âgé de 66 ans mais il est cassé et a beaucoup d'absence d'esprit, encore plus d'avarice et d'interest ce qui lui fait bien tort; d'ailleurs des bonnes moeurs et bien zélé. Je luy ay représenté ce qu'on disoit de lui il m'a dit qu'il étoit sur le point de tomber en enfance et qu'il seroit abandonné de tout le monde dans ce pays. Cependant ce ne seroit point, car je le retirerois moi même et en prendrois tout le soin possible. Nous sommes et j'espère que nous

[*Translation*]

of the Seminary are, which I have not yet been able to look after, because the winter and my fever would not suffer me to make so long a journey. I have, however, always officiated at Ste. Genevieve, which is two leagues distant from my parish on the other bank of the Mississippi and consequently belongs to the Spaniards. I gained with ease the permission of the English governor; and the Spanish commandant, being very devout, would have liked me to be there always. Father Meurin has no permission to go there. His very ample title of Vicar-General was the reason for his being turned out of Ste. Genevieve, where he could have remained as a simple missionary; but a Jesuit with so much power is now a suspect in Spain. I go to the other bank only to visit the sick and for marriages and baptisms. Father Meurin is sixty-six years old, broken in health, and often marked by absent-mindedness and even more by avarice and self-interest, which do him great harm; otherwise he is of good habits and very zealous. I reported to him what people said about him, and he told me that he was on the verge of his second childhood, and would be abandoned by everybody in this country. However, this will not be

serons toujours de bonne intelligence quoique je ne suive pas à beaucoup près tous ces conseils, parce qu'il est trop porté à la rigueur et voudroit tout attirer par force. A mon arrivée dans ce village il n'y avoit pas plus de dix hommes qui eussent communier depuis 4 ans par la seule raison qu'ils ne vouloient point se confesser à un Jésuite. Je tache de tout mon pouvoir de leur oter ce mauvais préjugé. Je fais le prière publique tous les soirs à l'église vers le coucher du soleil, le catéchisme 4 fois la semaine, 3 fois pour les blancs et 1 fois pour les noirs ou esclaves. Je fais le plus souvent qu'il m'est possible des exhortations sur les matières que je crois les plus utiles pour l'instruction des auditeurs, en un mot j'employe ma petite capacité à la gloire de N. S. à ma propre sanctification et à celle du prochain autant qu'il me semble que je dois le faire. J'espère que N. S. regardera plutot ce que je voudrois faire et l'intention avec laquelle je le fais, que ce que je fais en effet. Pour les nécessités et besoins des différens postes de ces contrées, je suis presque certain que si Votre Grandeur les voyoit par elle même, elle ne tarderois pas d'un seul moment à y pourvoir il

[*Translation*]

the case, for I will shelter him myself, and take all possible care of him. We are, and I hope that we always shall be, on good terms, although I disregard most of his counsels, because he is too much inclined to severity and wishes to accomplish everything by force. On my arrival in this village there were not more than ten men who had communicated in four years, for the sole reason that they did not want to confess to a Jesuit. I am trying with all my might to divest them of this evil prejudice. I read public prayer every evening in the church about sunset, the catechism four times a week—three times for the whites, and once for the blacks or slaves. As often as I can I offer some exhortations on matters which I believe the most useful for the instruction of my hearers—in short, I employ my little ability to the glory of our Saviour, to my own sanctification and that of my neighbor as it seems to me I ought to do. I hope that our Saviour will regard rather what I should like to do and the intention with which I do it, than what I actually accomplish. As for the needs and distresses of the different posts of these districts, I am almost certain that if Your Grace should see them yourself, you would not hesitate a single moment to make provision for the two missionaries that are still needed

faudroit encore deux missionnaires, un pour les Tamarois à vingt lieues d'ici, l'autre au poste Vincennes qui en est à 80. Le désordre y est beaucoup, n'y ayant personne pour l'arrêter. Ces personnes vivant dans le péché, meurent presque tous dans le désespoir. On m'a fait le réci de quelques morts qui en vérité ne peuvent être entendues sans tirer des larmes, cette portion de votre troupeau est terriblement en proie aux loups sur tous le poste Vincennes ou il y a considérablement du monde et bien plus capable de faire vivre un curé que l'endroit ou je suis, et cependant je ne me trouve que trop heureux pour le temporel. Je feray connoître, quand je le connoîtray moy même le revenu de ma cure, l'état et les rentes fixes et le casuel à peu près de l'église, à Votre Grandeur. Cette occasion est un courier du Détroit dont je n'ay sçu le départ que la veille.

Je suis avec tout le respect, la soumission et l'obéissance possible de Votre Grandeur, Monseigneur, le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

GIBAULT, ptre.

Aux KASKAKIAS

15 février 1769.

[*Translation*]

here, one for the Tamaroa, twenty leagues from here, the other for Post Vincennes, which is eighty leagues distant. The disorder there is very great, there being no one at hand to stop it. These people, living in sin, almost all die in despair. I have been told the story of some deaths which certainly cannot be heard without drawing tears; this portion of your flock is terribly a prey to the wolves, especially Post Vincennes, where there is a considerable number of people, and people much more capable of supporting a curé than the place where I am—and yet I find myself extremely fortunate as regards the temporalities. I shall inform Your Grace, when I know it myself, of the revenue of my living, the list of parishoners, and the fixed rents and fees, approximately, of the church. The occasion for this letter is a Detroit courier, of whose departure I did not learn until last evening.

I am, with all the respect, the submission, and the obedience possible to Your Grace, my lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,

GIBAULT, priest.

KASKASKIA,

15 February, 1769.



**GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, March 5, 1769**

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, p. 175—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup> 28)

NEW YORK March 5<sup>th</sup> 1769.

MY LORD,

A mail arrived from England after my Dispatches of yesterday were closed; by which Opportunity I have had the honour to receive the Duplicate of your Lordship's Letter N<sup>o</sup>. 16;<sup>1</sup> to which I endeavor to send an Answer by the Packet which was to have sailed this morning, but through some Impediment, has not been able to leave the Harbour.

Your Lordship desires to be informed of the Grounds, upon which the Prosecution, mentioned in my Letter N<sup>o</sup>. 19 to have been commenced in Boston, has been taken up, and of the Names of the Persons prosecuted, as well as of the particulars of the Case. The People prosecuted are Mess<sup>rs</sup> Hancock and Malcolm; accused of declaring publicly, that they would land their Goods, and would not pay the Dutys. That they did accordingly land their Goods, without paying the Dutys by Law Established, in Defiance of the Officers of the Customs. They were arrested during my Residence in Boston, Hancock, One of the most Opulent Men in this Country, I think for the Sum of £13000 and both after some time gave Bail. The Reason given why those Persons were not arrested before was, that the Prosecutors were affraid, and durst not attempt it any more than the Civil Officer employed in the Arrest, till they were protected by the Presence of the Troops; for both Mr Hancock and Malcolm were reported to have been Leaders or Abettors of the Mob. I confine myself to the general Heads of Accusation which I recollect to have heard; Some particular Circumstances relative to the Conduct of these Persons were mentioned at the time, of which I have not sufficient Recollection to relate to your Lordship. The Tryal is now depending before the Judge of the Court of Admiralty in Boston.

In my Letter No. 22<sup>2</sup> I had the honour to write to your Lordship concerning the principle, upon which the Inhabitants of the Interior Settlements are formed into a Militia. It is to be wished there were

<sup>1</sup> December 24, 1768, *ante*, 476.

<sup>2</sup> January 6, 1769, *ante*, 483.

no Settlements whatever in the Indian Country, but as they are established and from their Situation and Circumstances we are obliged to let them continue armed, as well for the Purposes of personal Defence against the Savages, as to contribute to their Food and Livelihood by hunting; it is judged right to make what use of them we can. They are not called out and exercised like a regular Militia, but they are formed into Companys and Officers set over them, by which they are the more easily assembled, when called upon, to assist the Service; and are expected to join the King's Troops, in Case of any Indian Insurrection. The Militia of the Detroit upon one Occasion did a Material Service, in having carried Supplys of Provisions to Michillimackinac, which the Garrison would have wanted without their Assistance. The putting Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>Dougal at the Head of that Militia, who is connected with some of the best People of the Place, might prove the Means to draw them more into our Interests, and engage them to act more readily when their Service shall be required: And he undertakes to remove the vagabond French and Canadians settled in the Indian Nations, of whose Machinations Sir William Johnson makes constant Complaints, and whom he has never been able to get removed, by Applications to the Indians. The Inhabitants of the Detroit go frequently amongst the Natives, and have an Interest with them, and might possibly get the strollers sent away, or at proper opportunitys carry them forceably off, without any Risk of a Quarrell between us and the Indians. I am however to tell your Lordship, that I do not rely upon this, and that I have not proceeded in it, or mean to proceed in it, till I get Information from the Detroit.

I have had the honour to write to your Lordship concerning the Force to be left in West-Florida, till Affairs are Settled in these Provinces. I would add to what I have already wrote on that Subject, that I am of Opinion Six Companys would be a sufficient Force to leave there. We are at Peace with the Indians, and if they are properly Managed they will remain Peaceable. Were they otherwise, no Force is able to protect and defend Settlements Scattered over a Province, but such a Body of Troops might defend the Capital Places against any Body of Indians; besides the Aid to be procured from the Inhabitants in time of Danger. Your Lordship will further observe, from the Account transmitted you of the Force in Louisiana, when the

French and Spaniards were united there; that they do not seem enabled to fit out any considerable Armament to make an Attack with, upon their Neighbours. If it is asked whether Six Companys could make a long Resistance against a regular respectable Body of Troops? they could not; or could two Regiments in West-Florida, where there is no Place in which they could defend themselves, that a small Battery would not lay open in half an Hour. And the best Defence West-Florida can have at present against a respectable Force, is ships of War, to attack them before they land. As for the Trade, exclusive of what is spent by the Troops, they can be of no Service to it, as far as I can see, in any shape, whether it is carried on with the French or Spaniards, or with the Indians, whilst the Traders carry their Goods into the Indian Towns.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest Regard Respect and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH one of H: Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Sec<sup>rys</sup> of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York March 5<sup>th</sup> 1769 Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. (N<sup>o</sup> 28) R/ 17<sup>th</sup> April. B. 9. Ent<sup>d</sup>

LAND DEED, March 14, 1769

[Draper MSS., 12ZZ91]

An Indent. made March 14, 1769 Alexis La Plante & Tempe Denis Verreneau his wife to J. B. S. W. Geo. M. for £100 N. York currency—situate near Kas. Village—adj. the lot of Antoine Buyate N 70. E. 21 P. to Kas. river—S. 18. W. 17 P. up s<sup>d</sup> Gully S. 40. W. 57 P. then S 15. E to Miss: down it till it strikes a line drawn < beg. S 15 E to Miss river—ackn: March 20, 1769

Ja<sup>s</sup> McMillan

Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilkins Comd<sup>t</sup>

## LAND DEED, March 15, 1769

[Draper MSS., 12ZZ91]

An Ident. made March 15, 1769 in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Geo. 3 king of G. B. Jacque Boutillet of P. De R. & Jervis Jilbert his wife & Francois Jobiden of the one part, Jn<sup>o</sup> Baynton Sam<sup>l</sup> Wharton & Geo Morgan of Phil<sup>a</sup> of the other—for 24 £ Sterling of G. B.—for 2 tracts of land 6<sup>m</sup> from Fort Chartres—1<sup>st</sup> bounded by Hills N. & Miss: South E [?] by lands of La Lande & W. by Lands of B. W. & M. w<sup>h</sup> they bot of Chaufour as above—3½<sup>m</sup> Long & 6<sup>a</sup> Wide containing 650—another tract adj: the 1<sup>st</sup> above b<sup>d</sup> [?] on the East & W. by lands formerly belonging to the heirs of Dutisne dec<sup>d</sup>—or two certain Jendots—one sq<sup>r</sup> acre front on Miss:—containing 100<sup>a</sup>.

acknol. March 19, 1769 before one of his majesties Justices  
J. Rumsey.

GAGE TO WILKINS, March 24, 1769<sup>1</sup>

[V.S.L., Clark Papers]

NEW YORK 24th: March 1769.

SIR,

I have received your Letter of the 1st: of November, together with their Proclamations, two of which respected Trade,<sup>2</sup> the other concerning the Distribution of Justice.<sup>3</sup> An Account of a bad Fever which had attacked the Troops under your Command; a List of the French & Spanish Settlement. Some proposals for Victualling the Troops, Returns of Engineers Stores, Orders about Indian Presents. A Memorial respecting Commissions Vacant in the 18th: Regimt: & an abstract of Receipts of Lieut Ancrum of 34th Regt. for Provisions delivered at Kaskaskias.

Mr. Leake is made acquainted with your Paragraphs about his Depy. Mr Moore, who I fear has been very idle, he certainly has not paid the attention to his Instructions that he ought to have done, and I hope soon to see him here, to settle his Accounts.

From the Return you have Sent, there is as you Observe a great Deficiency of Stores. But how it has been Occasioned, Colonel Reed

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Ambler in *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: No. 2, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> These documents have not been found.

<sup>3</sup> December 6, 1768, *ante*, 455 (refer to page in court records for March 6, 1770).

who has been here, can give no Account. I hope you will be able to make some discovery in this matter.

Your advice to the Savages was a Salutory one, & I am glad you already feel the good Effect of it, which will Appear more every day, so as to make them sensible of it, and pleased with it.

The disorder which has afflicted you, has been a dreadful one; I have shewn the account you transmitted to the Surgeons of the Hospital, who pronounce it to be of the same kind as the distemper which attacked the 26th Regimt: in the Jerseys, and your own at Philadelphia, and assure me that the Winter season would stop it, and recover your Convalescents. I hope your next Accounts will inform me that they are right in forming this Judgment; a Supply of Medicines shall be sent you by first Opportunity.

You are doing every thing you can that some sort of Justice may be carried on in the Settlements. I would advise in whatever is done, to let the Inhabitants carry those matters on themselves, and not to appear yourself in them, but when your authority shall be necessary to restrain injustice. There cannot be many nice affairs of great Consequence to determine. But I would have you avoid giving any handle to Litigious People, who might hereafter endeavor to hamper you with tricks of Law.<sup>1</sup> Colo Reed was arrested at Lancaster for taking care of the Effects of People, and getting them Sold at Auction, after the decease of the Person, who had them in charge. Capt: Forbes brought the Money the Goods Sold for, which put an end to all proceedings. I relate this for your Information.

It is to be wished you may be able to make an Example of some of your Deserters, as well as of those who excite them to Desert; If you can lay hold of any from the otherside, with Sufficient proof, it is Death to Enlist Men for foreign Service, and you may send them guarded to Philadelphia to take their Tryal. You will have trouble enough to keep the Rascals you have to deal with in proper Order.

St. Vincent should certainly have a detachment, was it only to keep the Inhabitants within bounds. As for the several Posts so often talked of, we must wait orders from Home. It will be Expensive to erect them, as well as to maintain them. All these matter are before His Majesty's Ministers, and I am given to hope for a

<sup>1</sup> Compare court record printed *ante*, 455.

speedy answer. You must be the best Judge of the kind of Boat proper for the purpose, and it must be left to you. I wish you was near enough to send down all Vagabonds and Strollers who go to the Illinois or St Vincent's from the Provinces, For those Interior Settlements, must not be Suffered to increase with the fugitive French and Canadians, who go thither to get Shelter from Creditors, or escape from Justice, for their Crimes. They will be too formidable in a short time, if Suffered to Encrease.

All the 34th Regimt: Assembled at Philadelphia before Christmas, and the 2 Companys of the 18th have remained at Fort Pitt, so that it was not practicable to send you the Reinforcement you have desired, at the Time you fixed. And as for Reinforcements in general, the Cash you desire to be sent, the Pitch, Oakum &c., as well as the Cloathing & Supply of Stores to make up Dificiencies; All I can say on those heads now is, that I must wait for Resolutions from home respecting the future destiny of the Illinois. I am told it will be determined soon, the moment I receive it, I shall be able to determine myself what to do. At present I am in a state of Uncertainty respecting you. I wish more of the King's Boats had been sent up with Captn. Forbes.

Don Riu has probably left you, and gone after Don Ulloa to the Havanna. The Treatment which the Spaniards have received, and the good understanding between you and Don Riu, may have inclined him to open his heart, and to inform you of the truth of the many Reports we have had of French officers and others going amongst the Nations with Belts, and Endeavoring to set the Indians against the English. If he knows anything worth discovering I hope you will have it in his answer to the Paper left with him, which Capt: Turnbull sent you from Detroit.

It appears to me that you could not have done any thing more beneficial to the Country where you are, than to call in the Bons, And to forbid the Issuing anymore. Your making them no longer legal Tender would discredit them immediately.

Your Letter to Sir John Sebright was forwarded by first Packet, and I have sent Recommendations home, according to Seniority in the Regiment. You had made some mistakes by being unacquainted with circumstances that had happened in it.

Mr Commissary Moore should be sent here to settle his accounts immediately, for all the Provision accounts are in Confusion. The Certificate of Provision delivered at Kaskaskias, Signed by Lieut Ancrum, is sent to Philadelphia, that Lieut Ancrum may give an account thereof.

You mention the having made a Contract to Victual the Troops at the Illinois. I imagine you only mean, that certain People would engage to supply Provisions, at the rates mentioned in the Paper you inclosed, regarding that affair. We are not authorized to make Contracts. The Treasury has made one, and tho' only Stipulated to be in force for one Year, it will remain in Force till the Treasury or the Contractor annull it. The Treasury waits information, to try if they can make a better bargain; And I would have sent home the proposals you sent me, but first submitting it to the Inspection of Mr Commissary General Leake, I find by his Remarks that the present Agreement with the Contractors, is more Advantageous to the Crown, than the proposals you have sent in. I transmit you a Copy of those remarks, and if you can say any thing to invalidate them, or furnish me Sufficient intelligence for the Treasury, proving that the Contractors might Supply the Troops at a less Price than they now do, I shall transmit it to their Lordship's. If you should inadvertently have taken up any Provisions upon the Contract, which you say, You have made to Victual the Troops, Manage it so without delay, that the Contractors Agents, make the said Provisions at the Price you agreed to take them at, & that the Issues may be made as usual, or we shall go into more Confusion, then I can well set right again.

I am, with great Regard, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

THO GAGE.

LIEUT COLONEL WILKINS, 18th Regt: Or officer Commanding F. Chartres.

P:S. Your orders to the Trading Company are as proper as they were necessary, and if they go contrary thereto, Messrs: Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, must thank themselves, if Payment is refused to the Bills they produce. Sir William Johnson has acquainted me long since, that he had ordered Mr: Cole away from the Illinois, so be pleased to send him off. All the Commissarys in general are

ordered from the several Posts, and indeed I believe the Service will not be the worse for their absence. You will know that the management of the Trade is now left to the Provinces.

You will be so good on all occasions, to give every Assistance in your Power to the Contractor's Agents, which the Treasury desire may be done at all Times.

T. G.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, March 24, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87 p. 155—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup> 18)

WHITEHALL March 24<sup>th</sup> 1769.

HON<sup>BLE</sup> MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE.

SIR,

Although I have not yet had an opportunity of taking the sense of His Majesty's Servants upon those parts of your Letters N<sup>o</sup> 21. 22.<sup>1</sup> 23. & 24. which relate to the utility of the Establishments upon the Ohio River, and in the Illinois Country, and to the necessity of building Barracks at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine and Quebec, and repairing the Works at that place, I must not for this reason any longer delay to answer the other parts of those Letters.

I have already signified to you His Majesty's Approbation of the measures you had taken for the reception of the Troops ordered to Boston; and the readiness and dispatch with which the Regiments from Ireland were accommodated with Quarters upon their Arrival, is a full Testimony of your Attention to that Service.

The Appointment of Colonel Pomeroy, in the Absence of Colonel Mackay, to the command of the Troops in Massachusetts's Bay, appears to have been a very necessary Step, and it is a circumstance of no small importance that the Command upon this occasion has devolved to an Officer of so much merit, temper, and ability.

The making up an account of the expence of quartering the Troops at Boston, in order to be laid before the Assembly of that Province when it meets, is approved by the King; and His Majesty trusts that, as they can have no reasonable objection, they will not make any difficulty to repay it.

<sup>1</sup> Of these letters only that of January 6, 1769 (printed *ante*, 483) has been found.



Whether Sir William Johnson is, or is not, to be justified in having incurred so great an Expence on account of the Boundary Line, without waiting for the result of the applications to the several Provinces concerned, to provide Funds to defray the same, I shall not at present determine; but I cannot but observe to you that the manner in which he has thought fit to deviate from his Instructions in the Settlement of the Boundary Line, and the improper conditions with which he has suffered the Cession from the Six Nations to be clogged, has not only created those difficulties with respect to the Cherokees which you express an Apprehension of, but has involved the whole of that important Object in such perplexity, and subjected the final Settlement of it to such delay, as cannot fail of being very prejudicial to the King's Service.

In this state the friendly disposition of the Western Indians is a very favorable circumstance, which will I hope be improved into a firm Alliance, and that they will soon be induced to disbelieve the idle Stories propagated amongst them by french Emissaries and Traders.

The preserving a certain & constant communication between the different posts upon the Lakes is of great importance, and as it is a Service which ought to be conducted with the greatest Care and Oeconomy, I make no doubt but that you will direct a proper enquiry to be made into the causes of the accidents which have happened to the Vessels employed in the navigation, and to punish the persons who had the care of them, in case they shall appear to have been occasioned by any Neglect on their part.

It will give the King great Satisfaction to hear that the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment has been accommodated with Quarters at Charles Town, in such manner as that it may remain there without any inconvenience until there are Barracks for it's reception at S<sup>t</sup> Augustine.

The Information and Opinion contained in your Dispatches N<sup>o</sup> 22 & 25<sup>1</sup> relative to the Illinois Country; to the State of the Settlement upon the Ouabache; and upon the question of the utility of an establishment at Ibberville; will be very material in the Consideration of what may be finally proper to determine upon, in respect to the whole of that vast Country with which Our Colonies are bounded to the Westward: a consideration which certainly deserves a most serious Attention, and ought not to be entered into without the fullest

<sup>1</sup> February 3, 1769, *ante*, 488.

information of the State of the Country, and whether it is, or is not, capable of producing any real commercial Advantage to this Kingdom.

I hope that the Addition you propose to make to the Force already in West Florida will, in great measure, relieve His Majesty's Subjects there from the fears and Apprehensions so strongly expressed in the representations they made upon that Subject.

Having communicated to His Majesty's Post-Master General your Observation upon the time the Packets take to make their Voyages, inclosed I send you a Copy of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Todd to M<sup>r</sup> Pownall upon that Subject.

I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you that M<sup>r</sup> Stuarts' proceedings in the settlement of a Boundary Line with the Southern Indians; of which a very full Account has been received from him, have met with the King's entire Approbation; but I fear the final Conclusion of the Line with the Cherokees on the back of Virginia must be delayed some time longer for the reasons I have already mentioned.

The whole of this business of the Boundary Line is now before the Lords of Trade, upon whose report the measure was originally adopted; and as it is not improbable but they may be of Opinion that it will be necessary to make some Alteration in the Virginia Line as first proposed, I have directed M<sup>r</sup> Stuart to suspend the final ratification of the Agreement with the Cherokees until he receives His Majesty's further Orders; And inclosed I send you a copy of my Letter to him upon that occasion.

When the Arrangements in respect to Indian Affairs were under Consideration, it was represented by the Agents for the Colonies, and by Individuals interested in the Indian Commerce, that nothing could be more agreeable to the Colonies than that the regulation of it should be left to be provided for by Laws of their own; And therefore His Majesty cannot but be surprized that the Colonies which are particularly interested, should have shewn so little Attention to this Object.—It is in vain for them to trust that this Country will again take upon itself the enormous Expence attending Indian Affairs upon the former Plan, & therefore His Majesty hopes that they will not only be induced to provide for a Service, in the Support and encouragement of which their own Safety and Interest is more immediately concerned;

But that they will also see the Justice and propriety of repaying at least some part of the Expence of the Treaty for the Boundary Line, from the establishment of which they will derive such solid Advantages.

I never had the least doubt but that the accounts received from the Indian Country, of the Intrigues and Machinations of the French and Spaniards were greatly exaggerated, and that many idle Stories are propagated with the views and for the purposes you mention in your dispatch N° 26.<sup>1</sup> Such reports are not however to be entirely discredited, and the King approves the Intimation you have given to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel Wilkins of the intelligence which has been received.

With regard to the troops now at Boston, I am to signify to you His Majesty's Commands, that you do use your discretion for the Continuance of those Troops, all or any of them, in that Province, as His Majesty's Service shall appear to you to require; and that you do accordingly, if you shall judge it expedient, send back to Halifax the 2. Regiments which were brought from thence; And you are also to restore the regular Rotation, by sending to Ireland the Ninth & Thirty fourth Regiments, if upon a Consideration of the general State of America you shall be of Opinion that His Majesty's Service will permit; and in that case you are to direct such a Number of Transports to be taken up, as will be sufficient for that purpose, with the usual Allowance for Women, Servants, & Baggage, of which I have, by His Majesty's Command, given information to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to the Honourable Major General Gage. Whitehall. March 24<sup>th</sup> 1769. (N° 18.) Ent<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> February 4, 1769, *ante*, 493.

## CHAPTER XI.

CONDITIONS DURING THE TRANSITION FROM IMPERIAL TO COLONIAL MANAGEMENT, MARCH 24, 1769—JUNE 15, 1769

NEED FOR IMMEDIATE TRADE REGULATIONS—PRECAUTION NECESSARY FOR CONVEYING GOODS TO THE WEST—MERCHANTS' DESIRES FOR STRONG FORT—SCHISM IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MORGAN AND CLARKSON—PENN'S RECOMMENDATIONS—LETTERS FROM THE BISHOP OF QUÉBEC—FINAL COMMUNICATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI LAND COMPANY—QUESTION OF SUPPLYING THE GARRISON—JOHNSON'S COMMENTS ON THE FAILURE OF THE COLONIES TO APPOINT PROPER INDIAN OFFICIALS—DEATH OF PONTIAC—FURTHER COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC.

GAGE TO PENN, March 24, 1769

[P.C.R., 9:581]

NEW YORK, March 24th, 1769.

SIR:

His Majesty having thought proper to take the Management of the Trade with the Indian Nations out of the Hands of His Superintendants of Indian Affairs, and to leave the Management thereof to the Provinces concerned in said Trade, Sir William Johnson finds himself under the Necessity of discharging immediately the Commissaries, Interpreters, and Smiths appointed by him in the Posts and Forts in the Interior Country.

I take the Liberty to acquaint you of this Event, and hope you will be able, without Delay, to appoint Officers to succeed those dismissed by Sir William Johnson, that the Trade may not suffer through the Want of proper Persons to superintend it. Sir William Johnson can give the best Advice concerning the Instructions that should be given to said Officers, as well as concerning the Laws and Regulations necessary to be made for the better carrying on the Trade. I am only to desire to be informed when you shall have settled those Points, in what Shape I can be of use, that I may send orders Accordingly to the Commanders of the several Posts and Forts in the Indian

Country to co-operate with your Officers, and give them Assistance in the Execution of their Instructions, whenever their Aid shall be required.

If the Provinces will appoint Officers to superintend the Trade in such parts of the Indian Country where they appear from their Situations to enjoy the chief Benefit of the Trade, Pennsylvania will appoint at Fort Pitt and the Illinois, New York at Niagara and the Detroit, and Quebec at Misilimakanak; through the Province of Quebec would have only one Post to Superintend, yet the very great Concourse of Indians every Year at Misilimakanak, will make it much more expensive than any of the rest.

I have the Honour to be with great Regard, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS GAGE.

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, March 26, 1769

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

KASKASKIAS March 26th, 1769

DEAR PARTNERS

The last Letter I had the Pleasure of Writing to you was by Jemmison in the beginning of February, Which I flatter myself you have or will very soon receive.

A chance Visit to Meseire has procured me the Knowledge of the Conveyance by which this will be sent to you Via of New Orleans—Precarious as it may be I cannot suffer it to pass without telling you I am well & that agreeable to what I wrote you by Jemmison I shall make up £15,000 in Bills of Exchange & Peltries (say 450 Packs) in all June next which I purpose to ship from hence so as to meet your Vessel the first Week in July at New Orleans—And as there will be a Number of Passengers I recommend to you to agree by the Run for the same as for the Freight.

I cannot say whether or not I shall accompany the Peltries—As Mr Rigby is determin'd to do it, I may perhaps go to Fort Pitt. I may by that Rout be certain of seeing you in thirty odd days from the Time of my leaving this. I shall bring with me an exact Acc<sup>t</sup> & State of our Affairs here—Which cannot but be agreeable, Notwithstanding the Tardiness of our Remittances. The Pleasure of our Meeting will be considerably abated by my not being able to do more

than I have. I must confess myself greatly mortified at the Consideration—So much that One Reason only Which you know to be sufficient prevents my resolving to try What I could do another Year.

As the Uncertainty of your receiving this is very great I shall not add, further than to desire my most Affectionate Regards to every Individual of each of your Families and to our Friends.

I am with the greatest Esteem & Respect Dear Partners

Yours truly and Affectionately

G M

We have no News of Meyot yet or of any Boat this Spring—But every Body anxiously & hourly expect soon to hear from you.

#### LAND GRANTS, April 12, 1769<sup>1</sup>

[Draper MSS., 12ZZ92]

Grants from Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilkins Esq Lieut. Col. of his Majestys 18 royal reg<sup>t</sup>. of Ireland Gov. & com<sup>dt</sup>. of the Illinois country

1<sup>st</sup>. To Geo. Morgan of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Merchant lying S. of the Kas. river & North of the road < Kas Village to Ft Chartres Beg. at a run or Gully the S. E. corner of lands granted the 12<sup>th</sup>. of april instant to J. B. S. W. & G. Morgan then along the ridge nearly an east course to Kas. river—& up s<sup>d</sup>. river to N. E. bound or corner of s<sup>d</sup>. land Granted to B. W. M. april 12—then S 30 W to Beg. April 15, 1769 & 9<sup>th</sup>. of Geo. 3 of G. B.

D<sup>o</sup>. To Jos. Galloway attor. Phil<sup>a</sup>. back of the Village of Kahokia—So as to make a true sq<sup>r</sup>. of 2000 P. each way—adj. the hills & between two creeks.

D<sup>o</sup>. to S. Wharton for settlement on same part lying on each side of the road < Fort Chartres to Kahokia on w<sup>b</sup>. is a spring called Belle Fontain—contains all the Praire & as much woodland adj: April 15, 1769.

D<sup>o</sup>. to Ja<sup>s</sup>. Rumsey lying N. of F. Chartres beg. at a run near the W. side of P. Du Rocher then along the foot of the hill to another run or creek West of the road up the hill < Fort Chartres to Kas: crossing this 25 P. N. 30 E. 2000 P.—S 6 E to meet a line < by S 30 W—then to beg.

<sup>1</sup> These grants of land to the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, and its connections are illustrative of one of the forms of activity that was conducted in the West.

D°. to J Baynton land of Dutisne's heirs forfeited April 12, 1769 < Roch to Miss:

D°. To J. B. S. W. & Geo. M. for grazing[?] &c—Situat on the N. side of the road < Kas. Village to P. De Rocher beg. at the foot of a rock on the W. side of a large run & on the W. side of a large wood between P. D. Rocher & the Grande Praire, East across the run paralell w<sup>t</sup>. hills to about the middle of the grand Praire from W. to East to Gully & up s<sup>d</sup>. Gully N 30 E to main branch of Kas. up s<sup>d</sup>. branch till it meets a line w<sup>h</sup>. runs < by N 30 E—april 12, 1769.

A Grant to Jos. Galloway april 12, 1769.

1 D°. to Ja<sup>s</sup>. Rumsey D°.

1 D°. To Jn°. Baynton D°.

1 D°. To Baynton & Wharton D°.

1 D°. To Geo. Morgan 15 D°.

1 D°. To Sam<sup>l</sup>. Wharton 15 D°.

For forms sake I have registered the above but as the gnts therein alluded to are null & void untill confirmed by the General's approbation &c

Jn°. Wilkins L<sup>t</sup>. Col. &c.

REED<sup>1</sup> TO McMILLAN, April 16, 1769<sup>2</sup>

[V.S.L., Clark Papers—A.L.S.]

FORT PITT 16th April 1769.

DEAR SIR

I send with this the Vouchers for Provisions issued to the Eighteenth Regiment. Some of which was sent to me from the Commissary Generals Office. The Abstracts from that office I have detained to send by the next opportunity, least by some Accident these should miscarry the person in whose hand writing the detained Abstracts were wrote in is well known both by you and Mr. Murray and on Occation may serve as Vouchers of themselves.

I sent you some vouchers for provisions issued to the same regt. before. It would be very agreable to me if you would be pleas'd to let me know if thay are Come to Hand. and what numbers you

<sup>1</sup> The commissary at Fort Pitt. He is not to be confused with the Lieutenant Colonel John Reed who was stationed at Fort de Chartres.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Ambler in *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: No. 2, p. 109.

have received mentioning the different Post where issued. This is a request from the Commissary General, you know, as well as my self with what Punctuality he expects such Inteligence, which when received by him is very Agreeable. and more so to me as it will be in my power to Comply with his Orders. I have sent him an Account of what has hither-to been forwarded. but if he receives an account of there arrival to you he then will be assured his Orders have been Complyd with.

If Doctor Connelly is near you. Should be much obliged if you will enquire of him if he actually sent the Money by Mr Peretor as he wrote me he would. for the Condemn'd Provisions he bought at Vandue<sup>1</sup> at Fort Pitt. the amount of which was £12. 10s. or 12/| besides six Barrels to be returned to the store when Empty'd, for which he did not or was to pay 20/| p Barrel. After taken his word for near 12 Months he left Fort Pitt the spring before you came there with Jules [?] at Philada: and never made any provision to discharge sd Demand which I believe Mr Austen Prety can Evidence.

I am my Dear McMillen Your sincere Friend and Most obedient Humble Servant.

JOHN REED.

MR COMMISSARY McMILLEN.

[*Endorsed:*] Ft. Pitt 16th Apl 1769 John Read Recd at Ft Chartres on the night of the 19th May 1769.

STE. MARIE TO BRIAND, April 22, 1769

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois 14]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Le sujets de la présente est aux noms de tous les habitans et commercant de ce poste qui vous perix découter les juste perier que nous vous faisons pour quil vous plaise nous acorder un preste nos perier

[*Translation*]

MY LORD,

The contents of this letter are offered in the name of all the habitants and traders of this post, who beg you to hear the just request we are making, that you may be pleased to send us a priest. Our peti-

<sup>1</sup> Vendue.



sont dautems plus reyteray que nous nous étions flaté ille y a deux ans que nous aurions reponce dune lettre que nous avons ut lhonneur de vous adresher par Mr Depain; nous navons vû que avec regraitte que les habitans des Kaskakiat ont ut des preuves du zelle que vous acordez a vos fidelle berbis en qualité de pasteur en leur envoyant un digne pereste pour les maittre dans le bon chemain en leurs inspirant la crainte du Seigneur . . . . Considérez Monseigneurs létat dangereux dans lequel le poste est réduit depuis cinq ans que nous sommes abandonnez et sans aucune relligieux ce qui eface les encienne principe de religions que nous avons reçu de nos enestre nétant pas à même de les montre à nos enfants par la faute de pouvoir leurs donner tout léduations que nous desirons et les maitre toujours dans la voix du salû suivant les desir que nous en avons, nous espéront que par le moyent du pasteur quil vous plaira nous envoyer que par son zelle ille rengera tout nos enfant dans la voix du salû et de la religions catolique Nous esperont que vous aurez un peu dindulgence pour quil vous plaise nous ordonner un preste pour le poste nous ne pouvons que vous

[*Translation*]

tions are reiterated because we had flattered ourselves two years ago that we might have an answer to the letter we had the honor of addressing you by M. Depain; and with regret we have seen that the people of Kaskaskia have received evidences of the zeal which you show for your faithful sheep as their pastor, by your sending them a worthy priest to put them in the right way and inspire in them the fear of God. Consider, my lord the dangerous state to which this post has been reduced in the five years that we have been abandoned and without a minister of religion; a state which effaces all the old principles of religion that we have received from our forefathers, because we cannot even teach them to our children through not being able to give them all the instruction we wish, nor always to lead them in the path of salvation as we desire. We hope that the minister whom it shall please you to send us may by his zeal win back all our children to the way of salvation and of the Catholic religion. We hope that you will show us a little indulgence and that you will be pleased to send us a priest for the post. We can give you only a very faint idea of the misfortunes which the lack of religion brings upon us

donner un très mauvaise idée des malheurs que atire sur nous le peu de relligions que lon a conservée depuis que nous sommes privée des relligieux qui deservait cy devant cette curé. Le triste état et le mauvais desorde que peû causer une trop grande lissance parmy des enfants qui nonts pas de crainte pour leurs propre père vivant dant lignorance et sabandonnant à tout ce que la jeunesse volluteuse peû estre capable et fuyant toujours le chemin de la vertu; cecy joint à mille autre inconvenyant qui peû resulter des personnes sans foy faute de pouvoir faire leurs devoirs de cretiens choses dont ille sont privée depuis bien long tems; nombre de fidelle cretiens meure souvant sans recevoir les sacrement et le viatique; devoir dont nous somme obligez. ce qui fait que nous ne saurions trop vous esposer le danger qui nous menace sy la toutepuissance nous abandonne et sur toute notre fidelle pasteur la renommée qui nous a publiez votre grand amours pour le service de dieu nous fait espere que vous ferez atensions au plainte de bons citoyenne de votre diocese et que vous acorderez au juste perier que nous vous faisons de vous demander un preste qui puisse nous maitre dans un bon chemain et un prond retour cert dieu.

[*Translation*]

since we have been deprived of the minister of religion who formerly watched over our spiritual interests here. Among these is the sad state and the wretched disorder which too much liberty can cause among children who have no fear of their own fathers, living in ignorance and abandoning themselves to everything that sensual youth is capable of, and always avoiding the way of virtue; with these are joined the thousand other ill consequences that can come through people who are without faith because without opportunities to perform their Christian duties—opportunities of which they have been long deprived; a number of faithful Christians die from time to time without taking the Eucharist and the last Sacrament as we are in duty bound. By reason of these things we can not too strongly place before you the danger which threatens us if the Almighty and especially our faithful pastor forsake us. The reputation which your great love for the service of God has won for you among us leads us to hope that you will give heed to the plea of good citizens of your diocese, and that you will grant the just request we are making you

Nous nous offerons en outre de la periere que nous permons la liberte de vous adresher de payer tout ferai legitime qui pouront estre fait pour son voyages du Kannadat icy comme de payer aussi la personne qui se chargera de lamener dans ce poste; dont nous nignorons pas que vous savez la quantite dabitans qui sons icy et la grand naissosite quil y a davoit une messe pour mintenir tout dans les voix du salû En atandant quil plaise à vostre exélance de disposer de notre sort nous allons faire des voeux au ciel pour que nos juste perier soit écoutez et sommes tous avec une tres profond respect

Monseigneur,

Votre tres humble et tres obéissans serviteurs et servante

Ste marit commandant antoine marié

antoine lafranboist          coudre

jean chabo                      pierre piron

nicolas cardinal              pierre cournoyer

xav comeau                    pier coder

Phillibert                      batist ar

alexis laderoute              rene codere

la                                  jean baptiste St aubin

[*Translation*]

in asking for a priest who can set us in the right way and on a speedy return to God.

We offer also, in addition to the plea that we are taking the liberty of addressing you, to pay all the legitimate expenses which may arise from his trip from Canada here, as well as to pay the person who acts as his guide to this post, concerning which we are sure you know both the number of inhabitants and the great necessity of having Mass in order to keep all in the path of salvation. Hoping that it may please Your Excellency to dispose of our lot, we offer our vows to Heaven that our just desire may be heard. We are all, with very deep respect, my lord,

Your very humble and devoted servants,

STE. MARIE, Commandant, etc.

A Monseigneur

Monseigneur et tres digne Révérandissime de pont brillant Evêque de Kebecque en Kanadat ;

Aux poste Vincenne ce 22 avril 1769

Répondu le 27e mars douleur de ne pouvoir envoyer avant 4 ans . . . le collège interrompu est la cause que je n'ai point de sujets . . . . J'ay prié Mr gibault d'aller chez eux. . . qu'ils se préparent, qu'ils renoncent au péché, détruisent les habitudes, plus de jureurs de blasphémateurs d'yvrognes d'injustes, d'adultères et d'impudiques, qu'ils gardent les dim. et fetes prient Dieu soir et matin &c. J'espère que le Seigneur les conservera jusqu'à l'arrivée d'un missre. Les endurcis et les opiniatres ne se verront point, qu'ils instruisent leurs enfans . . . . L'exemple des acadiens qui pendant près de 12 ans sans prêtre ont paru icy plus pieux et plus innocens que les canadiens eux mêmes &c.

[ *Translation* ]

To My Lord and very worthy Most Reverend Pont Brilliant, Bishop of Quebec, Canada. Post Vincennes, April 22, 1769.

Answered March 27. Grief at not being able to send a priest for four years . . . the fact that the college was interrupted is the reason that I have no one to send . . . . I have asked M. Gibault to go to them . . . let them prepare themselves, give up their sins, eradicate bad habits, and let there be no more swearers, blasphemers, drunkards, wrongdoers, adulterers, and fornicators, let them observe Sundays and holy days and say their prayers morning and evening, etc. I hope the Lord will keep them until the arrival of a missionary. The hardened and self-willed will not be in a position to instruct their children. . . . the example of the Acadians who during nearly twelve years without a priest yet seemed here more pious and blameless than the Canadians themselves, etc.

MURRAY TO B. AND M. GRATZ, April 24, 1769

[P.H.S., Ohio Company Papers, 1:32]

FORT CHARTRES 24<sup>th</sup> Ap<sup>r</sup> 1769MESS<sup>RS</sup> B & MICH<sup>L</sup> GRATZ

GENT.

Since my last Letter of Nov<sup>r</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> <sup>1</sup> have not been fav<sup>d</sup> with any of yours, but a short one of the 31<sup>st</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>, <sup>2</sup> which has been ans<sup>d</sup> as fully (in mine of Nov<sup>r</sup> ment<sup>d</sup>) as I now can. I still shall abide by what I then wrote you if it suits your Conveniency, I'm informed by M<sup>r</sup> Ross from F<sup>t</sup> Pitt That a qty of Prov<sup>a</sup> are to be bought here this Spring; If so, suppose you have sent up some Goods provided you have not Changed your Mind on that subject; If you have sent such Goods as I ment<sup>d</sup> they will turn out well. The Return of Co<sup>l</sup> Wilkins's Express is dayly expected, when I flatter myself I shall hear more fully from you. [NB You express your short Warning of the Express; Thommy Roker's Letter by the same is dated 23<sup>d</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>] In Case you have sent any Goods to Fort Pitt, I hope for our Mutual Security, you have Covered them as there is reason to fear some Mischief on the Ohio this Spring. I w<sup>d</sup> not have wrote you by this Opp<sup>y</sup>, but that I believe you wou<sup>d</sup> attribute it to neglect as I am assured by those who have the best reason to know it, that an Express will be sent from hence that will Arrive Phaps Months sooner than the Bearer hereof, by whom my Acco<sup>ts</sup> goes when I shall make you the Remittance you then shall see, Whether you send Goods or not; I Chuse rather to send than keep any Moveable property at this place. The Joint Adventure will do well enough. Pity no more Tea Was sent as Well as Suggar Notwithstanding the Expensive Carriage of the latter. I can by Vendues-Law, Conveyancing &c do more than Clear myself, Or I'd wish never to have seen the place. I have lately made a small purchase in the Land Way; And had I Hands with a Genius for Husbandry, all would turn out to good Acco<sup>t</sup>. I wish We had a Number of Industrious Germans, Which Wou<sup>d</sup> make this one of the finest Countrys in the World (Allowances for Agues excepted) and if the Country was properly settled that disagreeable Circumstance w<sup>d</sup> in a great Measure be removed. For News, refer you to M<sup>r</sup> franks. Belly Timber Checks & Coarse Goods are the

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 387.

best Articles for this place, *No Indian Goods* I leave the Matter to your Own Judgem<sup>t</sup> and shall only further Add That I am Gent Your sincere Friend & hble serv<sup>t</sup>

W MURRAY

NB The poor Boys I wrote you before of I once more pray your Attention to  
MESS<sup>RS</sup> B. & M<sup>L</sup> GRATZ

MORGAN TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON, April 24, 1769

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

DEAR PARTNERS

The foregoing is a Copy of my last<sup>1</sup> Via New Orleans—Since then nothing particular has occur'd but what the inclosed Memorandums will give you full & exact Information of.

In less than ten Days from this Date our Friend the C——<sup>2</sup> will dispatch Silver Heels & another Indian with Letters for Fort Pitt. I have seen the rough Copy of his Letter to the G——<sup>3</sup> Wherein he has described the critical Situation of this Country with Respect to the Indians & has pointed out a very plain & in my Opinion an easy Method not only to secure the Country to Us but to chastise the few Savages Who have so often insulted Us & pillaged our Boats on the Ohio. If these Measures are not pursued immediately or a very general & particular Conference or Treaty held here very soon, Necessity Will oblige the Nation to enter upon the one or the other before long at a much greater Disadvantage & infinitely larger Expense than at present might Serve. As the Perpetrators of these Violences passing with Impunity Will occasion the Affair to become very general among the Western Indians Who have never been thoroughly reconciled to the English since the late War & most of them are now ready to break out in open Hostilities. Their late promises to Colonel Wilkins Are all forfeited & We had much better be at actual & open War with them than continue in the State We now are—For not all the Indians on the Continent could reduce Fort Chartres & an Attempt to starve the Garrison would be Vain as not

<sup>1</sup> March 26, 1769, *ante*, 517.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Wilkins.

<sup>3</sup> General Gage. This letter has not been found, but for a statement of Wilkins' plan for the security of the West see Wilkins to Gage, September 13, 1768, *ante*, 388.

only every Necessary—but every Convenience for a twelve Months Siege is deposited in the Fort & the Works Which Captain Forbes began with such Spirit & continued by Col Wilkins appears to have put an effectual Stop to the Incroachments of the Mississippi—But of what Utility can Fort Chartres be to the Nation w<sup>th</sup> a Garrison coop'd Up therein, Without the Command of the Country or a single Benefit from the extensive Trade Which might be very advantageously carried on Were the Measures pursued Which Colonel Wilkins has recommended. To Us as Merchants nothing could be more advantageous for the many Reasons Which must occur to you. Besides the French Trade with Us would be the same as it now is & probably larger even during an Indian War. Such is the Situation of the Fort Where all our Property is safely deposited except very small Parcels for our daily Sales at the different Stores.

It is impossible to say or even Conjecture What will be the next Attempt of an Indian Enemy. It is our Business to avert Or guard against their Worst Designs. You will of course desist forwarding any further Supplies to this Country untill further advised. I cannot say that I am yet uneasy for those which may have left Fort Pitt by this Time—if the Boat be mann'd as heretofore recommended.

I shall very shortly send off all the Peltry I at present have under the Care of a trusty & careful Person for New Orleans. It is now packing & two large Boats fitting up to receive it. I shall not at present be able to make Up more than two hundred Packs—but I hope by the Time before mentioned to make up the full Quantity w<sup>ch</sup> I have heretofore given you an Expectation of—Which together with the Bills which will be due in all next Month *shall* make my Remittance by M<sup>r</sup> Rigby £15,000, as already promised. Sorry I am that We cannot exceed this Sum Which I cannot flatter myself We shall be able to do.

The bearer John Vaughan purposes bringing his Family down to settle here & begs me to recommend to you to aid his Wife to a Passage if you possibly can. He has behaved very Well during his Stay in this Country his Wages expired here the first Day of Sept 1768. He afterwards engaged with me to ascend the Mississippi to the Falls of S<sup>t</sup> Anthony for Which Service I have credited his Acc<sup>t</sup> as P Agreement £30 Penns<sup>a</sup> Curr<sup>y</sup>. So that he has no further Demand on

you for Wages or any Expense Whatever. You omitted to furnish Me with his Acc<sup>t</sup> as likewise did M<sup>r</sup> Campbell from Fort Pitt—so that I have been prevented from making a final Settlement with him. Please to furnish Me by the first Opportunity with M<sup>r</sup> R<sup>d</sup> Winstons & Mathew Kennadys Acc<sup>ts</sup>—already wrote for.

M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey & myself are anxiously waiting to hear from you by the Return of Meyot to know how we shall make the proper Dispositions for the Ensuing Years Trade. He is so incessantly engaged in our Business & for the Colonel Which in Fact is Altogether to serve Us, that I question if you will hear particularly from him by this Opportunity.<sup>1</sup>

If M<sup>r</sup> Rigby should not meet the Vessel which I expect Will be at Orleans the 1<sup>st</sup> of July or 10<sup>th</sup> at farthest, he will of course endeavour to ship the Peltries he may have with him by the first Opportunity to any Northern Port on the Continent.

Colonel Cole departs Tomorrow for New Orleans on his Way Home to Rhode Island, He purposes visiting Philadelphia & may perhaps be the Bearer of this Letter. If so, I need not put you in Mind of the many Services he has rendered the Company here. They merit every Return in your Power to make. I have finally settled his Acc<sup>t</sup> to each of our Satisfactions. I have given him other Bills for his inclosed Draft on Colonel Croghan for £160 N. York Curr<sup>y</sup>.

I plainly perceive that you will be greatly disappointed in not Receiving any Remittance from Me Now—I will know the immediate Necessitys for more than I shall even be able to bring With Me—But depend on it that I have it not in my Power to do anything for you untill the Month of June. My Attention is constantly engaged in endeavouring to augment the Sum *promised* against that Time.

M<sup>r</sup> P [*sic*]

Should anything Occur before Silver Heels Departure, you shall be particularly inform'd thereof—I flatter myself that before then I shall have the Pleasure to hear from you by Meyot—He has exceeded the limited Time of his Absence near two months—So that you will not be surprised at our Impatience—especially as We do not expect to hear but Once more from F. Pitt this Season.

<sup>1</sup> This close relationship between Morgan and Rumsey was broken in less than a year after this date.



A certain Lawrence Grogan has a cancell'd Note of Mine Which I apprehend from some of his late Actions he will endeavour to impose on you as the Name only is torn off—I discharged him by his own Desire At the Date of the Note & have since advanced to him Goods & Cash to near if not quite the Amount—You shall have the Acc<sup>t</sup> thereof by Silverheels as it is in the Kaskaskia Books.<sup>1</sup>

Pray remember Me most Affectionately to each of your dear Familys—& make my Compliments to all our Friends.

I am with great Sincerity Dear Partners Yours truly & Affectionately

G M

FORT CHARTRES April 24th 1769

BRIAND TO MEURIN, April 26, 1769

[A.A.Q., *Mission des Illinois*, 15]<sup>2</sup>

R. P. MEURIN, jésuite, aux Kas pse imm. conception.

MON RÉVÉREND PÈRE,

J'ay reçu en son tems votre lettre du 11e juin 1768.<sup>3</sup> Je ne me souviens pas d'y avoir répondu, je me rappelle même que je n'en ai pas eu l'occasion, je réponds par celle cy à tous les articles comme ils sont couché dans la vôtre.

Je me suis trouvé heureux de vous apprendre dans ces cantons abandonnés: ny la jurisprudence ni le pontifical ni le parfait notaire

[*Translation*]

REVEREND FATHER MEURIN, Jesuit, Kaskaskia,  
Parish of the Immaculate Conception.

REVEREND FATHER,

I received in due time your letter of June 11, 1768.<sup>3</sup> I do not remember having answered it; indeed, I recall that I did not have any opportunity to do so. I am answering in this all the points in the order in which they were arranged in your letter.

I am very happy to know that you are in those abandoned districts: neither jurisprudence nor the pontifical, nor the complete lawyer

<sup>1</sup> In the original, this paragraph was written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Carayon, *Bannissement des Jésuites*, 79 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Printed *ante*, 300.

ne vous sont nécessaires dans la position où vous êtes vous scavez votre théologie et de la philosophie avec de la raison et de la piété dont votre lettre vous montre abondamment fourni: vous ne pouvés que bien parler bien agir et bien décider. Tous mes voeux se bornent à la santé a votre conservation pour bien des années. Je serai tranquille pour ce coin de mon diocèse tant que vous vivrés.

Jamais l'on a pu venir à bout de ces bons pères, c'est pourquoi je me suis déchargé de cette partie, un prêtre anciennement doyen de Québec qui est à paris a la commission de ma part d'agir pour cela auprès de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne en france. J'ai pitié de ces pauvres ursulines, voilà bientôt 28 ans que je suis informé combien elles ont eu à souffrir. Ainsi bornés vous aux catholiques dépendants d'angleterre. Je n'aime guerres à avoir sous ma jurisdiction des peuples que je ne peux pas visiter ni gouverner par des hommes de confiance. Je ne suis pas surpris que les Capucins n'ayent pas voulu reconnoitre les pouvoirs qui émanoient de moy; puisque ce n'etoit qu'à peine, par force et à l'extérieur qu'ils se soumettoient à ceux que communiquoient

[*Translation*]

are necessary in your position. You know your theology and some philosophy, and you have both reason and godliness, with which your letter shows you to be abundantly provided: you can only speak well, act well, and decide wisely. All my prayers are confined to your health, for your preservation for many more years. I shall be tranquil for that corner of my diocese as long as you are alive.

One could never get anywhere with these good Fathers; that is why I released myself from that territory. A priest, formerly Dean of Quebec, who is at Paris, holds my commission to act in such matters with the Spanish ambassador in France. I am sorry for those poor Ursulines; it will soon be twenty-eight years since I was informed how much they have to suffer. So restrict yourself to the Catholics who are dependent on England. I do not like to have under my jurisdiction people whom I cannot visit nor govern by means of trustworthy men. I am not surprised that the Capuchins did not want to recognize the powers which emanated from me; because it was only with difficulty, by force, and outwardly that they submitted to the orders my predecessors gave them: how much had not Father Baudoin

mes prédécesseurs, combien le père Baudoin n'a-t-il pas eu à souffrir et quelle résistance n'a-t-il pas éprouvé de leur part ?

Jean Bapte Beauvais n'a aucun droit de retenir les ornements et les vases sacrés dont vous me parlez, ils appartiennent à l'église, il doit vous les remettre comme étant mon grand vicaire et après et trois sommations faites de ma part et en qualité de grand vicaire de les rendre sous peine d'excommunication de lui et de sa famille, vous pourrés la lancer s'il n'obéit pas, et il ne doit point être absous qu'il n'ait remis tout ce qui est consacré ou béni. quant aux biens ecclésiastiques qu'il a acheté cela est différent. ce seroit au peuple à poursuivre la restitution en faveur des Missionnaires, mais encore comme le dit acheteur est de bonne foy, il faudroit lui rendre le prix et celui des améliorations s'il en avoit fait. Point de dixmes, point de sacrement. C'est une offrande faite à Dieu et que l'Eglise attribue à l'entretien des Missionnaires et ny eut il presque point de missionnaires il faut qu'elle soit payée hors le cas de pauvreté il faut tenir ferme et ne craignés point pourvu que la prudence et la charité vous règlent :

[*Translation*]

to suffer, and how much resistance did he not have to undergo on their part ?

Jean Baptiste Beauvais has no right at all to keep the ornaments and the sacred vessels of which you speak ; they belong to the Church, and he must give them back to you as my Grand Vicar ; and after three summonses have been made by you, in my name and in your capacity of Grand Vicar, that he return them under pain of excommunication for him and his family, you can issue it if he does not obey, and he must not be absolved until he has returned everything which is consecrated or blessed. As for the ecclesiastical properties that he has purchased, that is different. It is the people's duty to sue for restitution in favor of the missionaries, but as long as the said buyer acted in good faith, the purchase-price must be returned to him and the cost of the improvements, if he has made any. No tithes, no Sacrament. It is an offering made to God, which the Church assigns for the support of the missionaries, and without it there would be scarcely any missionaries ; it must be paid except in cases of poverty. You must be firm and fear nothing, so long as wisdom and charity

comme j'en ai la confiance la religion est libre j'aime mieux qu'ils se rendent protestants que d'être catholiques indociles mauvais et scandaleux et capables de pervertir; c'est mon principe et je l'observe ici Qu'ils se damnent hors de mon troupeau *quid mihi de iis qui foris sunt*. mais sous ma houlette je n'épargnerai rien pour les sauver. Vous seriez bien venu ici, mais j'espère que vous avés trop de zèle pour la gloire de notre Jésus et le salut de nos frères pour quitter tandis que vous verrés jour à faire du fruit. les riches n'ont pas pris la religion les premiers et il y a à penser qu'ils seront les lers à l'abandonner dans les derniers siècles du monde. Nous disons dans les saluts l'oraison *pro Rege ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus* selon la doctrine de l'Apotre. Je l'ai ordonné dès le tems je n'étois que grand vicaire du chapitre et cela se pratique toujours. N'exigés pas que des protestants fassent aucun signe de religion en aucun cas. dans des conversations on peut parler et s'expliquer doucement et modestement; ceux qui pensent bien s'abstiendront d'assister ainsi que Mrs Sterling et Farmar l'avoient ordonné vous ne devés pas être surpris de la differ-

[Translation]

guide you. As I have confidence that religion is free, I would prefer that they should become Protestants rather than be disobedient, bad, and scandalous Catholics, and capable of perverting religion; that is my principle and I practice it here. Let them damn themselves out of my flock *quid mihi de iis qui foris sunt*; yet under my crosier I shall not spare anything to save them. You would be welcome here, but I hope that you have too much zeal for the glory of our Jesus and the salvation of our brothers to leave as long as you can see the way clear to gather any fruit. The rich were not the first to take to religion, and I am often forced to think that they will be the first to abandon it in the last ages of the world. We say in the benediction the prayer *pro Rege ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus*, according to the teaching of the Apostle. I have given such orders since the time that I was only Grand Vicar of the Chapter, and it is always done. Do not require that Protestants make any signs of religion in any case. In conversations one can talk and explain matters gently and modestly; those who think good will refrain from attending just as Messrs. Sterling and Farmar ordered.

ence de conduite dans les commandants à cause de la difference de religion qui est en angleterre, Les anglicans en général sont moins contraires que les Puritains &c.

La conduite de Mr Reed ne seroit pt approuvée du gouvernement, les Mariages sont libres en Canada et se font devant les curés seulement et sans aucun rapport aux Magistrats. Les processions du St Sacrement et des Rogations se font à l'ordinaire mais la Milice ne prend pt les armes, je n'en ai pas même parlé.

J'ai remis toutes les fêtes à leur jour selon le calendrier romain, mais elles ne sont point chommées St Joseph arrivant le dimanche de la passion est renvoié et n'est point chommé. toutes les fêtes renvoïées ne sont point chommées. La solennité consiste à faire le sermon de la fête et à mettre 6 cierges au lieu de 4, mais on suit pour les ornements la couleur qu'exige la fête dont on fait l'office.

La traitte de l'eau de vie faite par les habitants aux sauvages pour les besoins des dts habitants est-elle réservée? cela dépend de la qualité

[*Translation*]

You ought not to be surprised in the difference of the conduct of the commandants on account of the difference in religion in England. The Anglicans generally are less contrary than the Puritans, etc.

The conduct of Mr. Reed will not at all be approved by the government. Marriages are unrestricted in Canada and are performed by the curés only and without any reference to the magistrates. The processions of the Holy Sacrament and of the Rogations are made as usual, but the militia does not parade in arms; I have not even spoken about it.

I have set back all the feast days to their day according to the Roman calendar, but they are not kept as holidays; the feast of St. Joseph, coming on Passion Sunday, is postponed and not observed. None of the delayed feast days are kept as holidays. The solemn celebration consists in preaching the sermon of the feast day and in having six tapers instead of four, but we use for the ornaments the color which the feast day that we are celebrating demands.

Is the traffic in brandy carried on by the inhabitants with the savages for the needs of the inhabitants reserved [for the Holy See to pass on]? That depends upon the quality of the need; if the

du besoin, si le besoin n'est pas de nature à excuser de péché mortel, il est réservé, *secus minime*.

J'ai lu votre lettre à Mr notre gouverneur qui en a été fort charmé et je suis persuadé que vous serés plus considéré que jamais. C'est un excellent homme aimé et aimable, estimé et vraiment estimable: nous ne nous apercevons point que nous sommes sous un gouvernement protestant. Dans le civil les catholiques, les protestants se voient, se fréquentent cordialement. Le ministère s'exerce comme du tems des françois Mr Gibau aura pu vous en faire le détail. vous lui remettres la lettre pour lui que je joins ici. j'ai été un peu mécontent que sans m'avoir prévenu il ait mené avec lui sa mère et ce n'est gueres le fait d'un missionnaire qui ne cherche et ne doit chercher que Dieu seul, c'étoit sous ce point de vue que je l'avois ordonné, je ne l'ai envoyé si loin que de son consentement, s'il m'avoit prévenu qu'il falloit qu'il eut sa mère avec lui je ne l'eusse pas probablement destiné à cette bonne oeuvre, je l'eusse gardé pour une paroisse de cette colonie car je suis persuadé que pour bien faire son devoir et remplir dignement son

[*Translation*]

need is not of a kind to excuse a mortal sin, it is reserved, *secus minime*.

I read your letter to our governor, who was very much pleased with it, and I am convinced you will be more thought of than ever. He is an excellent man, loved and worthy of love, esteemed and truly worthy of esteem: we do not even notice that we are under a Protestant government. In private life the Catholics and the Protestants see and visit each other cordially. The minister performs his functions just as in the time of the French; M. Gibault can tell you about this in detail. Please give him the letter which I enclose for him in this. I was somewhat dissatisfied that without having notified me he took his mother with him; that is scarcely the act of a missionary who seeks and should seek God only. It was with this in mind that I ordained him, and I sent him so far away only with his own consent. If he had notified me that he had to have his mother with him, I probably should not have appointed him to this good work, but should have kept him for a parish of this colony, for I am convinced that to be able to do well one's task and to perform with dignity

ministère dans vos cantons il ne faut point y avoir de parents ny trop de ménage. au reste il m'a paru en partant dans de bonnes dispositions, il a bien travaillé à michillimakinac excepté qu'il a marié un françois avec une sauvagesse ce que les anglois ne veulent pt non plus que les françois ne le vouloint autrefois et j'en ai des reproches de la part du gouvernement. Je lui ai donné pouvoirs qui vous sont subordonnés, c'est un jeune prêtre et je vous prie de veiller et de m'instruire selon Dieu s'il mérite ou non ma confiance. Je serois bien affligé s'il venoit à se détraquer, il m'a fait de bonnes et de belles promesses et je l'aime, mais je ne suis point sans inquiétude et je pense qu'il ne me blamera pas, il me connoit. Vos pères sont toujours ici à l'ordinaire ils travaillent avec édification. Le père Noël est mort.

Je suis &c.

Québec 26 avril 1769.

[*Translation*]

one's ministry in your districts, one must have neither relatives nor too much of a household. As for the rest, he seems to me to have gone away with good intentions; he has worked well at Michillimakinac, except that he married a Frenchman to an Indian woman, which the English do not want to have done any more than the French did before them, and I had some remonstrances from the government. I gave him powers which make him subordinate to you; he is a young priest and I beg you to watch him and to instruct me religiously whether he merits my confidence or not. I should be sore distressed if he should go astray; he has given me beautiful and good promises and I love him. But I am not entirely without uneasiness and I believe he will not blame me for it: he knows me. Your Fathers are here all the time as usual, and work with edification. Father Noël is dead. I am, etc.

Quebec, April 26, 1769.

BRIAND TO GIBault, April 26, 1769

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, 17]

MONSIEUR (GIBEAU),

Le detail que vous me faites de vos opérations à Michillimakinac m'a causé un vrai plaisir vous me marqués y avoir fait un mariage, peut etre est celui d'un françois avec une sauvagesse qui a déplu au gouvernement et qui étoit deffendu du tems des françois On ne l'autorise pas davantage à présent. J'ai eu a répondre pour vous sur cet article. Je vous ai excusé sur ce que vous pouviés ignorer la discipline en ce point et que je n'étois pas entré dans ce détail non plus que dans bien d'autres qui seroient trop étendus, prenés garde à ne le plus faire sans un ordre ou permis par écrit, afin de ne point vous mettre en prise.

Je vous croie plus blamable en un autre point et je trouve très mauvais que vous ayés mené avec vous votre mère et votre soeur, surtout sans m'en parler. Cette conduite de votre part a diminué de beaucoup la confiance que j'avois en vous. Si vous m'aviés averti que tel étoit votre dessein j'eusse vu s'il convenoit que vous fussiés allés dans

[*Translation*]

MR. (GIBault),

The account you give me of your work at Michillimakinac has given me great pleasure, You write that you solemnized a marriage; perhaps it was the one of a Frenchman to an Indian woman which displeased the government and which was forbidden in the time of the French. It will not be authorized at present, either. I had to answer for you on account of this. I excused you on the ground that you might not know the discipline at this point, and that I had not taken up this matter any more than many others that would be too lengthy. Be careful not to do it again without a written order or permit, so that you may not be brought into difficulty again.

I think you are more to blame on another score, and I take it amiss that you took your mother and sister with you, especially without speaking to me about it. This conduct on your part has lessened greatly the confidence which I had in you. If you had told me in advance that such was your plan, I should have been able to see if it was fitting that you should go to a country where I think you should



un pays ou je pense qu'il faut n'avoir ni père, ni mère, ni parents ni presque maison jusqu'à ce qu'au moins les paroisses soient fournies de façon qu'on ne soit pas obligé à des courses continuelles qu'il faut que vous fassiez si vous voulés remplir votre devoir desservir les peuples & répondre à mon attente et aux vues que je me suis proposées en vous envoyant après avoir accéléré votre ordination, outre cela c'est une forte témérité quoique vous connussiez le pays tel qu'il étoit autrefois je vous avois averti qu'il étoit changé au moins deviez vous attendre prudemment que vous scussiez s'il étoit expédient de les faire monter et alors si vous aviez jugé que leur présence ne seroit point nuisible au ministère de Missionnaire, j'eusse donné mon consentement. averti plus tôt, je ne vous eusse point envoyé Mais c'est une affaire faite. Dieu soit béni. j'ai du en pasteur, en évêque vous témoigner mes sentiments; faites que votre zèle n'en soit point ralenti et les peuples moins bien servis. J'ai de la confiance en vous malgré cette petite faute et j'espère que vous travaillerez avec zèle au salut des âmes et que vous ne vous épargnerés pas; soyés bon doux gracieux et affable. Je n'aime

[*Translation*]

have neither father, nor mother nor relatives, nor even a house—at least until the parishes are so provided that it will not be necessary to make the continual trips which you must make, if you wish to fulfill your duty of serving the religious needs of the people, and to answer my expectation and the views which I had when I sent you, after having hastened your ordination; besides all this, it is a grave rashness. Even though you knew the country as it was previously, I warned you that it had changed. At least you ought to have waited prudently until you knew whether it would be wise to let them come up, and then if you had found that their presence would not be at all harmful to the work of a missionary, I should have given my consent. Had I been notified sooner, I should not have sent you. But it is a thing of the past. God be thanked. It was my duty as pastor and bishop to show you my sentiments; do not allow your zeal to be slackened or the people to be less well served. I have confidence in you in spite of this little fault, and I hope that you will work zealously for the salvation of souls, and that you will not spare yourself. Be good, mild, gracious, and kind. I do not like the haughty

pas les impérieux ni les turbulents. faites honneur à votre caractère soyés soumis et attaché au gouvernement, la religion vous y oblige: ne vous faites pas un mérite de la rigidité n'allés pas contre la loy de Dieu. quant aux loix ecclésiastiques temporisés, consultez nous et agissés avec modération jusqu'au tems de notre réponse. Si les commandants se rendoient facheux, ou vouloient empiéter, il vaut mieux, lorsqu'il est possible en conscience, plier en conscience que rompre. certainement vous serés loué et les autres seront blamés. Soyés docile envers le père Meurin. votre union avec lui servira beaucoup à me rassurer. Ecrivés moi souvent avec détail. que N. S: soit avec vous que la paix règne en votre coeur qu'il accompagne vos travaux et votre ministère de sa grace, qu'il vous conserve longtems la vie, l'esprit de Missre et la bonne volonté que vous m'avés fait paroître lorsque je vous ai ordonné. priés moy comme je le fais pr vous.

Je suis &c.

26 avril 1769.

[*Translation*]

and the turbulent. Do credit to your character; be submissive and attached to the government—you are bound by religion to be so; do not make a merit of harshness, nor run counter to the law of God. As for the ecclesiastical laws, temporize; consult us and act with moderation until the time of our answer. If the commandants annoy you, or want to encroach, it is better, if it can be done conscientiously, to bend in conscience rather than to break. Of a certainty you will be praised and the others blamed. Be submissive to Father Meurin. Your accord with him will help a great deal to reassure me. Write to me often in detail. May our Saviour be with you and His peace reign in your heart; may He accompany your work and your ministry with His grace; may He preserve you long in the life and in the spirit of the missionary and the good will which you showed when I ordained you. Pray for me, as I do for you.

I am, etc.

26

April 1769.

P. S. J'apprends par M. Gravé de quelle manière vous vous êtes conduit pour le mariage j'en ai été bien content, votre conduite a été sage en cela, cependant rendés vous y difficile et ne le faites que forcé ou avec la permission par écrit du commandant. Le 27 avril.

[*Translation*]

P. S. I have learned from Mr. Grave how you conducted yourself in the matter of the marriage. I was very well satisfied; your conduct was wise in this. However, be very chary, and do it only when forced or with the written permission of the commandant. April 27.

MORGAN TO [JENNINGS], May 1, 1769

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

On the 31st of May 1766 you have charged M<sup>r</sup> Hubert of S<sup>t</sup> Louis with Goods had at this Place amounting to #2103—S 10<sup>e</sup> Livres & on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1767 With the further Sum of 127 Livres—Both of which Sums he declares to have paid to M<sup>r</sup> Clarkson Who has taken no Notice Whatever thereof either by crediting the Store at Fort Chartres therefor or M<sup>r</sup> Huberts Acc<sup>t</sup>—Nor have you pass'd a single Livre of Credit to the Acc<sup>t</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> Hubert Neither can He produce a Receipt or settlement of any Kind for the Money. Indeed M<sup>r</sup> Charleville says that he paid a Sum of Money to M<sup>r</sup> Clarkson for Acc<sup>t</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> Hubert but cannot say What Sum neither did he take a Recepit for it.

I send you inclosed M<sup>r</sup> Charlesvilles Acc<sup>t</sup> with M<sup>r</sup> Clarkson by examining of which he may perhaps recollect whether M<sup>r</sup> Charleville did ever or not pay him the before mentioned Sums or any Part thereof I shall have to write to M<sup>r</sup> Clarkson very shortly on a dozen Affairs of this Kind. This is the first insurmountable Acc<sup>t</sup> I have yet found in your Books.<sup>1</sup>

I was rejoiced to hear from M<sup>r</sup> Baynton that you were safe arrived in in good Health He will inform you how Affairs are here—The

<sup>1</sup> There are numerous references in this volume to the break in the relations between the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan and one of their principal agents, Clarkson.

speedier your Answer is sent to me relative Mr Huberts Acc<sup>t</sup> the more agreeable it will be, to Dear Sir Your Most Ob<sup>t</sup> humble Servant  
G MORGAN

HILLSBOROUGH TO JOHNSON, May 13, 1769  
[D.H.N.Y., 2:938]

Duplicate.

WHITEHALL, May 13. 1769.

SIR,

Since my letters to you of the 4<sup>th</sup> of January and 24<sup>th</sup> of March last N<sup>o</sup> 8 and 9, the Lords of Trade have made their Report to His Majesty upon the proceedings of the Superintendants for Indian Affairs, in settling a final Boundary Line between His Majesty's Colonies and the Indian Country.

This Report has been referred by the King's command to the consideration of such of His Servants, upon whose advice His Majesty relies in matters of the greatest importance; and I am thereupon to signify to you, that if you have not been able, in consequence of my letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of January last N<sup>o</sup> 8, to induce the Six Nations and their Allies to except out of the cession to His Majesty the lands lying South of the Ohio below the Kanawa, upon the ground and argument suggested in that letter, or if you shall be of opinion that insisting upon such an alteration will have the effect to excite Jealousy and Discontent; in that case His Majesty, rather than risk the defeating the important object of establishing a final Boundary Line, will upon your Report of this matter, give the necessary directions for the confirmation of it as agreed upon at Fort Stanwix: It is not however His Majesty's intention, that the settlements of His Subjects should be carried beyond the Boundary of Virginia, as proposed to be fixed near the Kanawa River.

As to the Grant of Land made to the Indian Traders and to Mr Croghan, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you should acquaint the Indians, that His Majesty does not think fit at present to confirm those Grants, reserving that matter for further consideration, when those persons shall make application to His Majesty thereupon and when the nature, extent, and situation of the Grants themselves, and the foundation on which they had been solicited shall be further explained.

With regard to what appears, in the proceeding at the Congress, of the wishes of the Indians to have their commercial as well as their political concerns managed in the manner suggested in the Plan of 1764, I have already so fully explained to you the Reason and Necessity for departing from that Plan, that I have only in command from the King to desire that you will not fail in your endeavour to represent this matter in such a light to the Indians, as to convince them that His Majesty adopted the Plan at present recommended for regulating the Trade by Laws of the Colonies, not merely upon what was suggested by those Colonies, but upon full consideration of what was represented to be most desireable for the Interest of the Indians themselves, in respect to their commerce with His Majesty's Subjects, the improvement and extension of which for the benefit of the Indians will ever be an object of the King's Attention and Regard.

I have only to add that I have received and laid before the King your Letters N<sup>o</sup> 7 and 8, but have not any commands from His Majesty to signify to you thereupon. I am,

Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

HILLSBOROUGH.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bar<sup>t</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, May 13, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87. p. 179—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup>. 19.)

WHITEHALL May 13<sup>th</sup>: 1769.

THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> MAJOR }  
GENERAL GAGE.— }

SIR,

I have received and laid before the King your dispatches N<sup>o</sup>. 27. & 28.<sup>1</sup>

His Majesty acquiesces in the reasons you offer in answer to the representations which have been made from Nova Scotia and West Florida, of the danger to which those Colonies are exposed by withdrawing the Troops; and His Majesty approves of six Companies being stationed in the latter of those Colonies, which you represent to be a force sufficient for the defence of it.

<sup>1</sup> March 5, 1769, *ante*, 505.

The Consideration of the State of the Illinois Country, and the Forts, will now I hope soon receive a final decision, and so soon as the King's Servants shall have given their Advice thereupon, I will not lose a moment in transmitting His Majesty's pleasure to you. These matters are now before a particular Committee of the King's Servants, and His Majesty has also thought fit to refer to this Committee to consider, & report upon, what has been represented in respect to the weak state of defence of several of the Colonies, and more particularly upon those representations from yourself, as well as from the Governors of the Colonies of Quebec and Nova Scotia, respecting the state of those Provinces, and the expediency of erecting Barracks at Quebec and S<sup>t</sup> Augustine.

Inclosed I send you His Majesty's gracious Speech to the parliament, at the close of the Session on Tuesday last, with a Copy of my circular letter to the several Governors thereupon, also Copies of my dispatches by this Conveyance to Sir William Johnson and M<sup>r</sup> Stuart, respecting the Boundary-Line.

I also inclose to you printed Copies of the several Acts passed in the last Session of Parliament which relate to America.

I am &c

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup>. to the Honorable Major General Gage. Whitehall. May 13<sup>th</sup>: 1769. (N<sup>o</sup> 19.) Ent<sup>d</sup> 6

PENN TO THE ASSEMBLY, May 16, 1769

[P.C.R., 9:582]

GENTLEMEN:

You will perceive by a Letter<sup>1</sup> I have received from General Gage, which I have ordered the Secretary to lay before you, that Sir William Johnson, in Obedience to His Majesty's Commands, is under a Necessity of discharging the Commissaries, Interpreters, and Smiths, appointed by him at the Posts in the Interior Country, where the Indian Trade is carried on, and that the General expects I shall be able, without Delay, to appoint Officers to succeed those at Fort Pitt and the Illinois. This, Gentlemen, cannot be done until Provision is made for adequate Salaries for those Officers; And as the Regulation of the Indian Trade is a Matter of public Concern, I doubt not but

<sup>1</sup> March 24, 1769, *ante*, 516.

you will make the necessary Provisions for enabling me to answer the  
above Requisition. JOHN PENN.

May the 16th, 1769.

LEE TO [—————], May 30, 1769<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., Chatham MSS., 97. p. 17]

LONDON, May 30, 1769.

SIR,

Above is a Copy of the Articles &c of the Mississippi Co.<sup>2</sup> which cost 11/ & 4/6 for the postage of y<sup>r</sup> sundrie letters added to £13.11. y<sup>r</sup> quota to the Mississippi Co. makes £14.6.6. for which sum I have this day drawn on you at two days sight payable to D<sup>r</sup> Arthur Lee which I hope will meet due honor. The temper of the present ministry being much against America, it is tho't adviseable to let the petition lay undetermin'd on, before the board of Trade where it now is, in hopes a change of men (as is commonly the case) will bring also a change of measures with regard to your B<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup>'s affairs in Virginia I am too little acquainted therewith to give you any authentic account thereof, but you may be much better informed by writing to M<sup>r</sup> John Ballantine Jun<sup>r</sup>. Merch<sup>t</sup>. on Nomony Potomac Virginia, or to M<sup>r</sup>. David Boyd Att<sup>y</sup>. at Law Northumberland County Virginia; either of those Gent. can give you a full Acc<sup>t</sup>. of his Affairs—Cap<sup>t</sup>. Gordon administer'd upon his estate & I beleive has sold all the moveable estate, the lands were your property & I don't see what occasion you had to sell them, but I suppose they were sold for your benefit. I wish it was in my power to give you more full information.

I am Yr most Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

WILLIAM LEE.

The above dr<sup>t</sup>: came to Mess<sup>rs</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

Munro & Robertson Merch<sup>ts</sup>. Glasgow

and was payed to them

[MS. torn] it is put up herein

<sup>1</sup> Published by C. E. Carter in *American Historical Review*, 16:319. It does not appear to whom this letter was written. Its significance lies in the reason given for the cessation of the company's efforts.

<sup>2</sup> All the above-mentioned papers that are available are printed in this series. Most of them are found in a bundle of papers in the Public Record Office, bearing the following endorsement: "Mississippi Co<sup>s</sup>. Papers, sent to the Right Honorable Earl of Chatham, On Saturday the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, 1774."

<sup>3</sup> Written in a different hand.

REED TO [WILKINS?], June 6, 1769<sup>1</sup>

[V.S.L., Clark Papers]

FORT PITT 6th June 1769.

DEAR SIR,

Inclosed is an Account of Pork now in three of the Contractors Boats Loaded so long ago the Date in sd Account the Day following I understood the Boats being halld of in the midle of the Monongehala wated for Flour that Expected in a week or two Mr. Ross the manager for the Contractors here was going to send them with out any Flour for the Ilinois [*MS. torn*] it seems he changed his mind [*MS. torn*] Mr. Ross said something that I sopose you will allow to be reasonable which was that Mr Murray had not sent him any Account he did not know how to supply him. If Mr Ross means that Mr Murray should send him a return Murray may think it much be low him to do it. Trade which make the Contractors people rich makes them often above there business I now propose to Open a Core-spondence relative to the state of the stores which If Mr McMillan will be so kind as to Inform me in a line what Provisions is on hand and what may be wanting for the Kings troops I will write to [*MS. torn*] and urge the matter to my Commanding officer here it may be of service If Mr. McMillan thinks so then shall be pleased to strike out the means of better Supplying the Troops there is also in the boat 300 bushels of salt some other articles in the [*MS. torn*] way I say on my knowing the state of your stores I can Acquaint the Commissary General with them and tho he may have returnes from both him and you of the mode and method they take for the forwarding of such Suplys be pleas'd to Excuse this as Colonel Armstrong sets out for your place sooner than I Expected and have not time to correct or copy this.

Am Sir Your Humble servt.

JOHN REED.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Ambler in *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: no. 2, p. 110.



CROFTON TO [HALDIMAND], JUNE 8, 1769 545

CROFTON TO [HALDIMAND], June 8, 1769

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21675, f. 76-77—A.L.S.]

PENSACOLA June the 8th 1769

SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

I am this moment (I Believe) Authentically informed that Sixty of the Garrison at the Illanois Died last Season of a Puterid Feavor, and that their Miserable Situation is greatly added to, by frequent Menaces from the Northern Indians, A Keckaloo was so daring lately As to [MS. torn] And his Wife close to the Works, taking [MS. torn]s, this Obliged the Commanding Officer [MS. torn] imediat Order, wherein a Premium of £5 i[MS. torn] the Scalp of any Indian seen after Son Set [MS. torn] Environs of the Fort, I do not learn that m[MS. torn] Distinction As to the Tribe specified, I h[MS. torn]

I am Sir Your Most Humble And Most Obedient Servant

ED. CROFTON

[Endorsed:] Cap<sup>t</sup>. Crofton 69 of the 8<sup>th</sup> of June R—the 4. of Nov.

JOHNSON TO W. FRANKLIN, June 12, 1769

[A.A.S.—A.L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL June 12<sup>th</sup> 1769.<sup>2</sup>

DEAR SIRS

Your kind Letter of April 10th<sup>3</sup> relieved me from the Suspence which your Long Silence occasioned and which you have sufficiently accounted for. Indeed my own Situation has been such since we parted, that I can the easier excuse any omission of that nature in another, and this hitherto prevented me from Setting you a good Example, tho' I could not pretend to afford you equal entertainment from the unimportant events of these parts.

I began a Letter near three Weeks ago, but dropped it in expectation of having something worth communicating in a little time altho' I have waited to no purpose—

<sup>1</sup> The first pages of the manuscript contain thanks for his appointment as Fort Adjutant and Barrack Master at Mobile.

<sup>2</sup> In the original the "June 12" is written above "May," and the "April 10" is written above "last month." This together with the last paragraph explains the two places at which the letter was written.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

I thank you for the Copy you transmitted me, & shall Settle the matter with Col. Croghan as you desire when he & I have more Leisure than we have had Since his arrival in these parts and I shall likewise talk fully to him upon the Subject.—I hope it will go on with better success than it has hitherto done, but think it will require time and perseverance

You have doubtless before this time heard from our Friend Wharton, as I expect to do but have not as yet. Neither have I had any accounts from any person concerning the event of his Voyage, or on the Subject of the retribution. The Letter from the Sec<sup>y</sup> of State which I have Just received by the paquet containing very little, and nothing Material, and by my other Letters I find that the Whole face of things is much as it was when we heard before.—The nature of the dispute about the Rights of Parliament, and the disturbed State of Affairs at home Create so many difficulties that when it will end, or other business be fully attended to must be uncertain—I thank you kindly for the Pamphlet you sent me which is I think a very good performance, and I fancy I could guess the Author of it,—in return I send at your desire by this opportunity Evans's Manuscript Journal, I also inclose you Copys of the Two Letters from the Two Clergymen which you wanted, I have since had several Curious & Extraordinary Letters from Parson, Williamson, al<sup>d</sup> Johnson one of a very late date, all on the Subject of Lands & Establishments for the faithfull & desiring to know why I did not make public the boundary that they might take posses<sup>n</sup> of their lands. There are no New Steps taken for carrying on the pious work and the Oneidas have thro' some disgust withdrawn most of their Children from the Seminary. I believe all attention is now directed to the Susquehanna Vales, concerning the Settlement of which I hear they have come to Some Strong resolutions in Connecticut—

I wish I could dispose of my right on Susquehanna below the price I mentioned, especially as you Signify an Inclination for it, but really, from the Trouble & Expence it has already put me to, and the price I have been very lately offered for a great part of it, I cannot consistently do it, The account of its being very hilly & stony must have arisen from some misinformation, for except where some points of hills happen to Come to the River which occupy but a very Small Part

of it,—It is perhaps as rich & Valuable for the Generality as any Land Whatsoever & this is allowed by some who have carefully viewed & are now Sollicitting me to dispose of it.—

As to Indian Intelligence I cannot say any thing Satisfactorily The Commissaries are with drawn, & I don't see any speedy prospects of such Establishments on the part of the Colonies as will answer the purposes of preserving peace & Extending Commerce, neither can it be expected that they will make an adequate provision, or from their different Interests unite in a matter of that nature so as it may be attended with any Good effects, I have kept Interpreters & Smiths as yet at the posts, without which, affairs would not have gone on so easily as they have done. Belts however Said to come from the Southward are amongst the Indians & and there has been an Alarm lately at Detroit which Frightened & Stopped the Traders at Niagara, & has induced the Inhabitants of the first mentioned Settlement to fortify themselves on the opposite Side of the River, which will probably alarm the Indians & may have consequences different from What is intended.—

I think to go up the Country for a little time & do what little I can under the present restrictions for preventing any Union to our prejudice, and as my health is but very indifferent may possibly go down to the Sea Side in the fall when if I should happen to be near you, you may be Assured that I should Visit Burlington with great pleasure. In the Meantime I shall be happy in hearing from you whenever your Leisure will admit you to write to him Who is Always with great Sincerity

D Sir,

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Wells & Smith by whom you wrote the 29th April, forwarded the Letter but did not come this way, which deprived me of an opportunity of shewing them those Civilities which your Friends sho<sup>d</sup> always receive at my hands

ALBANY June 12<sup>th</sup> 1769

To GOV<sup>R</sup> FRANKLIN of New Jersey

COLE TO JOHNSON, June 13, 1769<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 8, 189—A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

I am thus Far on my way to you. I left Fort Chartres the 25th of Apl. and arrived here in 13 days, there is Vessels daily Expected here, from New York, and Philadelphia. Shall Embrace the first Opportunity.

You will Doubtless before you receive this, have heard of Pontiac's being killed by the Pariorias who live at Cahakia.<sup>2</sup> what Effect it will have amongst the Indians, I cant say, no very good one I believe as they already Seem discontented enough a few Nights before I left the Illinoïs, there was a Soldier and his wife Scalped, a little way from the Fort in their Bed. Supposed to be Ouabach Indians, and Since my Departure Six Kaskaskias Indians was Scalped between the Fort and their Vilage by the Sacks & Reynards. Shall be better able to informe you, when I have the pleasure of Seeing You.

My Compliments to your Family I am Sir with the Utmost Respect Your Most obt. Huml. Servt.

EDWARD COLE

NEW ORLEANS June 13th 1769.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

[*Endorsed:*] New Orleans June 13th 1769 Comisry. Coles Letter

MEURIN TO BRIAND, June 14, 1769

[A.A.,Q., Mission des Illinois, 16]

MONSEIGNEUR,

puisquil na pas plut a la divine providence de vous mettre en etat denvoyer plus dun missionnaire a cette partiecy de votre diocese, je ne puis quadorer ses desseins. monsieur gibault vous représentera comme

[*Translation*]

MY LORD,

Since it has not pleased divine Providence to enable you to send more than one missionary to this part of your diocese, I can only bow before Its plans. M. Gibault will tell you, as I do, that this part

<sup>1</sup> Published in Illinois Historical Society, *Journal*, 3: no. 3, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> This is the first authentic statement available of the murder of Pontiac.

moi que cette portion de votre troupeau est trop dispersée pour être bien cultivée par un prêtre missionnaire, car je ne suis plus guères à compter que parmi les morts. Monsieur Gibaut est plein de zèle et par la même il ne durera pas longtemps s'il est seul et souvent en voyages pénibles à travers bois et montagnes aux injures des tems et rivières et torrens, à moins qu'il ne plaise à notre dieu de renouveler ses anciens prodiges. ce pays est si infecté que tandis que nous travaillons à purger un côté il se salit bien vite de l'autre faute de pouvoir donner à chacun un temps suffisant pour déraciner et entretenir.

Mr Gibaut depuis son arrivée en ce pays y a presque toujours été malade, de fièvres d'abord grosses et dangereuses, ensuite petites et lentes, contre lesquelles son courage a toujours soutenu en état de faire ses principales fonctions en la paroisse de l'immaculée conception aux Kas, où il a jugé à propos de s'établir, d'où il va de temps en temps à Ste Genevieve colonie espagnole dont j'ai été banni en qualité de jésuite. il a eu le bonheur de faire faire les paques presque à tous dans ces deux paroisses, dont plusieurs les négligeoient depuis bien des années.

[*Translation*]

of your flock is too scattered to be well taken care of by one missionary-priest, for I can now only be counted as among the dead. M. Gibault is full of ardor, and because of this he will not last long if he is alone and often has to go on hard journeys across woods and mountains and rivers and streams in all kinds of weather, unless it please our God to renew His ancient miracles. This land is so corrupted that while we work on one side to cleanse it, it gets sullied quickly on the other, because we are not able to give to each side sufficient time for uprooting the evil and cherishing the good.

M. Gibault since his arrival in this country has nearly always been sick, with fevers at first high and dangerous, and then slight and slow, against which his courage has always upheld him so that he was able to perform his principal functions in the parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, where he judged it best to take up residence. From there he goes from time to time to Ste. Genevieve, a Spanish colony from which I was banished because I am a Jesuit. He had the good fortune to have almost everybody in these two parishes

j'ai deservis jusquici la paroisse de la ste famille aux kaos ou tamarois ou je suis venu en automne jusqu'a noel, puis a la fin de janvier jusqu'a paques, puis a la ste famille jusqu'a l'ascension, jy suis encore depuis 12 jours. jy reçois ceux de st louis principal village de la colonie espagnole dont je suis banni. cest icy que je les baptise et marie confesse et communie &c. je ne vas chés eux que pour les malades incognito et la nuit. dicy je retourne a la prairie du rocher petit village de 24 habitans y compris deux habitans qui sont au fort de chartres a une lieue et quatre habitans a st philippe a 3 lieues de chés moi. je metois retiré a la prairie du rocher pour laisser aux nouveaux missionnaires plus grand champ a leur zèle et talens, et les moyens de subsister plus aisément. comme on espéroit au moins deux missionnaires cette petite paroisse reste de ste anne au fort de chartres, mavoit invité a finir mes jours chés elle me promettant de me batir un presbytère et de my fournir tous mes besoins le reste de ma vie dans quelque infirmité que je puisse tomber. je leur promis alors de ne pas les abandonner que par force majeure, me réservant

[*Translation*]

receive the Sacrament at Easter, which some had neglected for many years.

I have officiated until now in the parish of the Holy Family at Cahokia or Tamaroa, where I stayed in the autumn until Christmas, then from the end of January until Easter, then from Holy Family day until Ascension; I have been here again for the last twelve days. I receive here those from St. Louis, the principal village of the Spanish colony from which I was banished. It is here that I baptize and marry them, have them confess and communicate, etc. I go to them only to visit the sick, and then incognito and during the night. From here I return to Prairie du Rocher, a little village of twenty-four souls, including two inhabitants who are at Fort de Chartres one league distant, and four others at St. Philip three leagues from my home. I retired to Prairie du Rocher to give the new missionaries a wider field for their zeal and talents, and the means to live easier. As we had hoped for at least two missionaries, this little parish, all that is left of St. Anne at Fort de Chartres, invited me to finish my days with them, promising me to build a rectory and to furnish me all

pourtant d'aller au secours des autres villages tant que je pourrois selon leurs besoins et après ma mort laissant à leur église tout ce j'aurois deux ou d'ailleurs s'il ne revenoit pas de jésuites dans le pays. ils me fournissent domestique, cheval et caleche pour mes voyages, sans doute pour me conserver plus longtemps. que la bonté divine veuille leur en tenir compte. depuis un an je ne manque de rien. je me porte bien, sans aucun soin temporel &c. n'est-ce pas trop monseigneur pour un pauvre religieux banni, proscrit, échappé plusieurs fois à la potence ou du moins aux mines. mais ne chantons pas victoire cela pourroit revenir. il n'y a guères qu'en défendant un peu vivement la cause de Messieurs de votre séminaire auprès de Mrs les anglois qui venoient pour prendre possession au nom du roi de la maison, terres &c de la mission des tamarois, Mr Morgan président de la justice me dit que je devois me souvenir que j'avois été chassé par les espagnols et que ne tenois guères chez les anglois je suis pourtant encore, comme alors, dans la maison de la mission au défaut de Mr Gibaut, j'y fais demeurer habituellement le frère de Monsieur Mercier

[*Translation*]

things I needed for the remainder of my life, into whatever infirmity I might fall. I promised them then not to abandon them save by main force, reserving to myself, however, the right to go and help in the other villages as much as I could according to their needs, and leaving to their church after my death all I had from them or from other sources, if no more Jesuits returned to the country. They furnish me with a servant and horse and open carriage for my journeys, undoubtedly that they may keep me the longer. May the divine goodness keep account of their deeds! Since a year ago I have lacked nothing. I am well, without any temporal cares, etc. Is it not too much, my lord, for a poor banished priest, an outcast, who has escaped several times the gallows or at least the mines? but let us not chant a paen of victory; such misfortunes may happen again. There is scarcely any one to defend sharply the cause of your Seminary against the English, who came to take possession, in the name of the king, of the house, grounds, etc., of the Tamaroa mission; Mr. Morgan, presiding judge of the court, told me that I should remember that I had been expelled by the Spanish and that I

tres digne missionnaire mort grand vicaire de votre prédécesseur ou plutot de trois de vos prédécesseurs, si je ne me trompe. cest lui qui prend soin de leglise en mon absence. quand il plaira a votre grandeur, lui et moi serons délivrés. je pense que cest la crainte de procès (qui a été) en partie la cause que Mr Gibaut a préféré le séjour des Kas a celui des Kaos. les habitans du poste vincennes qui est situé a 70 l. des Kas ont grand besoin dun missionnaire, ils nen ont pas vu depuis octobre 1763 quon leur enleva le père devernai, lendroit est considerable et les désordres commencent a dominer chés eux et a mériter la compassion de votre grandeur. ils doivent vous envoyer une députation ou du moins requette pour obtenir un pretre curé. quand la santé de Mr Gibaut seroit rétablie et affermie je doute sil iroit. depuis deux ans les cheraquis et chicachas infestent les chemins et les habitans des Kas disent hautement que Mr Gibaut leur coute trop de frais pour le risquer au service des autres. je crois pourtant quil conviendra que votre grandeur ne lenvoye pas a un village seule-

[*Translation*]

did not count for much with the English. However, I am still, as then, in the house of the mission, in the stead of M. Gibault; I usually have living with me there the brother of M. Mercier, the very worthy deceased missionary, Grand Vicar of your predecessor, or rather, of three of your predecessors, if I am not mistaken. It is he who takes charge of the church in my absence. When it shall please Your Grace, he and I will be relieved. I believe it was the fear of a suit which was in part the reason that M. Gibault preferred residence at Kaskaskia to one at Cahokia. The inhabitants of Post Vincennes, which is situated seventy leagues from Kaskaskia, are in great need of a missionary; they have not seen one since October, 1763, when Father Deverney was taken away from them. The place is large, and disorders are beginning to have full sway over them and to merit the compassion of Your Grace. They must have sent you a deputation or at least a petition to get a priest. When the health of M. Gibault is reëstablished and strengthened, I doubt whether he will go. For the last two years the Cherokee and the Chickasaw have overrun the roads; and the people of Kaskaskia say bluntly that M. Gibault costs them too much to risk him in the service of others. I



ment mais a tous vos sujets dans ce payscy selon leurs besoins et l'étendue des pouvoirs dont vous l'avez honoré, colonie angloise ou espagnole dans ce pays cy, tant qu'une autre juridiction que celle de quebec ny sera pas constatée, surtout tant qu'ils seront destitués de pretres, il m'a paru quelquefois avoir peine a l'envisager, et je ne manque pas l'occasion de lui persuader que ceux de st louis, des Kas, de la prairie du rocher, de ste genevieve et du poste vincennes sont ses paroissiens comme ceux des Kas, auxquels il sembloit vouloir se borner. je lui ai déclaré plusieurs fois que je ne voulois etre que son coadjuteur partout ou je pourrais l'etre, m'obligeant a lui rendre compte de tout, afin qu'au moment de ma mort il les connut tous, et qu'ainsi tout le pays ne soit qu'une paroisse jusqu'a ce qu'il y ait des pretres dans chaque endroit, ou du moins dans la plupart. il est vrai que partout les peuples devoient payer les dixmes, au lieu que depuis mon retour je n'ai pu l'obtenir que de ceux chés qui je faisais ma demeure ordinaire, encor plusieurs la refusoient ils sous prétexte que j'étois souvent hors de chés eux. ceux des Kas feroient de même a Mr Gibaut; cependant

[*Translation*]

believe, nevertheless, that it will be best if Your Grace sends him not to one village only, but to all your subjects in this district, according to their needs and the extent of the powers with which you have honored him; to the English or Spanish colony in this district, so long as no other jurisdiction than that of Quebec is established, especially so long as they are deprived of priests. He seems to me sometimes reluctant to face it, and I never fail to tell him that those of St. Louis, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Ste. Genevieve, and Post Vincennes are as much his parishoners as those of Kaskaskia, where he seemed to want to confine himself. I have told him several times that I only wanted to be his coadjutor wherever I could be so, pledging myself to give him accounts of everything, so that at my death he would know all, and that in that way the whole land would be like one parish, until there would be priests at all places or at least in the majority of them. It is true that the people everywhere should pay tithes, but instead of that, since my return I could obtain them only from those with whom I usually live, where I make my home; many refused to pay them under the pretext that I was often away from them.

je ne crois pas que cela put lempêcher de sortir de chez lui. si vous le jugiés a propos monseigneur vous donnerés vos ordres la dessus. la peine et la dépense du prêtre étant beaucoup plus grande, il mérite une plus ample rétribution pour subvenir aux frais et ménager sa santé.

Votre grandeur ma fait lhonneur de me répondre sur la validité des mariages des catholiques avec les hérétiques: mais de la puis-je inférer que les mariages peuvent se faire licitement 10 sans dispense de disparité de créance, 20 sans présence de pretre, 30 si la même validité et permission est censée pour les catholiques éloignés du pretre, dans limpossibilité de le faire venir, ou dans une grande difficulté de laller trouver, soit du coté de lage, ou du temps et des saisons, ou des chemins longs et pénibles, ou dangers dennemis &c. nous avons ceux de la rivière st joseph a lentrée du lac michigan a 150 lieues dicy, ceux des peorias a 80 l. les ouiatanons a 100 l. le poste vincennes &c. peuvent ils faire en conscience des mariages naturels et valides, ainsi ceux de michillimakinac, et dautres qui se marient dans les nations

[*Translation*]

Those from Kaskaskia did the same thing to M. Gibault; however, I do not believe that this could prevent his leaving home. If you think it proper my lord, you could issue your orders concerning this. The labor and the expense of the priest being heavier, he merits a larger remuneration to meet his expenses and take care of his health.

Your Grace did me the honor to answer me regarding the validity of marriages of Catholics to heretics: but from this shall I infer that such marriages can be lawfully made, first, without dispensation for difference of belief; second, without the presence of a priest; third, if the same validity and permission are supposed to hold good for Catholics far away from the priest, where it is impossible to have him come, or where there is great difficulty to go and get him, whether on account of old age, or the weather, or the season of the year, or long and hard journeys, or danger of enemies, etc? We have under our care those from the St. Joseph river at the inlet of Lake Michigan, one hundred and fifty leagues from here, those from Peoria eighty leagues distant, from Ouiatanon one hundred leagues distant, from Post Vincennes, etc. Can they conscientiously contract natural and valid marriages? Those, too, from Michillimakinac, and others who

sauvages éloignées, dans le missouri, dans la rivière des maingenas,<sup>1</sup> chés les renards, les scioux, et qui reviennent avec des 2, 3 ou 4 enfans et leur femme, leur mariage est il valide? supposé la bonne foi et sincérité, doit on leur faire donner un nouveau consentement &c. je lai toujours exigé jusqu'a présent pour sureté.

Mr Gibaut vous marque sans doute qu'avant que je demeurasse de ce bord, on a enterré dans le cimetiére des Kas et de st louis indifféremment tous les morts, ceux qui ne faisoient point de paques depuis longtemps, qui a la mort avoient refusé les sacremens, des duellistes, des hérétiques, et des libertins desprit connus par leurs discours &c. ne pouvant remédier a ce désordre je me contentois de refuser ma présence, et de marquer une partie du cimetière pour ceux là près de l'entrée. mais cette partie avoit anciennement été bénite et avoit reçu plusieurs corps de fidels, je vous supplie encore d'ordonner là-dessus ce qu'il convient et pour le passé et pour l'avenir, ce qu'on peut céder a l'autorité et a la force et sur quoi il faut tenir ferme. nous n'avons

[*Translation*]

marry into the distant savage tribes, in Missouri, at the Maingenas<sup>1</sup> river, among the Foxes and the Sioux, and who come back with two, three, or four children and a wife—is their marriage valid? Supposing that they have sincerity and good faith, should they be made to renew their trothplight? I have always demanded it up to the present time, for safety.

M. Gibault has doubtless written you that before I lived here, there were buried in the cemetery at Kaskaskia and at St. Louis without distinction all the dead, those who had not communicated at Easter at all for a long time, those who at their death had refused the Sacrament, duellists, heretics, and free-thinkers known by their speeches, etc. Not being able to change this disorder, I contented myself with refusing my presence, and with marking off a part of the cemetery near the entrance for those mentioned. But since this part had been previously consecrated, and had received many bodies of the faithful, I beg you to give your orders about it, as to what is to be done about the past and for the future, what can be yielded to authority and to force, and on what points one must be firm. We have hardly

<sup>1</sup> Des Moines River.

presque plus de stes huiles, votre grandeur nous en enverra ou le moyen dy suppléer. il ny a pas a en tirer des espagnols qui depuis trois ans nont pas mis un pretre dans leur colonie et en ont chassé trop tot celui qui y étoit. Votre grandeur scait déjà sans doute le soulèvement de la nouvelle orléans contre le gouverneur et lexpulsion quelle en a fait et de tous les espagnols du pays depuis lembouchure du missouri jusquau bas du mississippi, ne leur ayant laissé que trois jours pour lévacuation de chaque poste quils occupoient. dieu veuille que la colonie et la religion nen souffre pas. pondiak fut assassiné dans ce village en la lere semaine après paques a ce moment les habitans des Kaos ou de la ste famille des tamarois me supplient dintercéder aupres de votre grandeur pour eux et leur église qui auroit besoin dun pretre résident. je les assure que vous le scavés déjà et que vous ne pouvés loublier, que vous le voudriés autant queux et moi: mais que vous êtes obligé daller aux malades les plus pressés les plus en danger, quils sont moins a plaindre que ceux du poste vincennes en aussi grand nombre au moins que ceux des tamarois et qui depuis six ans nont pas

[*Translation*]

any more holy oil; let Your Grace send us some or the means to get some. We cannot get any from the Spaniards, who for the last three years have not had a priest in their colony and drove away too soon the one who was there.

Your Grace doubtless knows already of the revolt of New Orleans against the governor, and the expulsion of him and all the Spanish from the country from the mouth of the Missouri to the lower Mississippi, they being given only three days for the evacuation of each post which they occupied. God grant that the colony and religion may not suffer from it! Pontiac was assassinated in this village in the first week after Easter. Just now the people of Cahokia, that is, from the parish of the Holy Family at Tamaroa, beg me to intercede with Your Grace for them and their church, which has need of a resident priest. I assure them that you know it already and that you cannot forget it, that you want it as much as they themselves do and I: but that you must go to the sick who are most in need and most in danger, that they are less to be pitied than those of Post Vincennes, who are at least as numerous as those of Tamaroa, and who have not seen a priest for

vu de pretre et qui néanmoins sont comme ceux cy enfans de dieu et de l'église et de l'évêque de quebec. je ne vois pas que nous puissions attendre aucun secours de la nouvelle angleterre.

Je finis monseigneur en vous suppliant de trouver bon que je laisse dans la suite a monsieur Gibaut le soin de vous rendre compte, accordés moi bénévolement le pardon dune infinité de fautes que j'ai faites au service de votre église depuis vingt sept ans quelle ma fait lhonneur de memployer malgré mon indignité. je serai toute ma vie néanmoins avec le plus profond respect et al plus vive reconnoissance monseigneur, de votre grandeur le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

S. L. MAURIN, jés.

(14 juin 1769)

[*Translation*]

six years, and who nevertheless are, like themselves, children of God, of the Church, and of the Bishop of Quebec. I do not see that we can expect any help from New England.

I conclude, my lord, by entreating you to be willing that I leave henceforth to M. Gibault the duty of reporting to you. Graciously grant me pardon for an infinity of mistakes I have made in the service of your Church during the twenty-seven years that she has done me the honor to employ me despite my unworthiness. I shall nevertheless be all my life, with the most profound respect and the deepest gratitude, my lord, Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant,

S. L. MEURIN, Jesuit.

(June 14, 1769.)

GIBAULT TO BRIAND, June 15, 1769

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, 18]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Le plaisir que j'ay toujours trouvé à obéir à vos ordres doit persuader à Votre Grandeur quelle soumission et quel respect j'ay pour

MY LORD,

[*Translation*]

The pleasure which I always have found in obeying your orders ought to convince Your Grace what submission and what respect I

elle. il semble que Dieu veuille récompenser ma soumission et me faire oublier ma patrie en donnant au peu qu'il m'a fait la grace de faire un assez bon succès. Je n'ay eu que 7 ou 8 personnes de mon village qui n'ont point fait la communion pascale ce qui ne s'étoit point encore vu, selon les anciens. ces personnes ne sont point des gens de mauvaise vie, ce n'est qu'un idée, pour me servir de leurs termes, car ils ne me répondent autre chose, sinon que ce n'est pas leur idée, qu'ils me trouveront bien quand ils auront besoin de moy. Mes dixmes se montent à 2 à 300 minots de froment et à 4 ou 500 minots de maillis ou bled d'indes. Le bled froment vaut 8ll le minot ou la farine 25. C'est un prix arreté que personne n'a encore dérangé. pr le mailly il baisse ou augmente selon l'abondance. Je l'ai vendu 3ll et 50 s. Le casuel est assez bon par la rareté de prêtres. avec cela je puis vivre et assister les pauvres. L'église n'a d'autre revenu que ses bancs et le casuel. J'envoys à Votre Grandeur le prix fixe du casuel elle y changera ce qu'elle trouvera à propos. pour moy comme c'est une ancienne coutume et que les choses sont assez bien

[*Translation*]

have for you. It seems as if God wants to recompense my submission and make me forget my native country by giving to the little with which He has entrusted me a fairly good success. I have only about seven or eight persons in my village who did not receive holy communion at Easter, which had never been seen before, according to the old people here. These persons are not at all people of evil life; it is only an idea—to avail myself of their terms of speech—for they never make me any other answer except that it is not their idea, and that they will find me easily enough when they need me. My tithes amount from two to three hundred minots of wheat and from four to five hundred minots of maize or Indian corn. The wheat is worth 8 livres the minot or the flour 25. This is a fixed price which nobody has changed. For the corn the price is lowered or raised according to the abundance. I sold it at 3 livres and 50 sols. The fees are good enough for the small needs of priests. With these I can live and assist the poor. The church has no other income than its pew-rents and fees. I am sending to Your Grace the fixed price-list of the fees; you can change in it whatever you judge wise. As for me, since

proportionnées au lieu et au peu d'argent je n'ose rien changer. Le R:P: Lemeurin se porte bien, toujours aussi ardent pour parcourir de village en village que s'il étoit jeune. nous ne nous voyons pas souvent quoyque nous ne soyons qu'à 4 lieues l'un de l'autre, mais nous sommes aussi souvent absents de chez nous que nous y résidons, et cependant nous ne faisons pas grand'chose en comparaison de ce qu'on pourroit faire. Je n'ai point été au post Vincennes, parce que cette hyvers j'avois les fièvres du pays, depuis le printems comme les sauvages ont prix et tués plusieurs personnes sur la route qui est de 80 lieues, mes paroissiens n'ont jamais voulu me laisser partir. Si Votre Grandeur veut épargner les prêtres et pourvoir au salut de ses ouailles c'est d'en envoyer encore deux dans ces pays un au poste Vincennes ou il y a beaucoup de monde et ou il seroit à portée de soulager beaucoup d'autres postes et l'autre au tamarois. ce n'est pas que je craigne de me sacrifier car j'ay entendu dire à Votre Grandeur qu'un prêtre vivoit assez longtems quand il avoit dix ans de prêtrise, mais je parle à Votre Grandeur pour la gloire de Dieu et pour le salut de cette

[*Translation*]

this list is an old custom, and since everything is well enough proportioned to the place and to the small amount of money, I dare not change anything. The Reverend Father Meurin is well, always just as eager to go from village to village as if he were young. We do not see each other often although we are only at a distance of four leagues from each other, but we are as often absent from home as we are present there, and even then we do not accomplish anything in comparison to what could be done. I have not been as yet to Post Vincennes, because this winter I had the fever peculiar to this country; since spring, when the savages captured and killed several people on the road, which is eighty leagues long, my parishioners have never wanted to let me go away. If Your Grace wishes to spare the priests and provide for the safety of his flock, (the best means) is to send two more priests to these parts, one to Post Vincennes, where there are many people and where he would be in reach to help many other posts, and the other at Tamaroa. It is not that I fear to sacrifice myself, for I have heard Your Grace say that a priest has lived long enough when he has had ten years of priesthood, but I

partie de son troupeau qui luy doit être d'autant plus chère et auquel elle doit d'autant plus donner de secours qu'il est plus exposé à la fureur du loup infernal. nous espérions du secours par l'Espagne, mais la Louisianne s'est révoltée et a chassé les Espagnols de la Nelle orleans et de toute la rive de l'ouest du mississipy. Je suis fort bien avec les anglois. J'ay carteblanche pour aller partout. notre commandant m'a fait offre de luy même et de ses troupes si j'en avois besoin pour le soutien de notre religion. Comme c'est un régiment irlandois ou il y a beaucoup de catholiques il m'a prié de traiter ceux qui auroient de la dévotion comme je ferois mes paroissiens. Je tache d'exécuter les ordres de Votre Grandeur sur leur fréquentation. Je n'ay mangé que deux fois chez luy depuis que je suis ici encore je l'ay fait une fois par rencontre. J'ose représenter à Votre Grandeur que la permission de biner dans la nécessité me seroit très nécessaire. il m'a déjà fallu faire plusieurs mariages dans un seul jour dans différents endroits à 2.4. et 6. lieues les uns des autres. ils se trouvent des personnes d'une certaine façon qui voudroient avoir la Ste messe et souvent on ne peut

[*Translation*]

speak to Your Grace for the glory of God and for the salvation of this part of your flock, which ought to be all the more dear to you and to which you ought to give all the more aid because they are more exposed to the fury of the infernal wolf. We would hope for help from Spain, but Louisiana is in revolt and has driven the Spanish from New Orleans and from the whole west bank of the Mississippi. I am on very good terms with the English. I have full power to go everywhere. Our commandant has offered me his support and that of his troops if I should need them for our religion. As it is an Irish regiment where there are many Catholics, he has asked me to treat those who are of the faith as I would my parishioners. I strive to execute the commands of Your Grace about visiting them. I have only eaten twice at the commandant's house since I have been here, and then once I did so by coincidence. I dare point out to Your Grace that permission for me to say mass twice a day in case of necessity is greatly needed. I have already had to celebrate several marriages in a single day in different places at two, four and six leagues from each other. There are persons of a certain type who would like



point les reculer comme au carnaval et a l'avent. Votre Grandeur agira pour la gloire de Dieu en ceci, pour moy j'y suis bien indifférent, ce n'est qu'à l'instance de plusieurs anciens qui m'ont dit que presque tous les missionnaires d'ici avoient eu ce droit qui étoit fort utile, que je le propose. on m'a dit que Mr mauvide mon ancien condisciple étoit rentré au Séminaire, si cela est, je l'attends en peu, car n'étant que deux prêtres de la même classe Votre Grandeur ne voudra pas nous séparer. Dans quelque village ou poste que Votre Grandeur en envoie, les habitants sont tous disposés et en état de payer les fraits. Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur, de Votre Grandeur le très humble très obéissant et très soumis serviteur

**GIBAULT, ptre.**

**Aux Kaskakias ce  
15e de juin 1769.**

Le fameux Pondiac a été tué étant yvre par un peoria aux tamarois il y a environ 2 mois. On craint que cette mort n'allume une forte guerre entre les nations.

**[Translation]**

to have the holy Mass said, and often one cannot defer them as at Shrove-tide and Advent. Your Grace will act for the glory of God in this; as for me I am indifferent, it is only at the instance of several old people who have told me that nearly all the missionaries from here had this right, which would be very useful, that I propose it. I was told that M. Mauvide, my old school-fellow, had gone back to the Seminary; if this is the case, I expect him before long, for since we are the only two priests of the same class, Your Grace would not want to separate us. In any village or post to which Your Grace sends him, the inhabitants are all willing and able to pay the expenses.

I am, with very profound respect, my lord, Your Grace's very humble, very obedient, and very submissive servant,

**GIBAULT, priest.**

**Kaskaskia, 15 June, 1769.**

The famous Pontiac, while drunk, was killed at Tamaroa, by a Peoria about two months ago. It is feared that his death will kindle a great war among the Indian tribes.

## CHAPTER XII

EFFECT OF THE DEATH OF PONTIAC ON WESTERN INDIANS,  
JUNE 16, 1769—SEPTEMBER 14, 1769

BUSINESS LETTER TO MORGAN—LAND GRANTS—BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS—CONCERNING EXPENSE OF INDIAN MANAGEMENT—DISPUTE BETWEEN HUTCHINS AND CAMPBELL—UNREST AMONG THE INDIANS—EFFECT OF THE DEATH OF PONTIAC—BISHOP BRIAND TO FATHER GIBAULT—BEHAVIOR OF WESTERN INDIANS.

GRATZ TO [?] [1769?]

[Ridgway Library. McAllister Collection—Draft]

DR SIR

I rcivd Your fav<sup>r</sup>. with the Two Bills, and shall ~~Call on Mr. Morris to Settle them as soon as Comes to Town~~ in the best maner I possable Can for y<sup>r</sup>. Intress Inclosed you will Find, a Bill for nineteen Pound, 4/ shgs Drawn at Illinois on the Generall, ~~which I think is Paid at rate of Dollars,~~<sup>1</sup> Payable to one Mr. Wills Escott, which must beg the fav<sup>r</sup>. of You to Gitt it Paid, and acquaint me at what rate as I think is generall at the rate Dollors the Post juist goe & must Conclud

Y<sup>r</sup>.

M: G

P. S. the Bill will be Paid at Sight as is due this Long time as was Accepted

CAMPBELL TO [MORGAN?], June 16, 1769

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.]

PITTSBURGH the 16<sup>th</sup> June 1769.

SIR.

Before you receive this two of your Boats with only five Men in each will be at the Mouth of the Ohio in Company with six of the Contractors manned with an equal Number of Hands. Mr Baynton no Doubt writes you respecting the Method proposed in taking them up the river as it is by his Order I send them so weak handed.

<sup>1</sup> So marked in original.

I have sent a pair of Hand Millstones which I purchased last Spring for this place but for which I had no Use as it was found impracticable to Victual your people here with Corn Bread I have likewise sent a Grind Stone as youll probably have Occasion for it below.

Inclosed are the Bills of Lading & Batteau Mens Acc<sup>ts</sup> all the Goods for Illinois are now gone.

M<sup>r</sup> Etherton who has charge of the Boats has been waiting here some Time for an Opportunity to go Down & had engaged him before Jamissons arrival He has taken Charge of the Contractors also which in my Opinion will keep the Whole together till they arrive at the Mouth of the River from whence Jammison is to proceed with two Boats Crews in his Boat with all possible Dispatch to Kaskaskias.

I hope M<sup>r</sup> Etherton will take good Care of the Boats he is well acquainted both with the Woods & Water I have made no Agreement with him he is to steer his own Boat you will allow him for his trouble & Labour I have laid in some stores for him an Acc<sup>t</sup> of which I inclose.

The large Millstones are not so large as you directed occasioned by a split on the edge of the Rimm which made it about one Inch & a half Narrower It was advised to take them notwithstanding as they are deemed so good a kind of stone I hope they will Answer

M<sup>r</sup> Baynton directs me to send you this Fall Fifty Bushels of Wheat & Twenty five of Rye which I will if I can procure it I make no doubt of getting the Rye but wheat I am not certain of.

I opened two Boxes of Trees directed to you & Col. Cole and planted them out to preserve them some perished I am advised not to raise them at this Season as it is apprehended they will die if removed before the Sap returns to the Root—it will Answer to send them at the Time the Wheat & Rye goes—Then you may expect all that are Quick.

I have put in some Cling Stone Peach Stones & others in the Cag of Buck Wheat from Which you can raise some trees and in the Fall shall send you some more & some potatoes.

M<sup>r</sup> Etherton will write you from the Place the Express leaves him and inform you of anything that will be necessary for forwarding the Boats up the Mississippi.

A Dutch Man has just now offered himself to Work his passage shall put him on board M<sup>r</sup> Etherton to ease him some times if he does not choose to Steer the Whole Passage.

James Kelley takes his wife with him he leaves it to you to charge him what you think proper for her passage as he says you know him.

One Catharine Obrian has been here since last Winter M<sup>r</sup> Baynton mentioned her to me she was to have gone down with M<sup>r</sup> Jewell but did not arrive till after M<sup>r</sup> Hanson set off I think it is as well she does no go (tho I offered her a passage) she has turned out such an Idle nay infamous Jade.

By Jamison I have sent a Box which lay on the Garret since before I came here & two Bundles Contents of Inclosed Memorandum perhaps the Box may be the one M<sup>r</sup> Baynton mention's to me as belonging to Genar Rode [?] whose Acc<sup>t</sup> with Sam<sup>l</sup> Black & M. Kennedys I send inclosed.

I opened a Cask C. N. 78 out of which I took

3 Brass Kettles for Hansens Division W <sup>t</sup>	26½
2 Iron Candlesticks for the Use of the House	
2 Brass Kettles W <sup>t</sup> 27 <sup>lb</sup> I sold to Tho <sup>s</sup> Jones	27
2 Brass Kettles for the Use of these two Boats	21

Out of a Trunk B R N<sup>o</sup> 1 I took a piece of Holland Marked B. R. 200 for M<sup>r</sup> McKee the Key of which I inclose

Mekapuckathy and some other Man will set off from Wabash the Contractors are to pay their proportion of this Indians Wages which is 80 Dollars 20 of which you are to pay & 60 they are to pay. Inclosed is his Account I will settle with M<sup>r</sup> Ress Cont<sup>r</sup> Agent here for their part of it so you and M<sup>r</sup> Murray will adjust the Remainder with him when he arrives

I have procured half a Dozen of Muskets out of the Kings Store to be delivered at Fort Chartres youll please send me M<sup>r</sup> Picty [?] Receipt for these and those that went down before that I may lift My Receipt from the Conductor here to prevent a Charge being brought in against you for them as he is such a litigious ill tempered old Man.

I have given the Men four Powder Horns which they are to deliver to you below but to be charged 7/6 for them if they loss them M<sup>r</sup> Atherton has the Men's Names that take them in Charge

M<sup>r</sup> Atherton takes the Mens Accounts as I could not keep the letters open for them<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] M<sup>r</sup> Campbells Letter, etc.

LAND GRANTS, June 25, 1769

[Kaskaskia Court Records, 131—A.D.S.]

Whereas Lieutenant Colonell John Wilkins hath made certain Grants of Land to Joseph Galloway Esq<sup>r</sup> John Baynton Samuel Wharton George Morgan & James Rumsey for the Benefit of his Majesty's Service in this Country as follows Viz<sup>t</sup>

One Grant. 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1769 to Joseph Galloway

One Ditto.....ditto.....to James Rumsey

One Ditto.....ditto.....to John Baynton

One Ditto.....ditto.....to Baynton Wharton &  
Morgan

One Ditto... 15<sup>th</sup>.ditto.....to Geo Morgan

One Ditto... 15<sup>th</sup>.ditto.....to Sam. Wharton

And whereas L<sup>t</sup> Colonell John Wilkins the Better to promote the said Service has agreed to be Interested One Sixth part therein. We do hereby Ingage that each of the beforemention'd Persons shall assign over to the whole & to Colonell Wilkins Five sixth parts thereof to have and to hold the same each person One Sixth part thereof agreeable to the Tenor of the said Grants as Joint Tenants

In Wittness Whereoff we have hereunto Set our hands & Seals at Fort Chartres this 25<sup>th</sup> day of June 1769

GEO. MORGAN (Seal)

J RUMSEY (Seal)

For Forms Sake I have Register'd the above, But the Grants therein alluded to are null & void untill Confirmed by the Generalls Approbation, As they were given on those Conditions only, & can be of no Effect untill such approbation arrives & was Granted for the Good Purposes then represented to me

JN<sup>o</sup> WILKINS L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Commanding for  
His Majesty in the Illinois Country

<sup>1</sup> Letter ends abruptly.

BUTRICKE TO BARNSLEY, June 27, 1769

[*Historical Magazine*, 8: 264]

FORT CHARTRES 27th June 1769.

DEAR SIR

Though I am not so happy as to have heard from you once since I left Philadelphia, I have not mist any opport<sup>y</sup> of Writing to you, and this by Mr. Morgan being a very good one I Cannot let it slip without letting you know that one of your friends is still among the living.—My last was of the 10<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup>. which I hope you have Received by this time—In April I was Attack with a severe fever which kept me confined for ten days, and in May again much more severe than the Other tho' it did not last so long, since which I have been very hearty and indeed the whole Garrison are much recovered, tho' the Weather is most intolerably hott: the men keep up their spirits very well, I am in hopes the seasoning (as they call it here) is now almost over.

We have been all this Spring, under the greatest apprehension of an Indian Warr, we had it from all quarters that several nations had entered into a League to strike the English in the Illinois Country this Spring, Col. Wilkins on this information very prudently filled all the stores with provisions and sent an Officer with the arm'd Boat to get in a quantity of Wood which was happily effected in a very short time and now we have 280 cords piled up under the Walls of the Fort and we can now bid defiance to all the Indians in America,—the 16th April a party of the Kickapoes broke into a house in this Village; surprised a soldier and his Wife in Bed, scalp'd both and got off without the least hurt; and the 14<sup>th</sup> May another party of the Sax and Reynards<sup>1</sup> attacked some of the Indians that live near this fort killed six, and Carried off their scalps, these strokes alarmed us much, obliged us to keep constantly in the Fort, & watch Night and day, Its now said the stroke intended against us will be in the harvest time, But I am of an Opinion it will blow over for this time or we should have had more of it before now.

I have had great hopes of getting leave from Col. Wilkins to return to europe, which he had in some measure promised me when the new adjutant arrived, but we have heard nothing as yet how

<sup>1</sup> Foxes (Outagamies.)

those vacancies have been filled; & Cap<sup>t</sup> Campbell, the Barrack master here, has got leave to return to Europe, & has appointed me to act in his absence, with a Salary of two shillings sterling p<sup>r</sup> day, This with two I expect for doing the adjutant's duty, will I hope enable me to make you a Remittance of a hundred York in a short time, If I have not some letters from you soon, I shall think you have quiet forgot me. Pray give my kind respects to Miss Jemima, and all the rest of your good family and believe me

Dear Sir

Yours Most affectionately

GEO. BUTRICK.

To Captain Barnsley

Superscribed

To

Captain BARNSLEY Esq<sup>r</sup>

At Bensalem in Bucks Co

Pennsylvania

Pr: favor of

GEO. MORGAN, Esq<sup>r</sup>;

}

MURRAY TO B. GRATZ, June 28, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Papers]

FORT CHARTRES 28<sup>th</sup> June 1769

D<sup>r</sup> SIR

Not a word from you since many of my Letters have been under way to you—I am utterly at a loss to know whether or not you have sent me any Goods to be expected by the Boats now daily expected intelligence from—If you have; why, 'twill probably tend to our Joint Emolument, if not, the reverse naturally follows—Meantime I send you herewith a Billet doux for £234..19..0.—If this Opp<sup>r</sup>. offered 2½ or 3 Months hence, I say provided I had that Time to get in Fees, Vendue Comm<sup>a</sup> and Outstanding Debts of my own private Sales &<sup>c</sup> &<sup>c</sup> I could Afford to send ꝯhaps £500 more—If you have sent any Thing, I probably may soon know, in which Case you may expect a Remittance before they produce it—I have sent David Sproat the full Amo<sup>t</sup> of my Bond with In<sup>t</sup> 'till 29<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> next inclusive, ꝯhaps he might as well let that species of Obligation alone; Pray get

up my Bond from him—Must also request you pay W<sup>m</sup> Ross Shoemaker the Ball<sup>ce</sup>. of my Acc<sup>t</sup>. ab<sup>t</sup>. 10 or less pounds. To Bond & Byrne ab<sup>t</sup>. 7 or 8 pounds or Whatever thereabouts it is, and to Joseph Baker 45 shillings for a Hat I forgot paying him for at the Time I left your Place.—I shall say nothing farther respecting What you may send than I have already, and ꝑhaps never may, if you have been deaf to What I have already wrote on the Subject—I am still of the same Opinion, that is; I wish to do something for myself & Family in a fair Channel, and most truly wish, to have it in my Power to serve you and your Concerned also, and if I know my own Heart, it will be your Fault, (which I am not very apprehensive of) if ever I Change my Mind as to the latter—I shall not repeat my request respecting the poor little Chance Boys down your River; I referr you to my former Letters—and rely on your Friendship for a Compliance I shall farther say That I am with Perfect regard, D<sup>r</sup>. Barney

Yours most sincerely

W. MURRAY

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, July 15, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5. 87 p. 251—Draft]

WHITEHALL, July 15<sup>th</sup>. 1769.

(N<sup>o</sup>. 21)

MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE

SIR,

I have had the Honour to lay before the King your Dispatches N<sup>o</sup>. 30 and 31, the first of which was received on the 12<sup>th</sup> of last month, and the other by the Mail which arrived this day.

His Majesty has seen with great satisfaction your constant Attention to contracting His American Expences within reasonable Bounds; and the Desire that you express to co-operate, as far as possible, in carrying into Execution the Plan which has been adopted, of leaving the Management as well as the Expence of the Indian Commerce to the Colonies, is perfectly agreeable to Him. I need not now inform you, that the King's Intention is to confine His whole Expence in the Indian Country to £5000 ꝑ Annum for the Northern District, and £4000 ꝑ Annum for the Southern, which has been thought a Sum intirely adequate to the Services intended; and therefore, though the King sees the Difficulties and Delays that must necessarily attend the



Transition from the former to the new-adopted System, His Majesty intirely relies upon your Judgement and Zeal for His Service not to admit of any extraordinary Expence, of the absolute Necessity of which you shall not be fully convinced. In the meantime, I have received the King's Directions to transmitt Extracts of such parts of your Letters, as relate to public Expence, to the Lords Commiss<sup>rs</sup> of the Treasury for their Information.

It has given the King great Pleasure to find that the State of Affairs in America is such, as to admit of the Arrangements, in respect to His Majesty's Troops, pointed out in your last Letter. His Majesty trusts, that the Reports which have been spread of hostile Intentions in the Indians are ill-founded; but, as we cannot be too much upon our guard, the Colonies ought to be fully apprized of the Danger, to which they may be exposed, by any longer delaying to give the Indians the fullest Testimony of their Sincerity in those Engagements, upon the faithfull performance of which their Security is to depend.

I wish it was in my Power to transmit to you His Majesty's final Commands, in respect to the Posts in the Illinois Country and upon the Ohio, as well as to the State of the Fortifications in several of His Majesty's Colonies, and the Necessity of Barracks at Quebec, & St Augustine; but the Committee of His Majesty's Servants, to whose Consideration these Matters were referred, not having yet made any Report, I am not prepared to take the King's Pleasure thereupon.

There are no other parts of your Letter that seem to require any particular Answer; and therefore I avoid troubling you with any Observations upon them.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. Whitehall, July 15<sup>th</sup>. 1769. (N<sup>o</sup>. 21.) Ent<sup>d</sup>

MORGAN TO HIS WIFE, July 16, 1769

[Smith MSS.—A. L. S.]<sup>1</sup>

Via Pensacola

NEW ORLEANS 16<sup>th</sup> July 1769

MY DEAREST MOLLY

You can better imagine than I describe my agitation at not meeting with a single Vessel here bound to the Northward especially as I had set my Heart on seeing One sent on my Acc<sup>t</sup>. However I dare say there are good Reasons for her not being here. I was in great Hopes of not being detained here more than 24 Hours—but alas! God only knows how many Times those Hours may be multiplied. I feel more for you my dear Soul at the Time you may open this Letter than I do now for myself. I look on myself as a Son of Affliction—But a good Providence has bless'd me with that Kind of Fortitude as to think no Evil a Hardship for myself. I am determined to [*MS. illegible*] Misfortunes, as you know the in [*MS. illegible*] of my Soul—Could but [*MS. illegible*] be happy—Ten thousand Deaths [*MS. illegible*] be a cheap Purchase. But Declarations of this Kind to One who knows me so well are needless. They are not frequent & therefore she will excuse this involuntary Overflow of my Heart if it may be so called. For what I do not acquaint you of I refer you to my Letter to our dearest Parent directed to B & W in which this will go inclosed.

I have wrote you half a dozen Lines of this Date Via Mobile—this goes by way of Pensacola. I have commenced Batchelors Hall here Once more as it is much the cheapest Way of living & most agreeable to my Mind. I occupy the House in Which the late Spanish Governor lived at a very low Rent with most excellent [*MS. illegible*] for my Peltry all at twenty Dollars [*MS. illegible*]th—I dine tomorrow with his Excellency Monieur Ob[?] the French [*MS. illegible*] although I should much better with drinking to your Health at my own humble Table.

The Uncertainty of this Opportunity will be a sufficient Appology for the Shortness of this Letter. Embrace our ever dear Parent most affectionately for me & all our dear Relations. But what will you say to our dear little sweet Betsy. You have a long Time

<sup>1</sup> This letter is in the possession of Mrs. T. C. Smith of Santa Barbara, California.

promised her she should soon see me. Now excuse yourself as you can. However I dare say she will more easily put up with the disappointment than she will with parting with me again so soon as I suppose I shall be obliged to return to the accursed Illinois. Excuse me to my Brother Johnny for not Writing to him and let him know everything which concerns me, as I know he interests himself as much as if they Were his own Affairs. That God may forever bless you & be your Guardian is the fervent Prayer of my dear Molly, Your most truly Affectionate Husband

G. MORGAN

My Respect to my Cousin Ruthy Biles if you please & tell her that her Husband is with me in good Health.

EDMONSTONE'S CERTIFICATE, July 25, 1769

[Johnson MSS., 17:221.—D.S.]

PITTSBURGH the 25<sup>th</sup>. July 1769

[*MS. burned*]ify that the Bearer Peter a Mohawk Indian who came [*MS. burned*]m Fort Chartres to this place with Silver Heels has [*MS. burned*] other consideration for that Service than a Blanket [*MS. burned*]ins and Britch Clout because there was no more [*MS. burned*] in the Letters they brought but he Alledges that he [*MS. burned*] as much as Silver Heels who received to the Amo<sup>t</sup>. [*MS. burned*]ars exclusive of an equal Quantity of Clothing [*MS. burned*]ived Two Blankets a Brass Kettle & Black Silk [*MS. burned*] if in lieu of the same kind of things that he threw [*MS. burned*]me letters when pursued by Enemy Indians

CHA<sup>s</sup>. EDMONSTONE Cap<sup>t</sup>.

Commanding

HUTCHINS TO WILKINS, July 29, 1769

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

FORT CHARTRES 29<sup>th</sup> July 1769

SIR

As you have signified your desire of being Acquainted With what pass'd between Capt: Campbell & me Respecting some Pickets, Which I took for the use of the Crown from a Lott he Claims at Kaskaskias; the following is to the best of my Recollection the Substance of it. Viz<sup>t</sup>. About the 4<sup>th</sup>. of October 1768, I was by

your Orders at Kaskaskias giving directions to Carpenters to make a Battoe into an Arm'd Galley, when I had Occasion for some small Pieces of Timber to raise the sides of the Battoe with; and observing the Pickets of a Lott, which I was credibly informed was the property of the Crown by M<sup>r</sup>. Morgan a Gentleman of Veracity, who assured me Capt: Campbell had no right to the Pickets or any thing they enclosed and that he would make good any Damages I should Sustain on Account of taking them Away this report appeared the more feasible to me as several Soldiers were then living in a House on said Lott, I therefore thought it most Advisable to take as many Pickets as might be wanted for the above Purpose, as they would Answere much better than any other Materials I could get, they being of Cedar light & durable, I also ordered a number to be sent to Repair the Pickets of the House in which the Commandant of Kaskaskias and a Detachment were Stationed, for their better Security.

About the 7<sup>th</sup>. Capt: James Campbell arrived and Assured me the pickets I had taken were his property & that he was determined to sue me for them, I asked him; admitting what he said Was true, What was the lowest price he would be Satisfied to take for them, he Answered Two Dollars each, and Appealed to a Certain M<sup>r</sup>. Blowin if the Price he asked was not Reasonable, to which he (as Capt: Campbell informed me for they spoke french) said it was—As I was determined, should the Crown be obliged to pay for those pickets, to get them as Reasonable as Possible, I had, previous to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Campbells Asking the above Price made myself Acquainted with the Expence Attending the Cutting, hauling, Painting and Setting up pickets when New, Which I found to be no more than 30 Sols each, or Two Shillings & five pence New York Currency.

As it was impossible to Comply with the price, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Campbell had asked, I desired him to let me know the very lowest he would take; He then Answered that as he never took an advantage of the Crown, I might have them for one dollar each, & he appealed again to his friend M<sup>r</sup>. Blowin if what he had Asked was not Reasonable, to which he replied as before. I am sorry to say I could not help Entertaining a Suspicion, notwithstanding the above profession of Honesty, that there appeared to me an Intention to take an Advantage of that Crown, at which I must own I was not a little Surprised as

the person I thought intended it, was then in the Kings service & Received the Kings money, my suspicion was the more Confirmed on my being sensible of Capt: Campbells knowledge of the Original Cost of Pickets in this Country.

At Last Capt: Campbell & I agreed to leave the price of said Pickets to a Mr. Dennis M<sup>c</sup>.Crochan, Who Informed us the Next morning that he viewed the Pickets in dispute, & tho they Were Not New, yet as he thought Capt: Campbell would be at an Expence in Replacing them; it was his opinion I should pay Capt: Campbell 30 Sols for each picket, Which Capt: Campbell Agreed to take, And I promised to Pay as soon as it should Appear that the pickets were his property.

The above is to the best of my knowledge the Substance of what passed between Cap<sup>t</sup>. Campbell & me Respecting the Pickets within mentioned. To the Truth of which I am willing to be Qualified.

I am Sir Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>. Hum.<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

THOMAS HUTCHINS

To Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Wilkins Command<sup>r</sup>. }  
of the Colony of the Illinois }

KASKASKIAS August 3<sup>d</sup>. 1769

I Do Certify that that part of the Letter, Relative to me is true, & what I have a Knowledge of

his

DENNIS + M<sup>c</sup>CROHON  
mark

KASKASKIAS August 3<sup>d</sup> 1769

I do hereby Certify that the house & Lott, late the property of Madam Fatigue in this Village & Claimed by Capt: Campbell, was delivered over to me by L<sup>t</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Ancrum, as belonging to the King,—I was also present at the Conversation between Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Hutchins Blowin & Campbell as within mentioned, Which to the best of my Recollection is related with Justice & truth.

BEN<sup>N</sup>. CHAPMAN

[*Endorsed:*] Mr. Hutchins's Letter to Col. Wilkins relative to Campbell dated 29. July 1769.

[*Also*] Fort Chartres 29<sup>th</sup> July 1769 Mr. Hutchings Letter to Col. Wilkins relative to Captain Campbell

## WILKINS' ACCOUNT, [no date]

[Johnson MSS., 17:220—E.]

[*MS. burned*] Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins's Account of [*MS. burned*] the Illinois.—

[ <i>MS. burned</i> ]o Cash paid Silver Heels, and one other Six Nation Indian, going Express to Fort Pitt. in a Bill of Exchange.	} £40 —
And for Goods delivered D°. Amounting to	
	20 —
	<hr/> £60 — <hr/>

GAGE TO JOHNSON, August 6, 1769

[H.C.L.—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK, August 6<sup>th</sup>. 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I hope this will meet you safe and well from your Jaunt into the Indian Country, where I hope everything has passed agreeable to your Wishes and Expectations.

There has been a good deal of Disturbance at the Illinois, several Murthers committed on Indians as well as white People; amongst others the famous Pondiac was killed at Kaskaskies or rather Kaokia by one of our Friendly Indians, but of what Tribe my Correspondent Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel Wilkins, does not say, tho' from other Passages in his Letter, I suppose it was an Illinois Indian.

You have inclosed a Speech of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel Wilkins<sup>1</sup> to the Indians of the Ouabache of whom he makes great Complaint, as also Extracts from his Letters<sup>2</sup> which have any Relation to our late Quarrells with those Indians; whom he supposes to be excited to Mischief by the French settlers at St. Vincent, and possibly with good Reason. you will observe also the Treatment the six Nations have received from those Tribes, of which Silverheels will no doubt give you and his Country-Men a faithfull Account.

It seems very Necessary that something should be done to keep those Nations in order. You saved them from a Quarrell with the Shawnese & Delawares after the Attack made upon M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, which has had no very good Effect; for they seem more and more

<sup>1</sup> The speech has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> These do not appear.

inclined to raise Commotions as well with the Indians as the white People. You will from your late Excursion have been well informed of the present Temper and Situation of the Several Nations, and will be able to form some Judgement of the Methods most proper to be taken with the Nations complained of, as our Affairs are circumstanced.

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

M. GRATZ TO B. GRATZ, August 9, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

PHILADELPHIA August 9<sup>th</sup> 1769

MY DEAR BARNARD

I am not doubtfull You have received my last to you in Liverpool Since my return home from Lancaster which hope has reached you in perfect health at your desired port I should have wrote you by last Packet but the mail coming in and going out within two hours was deprived of that pleasure, and as the packet was to sail the day after the Post arrives at New York could not meet with opportunity then to reach the Packet which oblig<sup>d</sup> me to referr it, I therefore embrace this opportunity of inclosing you a bill of Twenty Pounds Ster<sup>s</sup>. on one M<sup>r</sup>. James Keating, Row Crutch old Fryars drawn by one M<sup>r</sup>. W Frampton and indors'd by our Friend M<sup>r</sup>. David Franks, which hope will be paid you, but should it meet with non Acceptance M<sup>r</sup>. Franks desires you to apply to M<sup>r</sup>. Jacob Franks, who will take the bill up if you Chuse it, so think you will not be disappointed in that Bill. My D<sup>r</sup> Brother I did expect to have wrote you at length by this Packet but find I must defer it till Cap<sup>t</sup> Friend goes which will be in 15 or 20 days hence when shall not fail relating to you all that may Occur to me, Business here at present is very bad, and little done since you left home, no payments from R: C: nor M: H' so you can not help thinking how it is with Business, /21" hope you will Succeed in your undertaking and be worth while your being from home which should be glad to hear of, we was inform'd that B: W: &C<sup>t</sup>. have had the Lands granted, if so and M<sup>r</sup>. Trent Sells will try to get you 3 or £400 St<sup>s</sup> Assistance of M<sup>r</sup>. Jos Simons who urges very much for you to get in a Suitable Indian Cargo, and to get in that

Business constant to settle a good Correspondent of Good goods in which he will be concerned if you think proper, so would have you to try what can be done in it tho' the chief is to have a house that is acquainted with that goods, which no doubt you will take care of if such thing done, and as M<sup>r</sup>. Trent is there he may acquaint you with some of the Indian goods, that you may not know, Last Indian goods such as you made a Memorandum of will Answer, so hope it will be in your power to do something in as no doubt we can make good returns please god, and to Satisfaction if Laid in on good Terms, I had received, two days ago a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> George Croghan, who expects to be here in Septem<sup>r</sup> or October and then he may want some of their goods, to go for Fort Pitt but too late to go up the other way however not £10 worth of Indian Goods to be had in this Town M<sup>r</sup>. Shipboy has been here and would have purchas'd £3 or £4000 worth for S:W:I: and paid the Cash if they were to be had, Expect on the repeal of the Acts all kind of Dry Goods will be plenty yet don't let this discourage you of getting in an Assortment of the above mentioned Goods.<sup>1</sup>

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, August 12, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5. 87 p. 311—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup>. 34)

NEW YORK August 12<sup>th</sup> 1769.

MY LORD,

I have received the Honor of Your Lordship's Letter N<sup>o</sup>. 20, which contains no particular Commands, and as I have already transmitted your Lordship, an Account of the bad Success of my Applications to the Provinces of New York, and Pensilvania, for the appointing of Commissarys, and other Indian Officers at the Posts; there is nothing more at present to trouble your Lordship with on that Subject.

Since my last, Dispatches have been received from the several Parts of the Indian Country, giving Accounts of Quarrells, and Murthers, as well of Indians, as of white People. The famous Pondiack has been killed by an Illinois Indian, and four or five of the latter by some other Nations. A Boat belonging to some English Traders was attacked on the Ouabache, going to S<sup>t</sup>. Vincent, but the Boatmen, with the assistance of an Indian, defended themselves so well, as to

<sup>1</sup> The letter as given in the Letter Book ends abruptly here.



kill five of the Enemy's Party, which consisted of seventeen, and made their Escape to Fort-Chartres, with the Loss of one Man, and their Cargo. Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins informs me, he has sometimes five or six hundred Indians near the walls of Fort-Chartres, who have fled there for Protection, since the killing of Pondiack. He complains greatly of the Indians of the Ouabache, whom he supposes spirited by the French Renegados at Post Vincent, to attack our Traders, and prevent any English Goods being sold on that River, where he says, none but French at present are permitted to trade, and that they boast, of having some hundreds of different Nations watching the Ohio, to stop the Communication between Fort-Pitt, and Fort-Chartres. Some of the Chiefs of those Tribes had been at Fort-Chartres, where a Speech was delivered to them, upbraiding them with the Injuries they had at different Times done the English, and recommending a more peaceable Conduct for the future.

Col. Wilkins has adopted very advantageous Opinions of the Consequence of the Illinois to Great Britain, if the Posts, so often mentioned, were erected, and a large force sent there, with Numbers of British Settlers; and adds, whatever might have been the Case formerly, the French do not undersell us now, for that many of their Traders from the East Side of the Mississippi, came with their Skins to buy Goods of the British Company from Philadelphia, who are the only People who have traded at the Illinois. This circumstance however might happen from a Scarcity of French Goods, for we were told, the Insurrection at New-Orleans had prevented the Boats going up the Mississippi, and that there was no great Quantity of Merchandise at New Orleans. A Man who served as an Indian Smith at Fort-Chartres, and lately arrived here by way of New Orleans, gives a good Reason for the Scarcity of French Goods, if his Intelligence is true, for he informs, that there is a Spanish Frigate constantly lying off the Harbour, to prevent all vessels going up the Mississippi. The Detachments of Spanish Troops posted in the Neighbourhood of the Illinois, are gone down the River, and parted with our People on very good Terms. A great many Stores with an Addition of Artillery and Ammunition are demanded for the Service of the Illinois, but it appears best, to postpone everything of this Nature, 'till His Majesty's final Determination respecting that Country shall be known.

Dispatches lately received from the Detroit give an Account that two of the Pouteatamies, who had been guilty of murdering one of our People some time since, had been delivered up to the Commanding Officer by their Nation, altho' this may be a Proof of some Subordination on their Part, as well as of their Desire to live amicably with us, yet it gives Rise to a Difficulty how to dispose of them, they can't be knocked in the Head in cold Blood, neither can they be legally tried at the Detroit, and if they are sent down to Albany and tried there, there is no Evidence to appear against them; Sir William Johnson must endeavor to make the best of it, and attribute our Releasing of them, to our Wish of conciliating their Affections by fair Means.

There has lately appeared some ill Temper amongst the Northern Indians, but the Source of it has not been as yet discovered, it is doubtfull, whether it arises from any evil Disposition towards us, or some private Quarrell amongst themselves;<sup>1</sup> Sir William Johnson is making a little tour through their Villages with an Intention to trace their Designs, from whence he is not yet returned; I hope soon to have it in my Power to give your Lordship more particular Information upon this Subject.<sup>2</sup>

I had the Honor to acquaint your Lordship in my Answer to your Dispatch N<sup>o</sup>. 10, that I shou'd as soon as possible, enquire into the Merits of the Petition presented to his Majesty, in Behalf of several ship Carpenters, and other Artificers, employed at Oswego in the late War; several Difficulties have arisen in this Research, which have protracted the elucidating the Matter 'till this Time, nor indeed cou'd a satisfactory Enquiry have been compleated in this Country, had not Lieutenant Colonel Robertson luckily fallen upon a Copy of the former Settlement made with the Rhode Island People, who were taken Prisoners at Oswego, which served not only to prove the present Claimants not being included therein, but likewise to ascertain the Principles upon which the respective Allowances were made. I have now the Honor to transmit to your Lordship the best Information I

<sup>1</sup>The uneasiness among the Northern Indians was promoted by the continual encroachments of the whites beyond the boundary line as established in 1768, and by the failure of the colonies to adopt measures for the management of the trade.

<sup>2</sup>In Gage's letter to Hillsborough, September 9, 1769, the report of Johnson is summarized. See *post*, 596-598.

can obtain concerning these Claims, contained in a Letter to me from Lieutenant Colonel Robertson, and his Report of the Sums he judges respectively due to these People, agreeable to the Allowances that were made in the first Payment.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, Regard and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble Servant.

THO<sup>S</sup>. GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York Aug<sup>st</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>. 1769. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage (N<sup>o</sup>. 34) R/ 13 Sept<sup>r</sup> B. 16. Ent<sup>d</sup>

BRIAND TO GIBAULT, August 13, 1769

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, 19]

Votre lettre, mon cher Gibault, m'a tiré d'inquiétude et causé une joie indicible; je l'attendois avec une sorte d'impatience afin d'être au fait de votre situation et de cette portion de mon troupeau dont l'éloignement et la disette ne font qu'augmenter et ma sollicitude et mon affection vraiment paternelle: Je vous prie de leur signifier ces sentimens du coeur et de leur faire bien entendre combien leurs âmes me sont chères et précieuses, et combien je suis inquiet pour leur salut. dès que je pourrai je vous enverrai du secours; je vous prie au nom de Jésus christ de ne pas vous épargner jusqu'à ce moment là. Et pour vous ranimer, rappelés vous souvent ce qu'il en a coûté à notre

[*Translation*]

Your letter, my dear Gibault, freed me from anxiety and also caused me unspeakable joy; I was awaiting it somewhat impatiently in order to be apprised how matters stood with you and with that part of my flock whose distance and want have only increased my anxiety and my truly fatherly affection: I beg you to let them know these feelings of my heart and to make them understand how dear and precious their souls are to me and how anxious I am for their salvation. As soon as I can I shall send you help. I beg you in the name of Jesus Christ not to spare yourself until that time. And to cheer you, remember often how much it cost our Lord to bring back to the

seigneur pour rapporter au bercail la brebis égarée. nous sommes ses coopérateurs, son esprit doit nous animer, et nous ne devons cesser de travailler au salut de nos frères que lorsque nous mourrons, victimes comme ses premiers disciples, de notre zèle et de nos travaux. *superimpendar ipse pro animabus vestris*. C'est d'après ces considérations que j'eus une vraie douleur d'âme lorsque j'appris à montréal dans le cours de mes visites que vous aviez mené avec vous votre mère et une de vos soeurs ou parentes. vous ne le deviez pas faire sans me consulter, ou mon grand vicaire; peut être, si vous m'aviez averti de votre dessein, vous eussé-je mis à la place d'un autre prêtre qui me demandait à y aller. Je pense encore, comme je pensais alors, qu'un misse seul dans ces parties pour remplir bien et entièrement devant Dieu sa vocation, ne doit point avoir de demeure fixe ni de parens, dont la suite est toujours embarrassante pour un ministre évangélique, dans quelques années et lorsque vous eussiez arrangé toutes choses vous eussiez pu les mander et elles y seroient allées avec celui que j'aurois pu vous envoyer pour vous aider. quoiqu'il en soit vous êtes fautif

[Translation]

fold the lost sheep. We are His co-workers; His spirit ought to animate us, and we must not cease working for the salvation of our brothers until we die, victims, as His first disciples, of zeal and our works. *Superimpendar ipse pro animabus vestris*. It is after these considerations that I suffered real grief in my soul when I learned at Montreal in the course of my visits that you had taken with you your mother and one of your sisters or relatives. You should not have done it without consulting me or my Grand Vicar; perhaps if you had told me about your plan, I should have put you in the place of another priest who had asked me to go there. I still think as I thought then, that a missionary alone in these parts, in order to fulfill well and completely his vocation before God, ought not to have a fixed dwelling nor relatives, whose presence is always embarrassing to an evangelistic minister. In a few years and when you had straightened out everything, you could have sent for them and they would have gone there with whomever I could have sent you to help you. However that may be, you are at fault to have acted without notifying me of it. I pardon you for it as for a mistake made rather through ignorance than

d'avoir agi sans m'avertir. Je vous le pardonne comme une faute faite plutôt par ignorance que par malice, et si vous avés l'esprit de Dieu vous la regretterés. Je la regarde comme une faute de jeune homme, qui ne voit pas tous les inconvéniens.

Il faut y regarder à deux fois avant d'aller contre les conseils du père Meurin et vous défier de vos lumières; sa façon d'écrire et de me rendre compte ne dénote pas un homme revenu à l'enfance. il ne faut pas se laisser prévenir ni surprendre par des hommes peu chrétiens tels que vous me les avés dépeint autrefois et que vous me les dépaignés encore. il n'est jamais bon de donner dans la rigueur, mais l'on donne souvent ce nom à la fermeté; et la mollesse qui abandonne les intérêts de Dieu est traitée de prudence; mais ce n'est qu'une prudence de la chair ennemie de Dieu, dit St paul; suivés mes avis, ils tiennent le milieu. Le père meurin blesseroit deux vertus par le vice de l'avarice, il luy est deffendu en qualité d'homme et de religieux; craignés que les rapports qu'on vous a faits ne soient fondés sur les impies sentimens répandus dans le monde chrétien par leurs

[*Translation*]

through malice, and if you have the spirit of God you will regret it. I look upon it as a mistake of a young man, who does not see all the disadvantages.

You must look twice before you go against the advice of Father Meurin and you must mistrust your own lights; his way of writing and of rendering account to me does not show a man gone back to infancy. One must not be prejudiced nor beguiled by men not very Christian, such as you have depicted to me before and now depict again. It is never good to give way to harshness, but often this name is given to firmness; and the laxity which abandons the interests of God is called prudence; but it is only prudence of the flesh, the enemy of God, says St. Paul; follow my counsels—they keep to the happy mean. Father Meurin will offend against two virtues by the vice of avarice: it is interdicted to him as man and as a priest; be careful that the reports that have been made to you are not founded on impious sentiments which are spread abroad in the Christian world by its enemies, whose excesses horrify all of the English I have known; and it is in this way that it was spoken of in London itself.

ennemis, dont les excès font horreur à tout ce que j'ay connu d'anglois : et c'est sur ce ton qu'on m'en a parlé à Londres même.

Je suis bien charmé du compte que vous me rendés de votre conduite à l'égard du service de la religion, je ne demande pas de vous des discours étudiés, mais de bons catéchismes ; faites connoître la religion, la connoissance en suffit pour y attacher les hommes qui suivent les lumières de la raison. Voila, mon cher Gibault, tout ce que je puis vous mander de si loin ; vous êtes à portée plus que moy de scavoir ce qui convient. si vous n'êtes point précipité dans vos jugemens, si vous aimez notre seigneur et son église, si vous êtes exact, avant d'agir, à consulter Dieu, vous ferés du bien, et ne vous tromperés jamais. Je dis jamais parce que jamais Dieu ne manque à ceux qui dans l'embarras ont recours à luy avec simplicité de coeur et avec confiance.

Ne négligés pas les affaires des tamarois, ils ont rapport à l'avantage de la religion, et surtout pour la suite ; d'ailleurs vous scavés que votre parole y est engagée envers les Mrs du séminaire ou plutot envers l'Eglise elle même, puisque cette affaire la regarde plus qu'eux

[*Translation*]

I am very highly pleased with the account which you give me of your conduct in regard to the service of religion. I do not expect from you learned sermons, but good catechisms ; make known religion—the knowledge of it suffices to win men who follow the light of reason. This, my dear Gibault, is all I can tell you from so far away ; you are better able than I to know what is best. If you are not too precipitate in your judgments ; if you love our Lord and His Church ; if you are scrupulous to consult God before acting, you will do good and you will never go wrong. I say never, because God never disappoints those who in difficulty have recourse to Him with simplicity of heart and with confidence.

Do not neglect the affairs of Tamaroa ; they have relation to the advantage of religion and especially for its progress. Besides, you know that your word is engaged to the authorities of the Seminary, or rather, to the Church herself, because this matter concerns more the Church than them. That place could in the final event be the

mêmes. Cet endroit pourra dans la suite être comme le centre de la religion et la résidence d'un grand vicaire pour tous ces vastes pais.

Il faut que vous alliés au poste Vincennes, un mois ou plus s'il est possible, et vous pourriés y mener avec vous le père Meurin, y donner une petite mission, n'y eut-il d'autres exercices que la messe de bons catéchismes et quelques conférences sur l'Eglise, la religion, et les sacremens ou autres matières que vous verrés nécessaires, cela feroit du bien. des discours aisés et familiers sur la miséricorde de Dieu, et les vérités papales, surtout des dernieres fins font ordinairement un effet particulier sur les âmes.

Le pauvre et le cher Marcou de St joachim est mort j'ay mis corbin à sa place, sa santé est bien foible il ne se rétablit pas. cherrier et lefevre sont prêtres depuis la trinité ils ne sont point encore placés.

Il ne me reste plus qu'à me recommander à vos prières souvenés vous toujours des dangers qui vous environment que vous êtes l'homme de Dieu et de l'Eglise; que vous rendrés compte des âmes qui vous sont confiées, *rationem redditurus pro aabus vestris* ces réflexions

[Translation]

center of religion, and the residence of a Grand Vicar for all those vast districts.

You must go to Post Vincennes, a month or more if it is possible, and you can take with you Father Meurin, to hold there a short mission. If there are no other exercises than the Mass and some good catechisms and some lectures on the Church, religion, and the Sacraments, or other matters which you would see necessary, that would do some good. Some easy and familiar discourses on the mercy of God, and the papal truths; the last things especially ordinarily make a marked impression on souls.

Poor dear (Father) Marcou of St. Joachim is dead, and I have put Corbin in his place; his health is indeed feeble and it does not improve. Cherrier and Lefevre have been priests since Trinity Sunday; they have not as yet been assigned to places.

All that is left is to recommend myself to your prayers; always remember in the dangers that surround you that you are a man of God and of the Church; that you will render account of the souls

vous soutiendront ranimeront votre courage épuisé, relèveront vos espérances affoiblies à cause de la résistance et de la malice des pecheurs et vous empêcheront de tomber dans la nonchalance, le dégoût, l'ennuy, suivis souvent de l'indifférence pour la gloire de Dieu et le salut de ses frères. Je suis avec le plus sincère et le plus parfait attachement, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

J: OL: Evêque de Québec.

Québec le 13 e aout  
1769.

[*Translation*]

which are entrusted to you, *rationem redditurus pro aabus vestris*. These thoughts will uphold you, revive your exhausted courage, uplift your hopes, weakened because of the resistance and malice of sinners, and will keep you from giving way to carelessness, disgust, and weariness, very often followed by indifference for the glory of God and the salvation of His brethren.

I, am with the most sincere and the most perfect affection, sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J: OLIVIER Bishop of Quebec.

Quebec, August 13, 1769.

M. GRATZ TO MACKAY, August 16, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> August 1769

Mr. An<sup>s</sup>. Mackay.

DR. SIR.

We had the pleasure of receiving your much esteemed favour of the 25<sup>th</sup> April a few Days before my Dear Brother left home, who did himself the pleasure of Answering you, which no doubt came safe to your hands,—and Since was handed with your regarded one of the 9<sup>th</sup> June, and According to your desire have purchased and forwarded the Ten Pieces Linnen Amounting to Twenty Six Pounds Seventeen Shillings & Six pence this Curr<sup>y</sup> Am Sorry that our Dear Friends' order was so small at this Season, hope the Linnens will prove to Satisfaction and are the Cheapest I could find in Town, as now Goods in General are scarce and not so reasonable as before; tho' hope will



soon Alter have Ask'd M<sup>r</sup>. Ross (the Shoemaker) Several times for his Acco<sup>t</sup> or Bill but could not obtain it he says that you know the Agreement and prices and the [sic] he shall write himself to M<sup>r</sup>. Mackey who will please to observe that I paid him, think to the whole of your Amo<sup>t</sup>. and Charg'd you for what he had, so you'll know how to Act in it with him, the Shoes went some time ago to Lancaster to be forwarded by M<sup>r</sup>. Simons who no doubt did it long 'ere this, as could not make a Load to go up from hence. Inclos'd you will find Bill Parcell for the 10 pieces Linnen which no doubt you will receive safe, also hope in my next will be able to inform you something about my D<sup>r</sup>. Brother, have received a few Lines of our Friend M<sup>r</sup>. Murray last night who refer's me to a Letter by M<sup>r</sup>. Morgan who was to Leave that place a few days after the Letter's date.

I now must conclude with my due Esteem & Regard to D<sup>r</sup>. Sir,  
Your Assur'd & Much Esteem'd Friend & H'ble Servant

M G.

JOHNSON TO HILLSBOROUGH, August 26, 1769<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.70. p. 553—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup>. 11)

JOHNSON HALL, August 26<sup>th</sup> 1769.

MY LORD

Having had the honour to write your Lordship on the Subject of the Boundary & Cession, which letter accompanys this, I am now to give your Lordship an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Transactions during my late Tour through the Country of the Six Nations.

I left Home on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June and after many delays arrived at Onondago the 10<sup>th</sup> of July where I found the Cheifs &<sup>ca</sup> of that Nation with several others from the Neighbouring Villages who being in great want of Indian Corn from a failure of their Crops, I gave them a Supply of that & Several other Articles, and previous to my General Meeting, held Several private Conferences with the Cheifs at their hunting Cabbins, returning from one of which in the night my Cannoe overset, & in ascending a bank I received a very severe Cut, by a fall on my wounded Leg which had very nigh rendered me incapable of proceeding, however on finding myself a little easier, I held a Congress with them two Days after, which they opened with

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:183 et seq.

a Speech wherein they made many Enquirys after News, and whether a War was not about to be Commenced between England France & Spain they said they were well assured of this, that there were many things which gave them much concern, amongst the rest that some of the Nations continued obstinately bent on War, and they feared it would compel them to disturb the Cherokees & others with whom they had made peace; that the intrusions of the New England People into Pensilvania they were afraid would draw some of theirs into a War, and that it gave them concern to find that those Persons who had the management of the Trade were removed, I gave them all the Satisfaction in my power on these Heads, & afterwards proceeded for Cayuga where there were above 500 Indians assembled with whom I had a Meeting to much the same effect as with the Ondagaes, only I observed that the farther I advanced into the Indian Country, the more earnest the Indians appeared in their several discourses. I next went to Seneca where I had Summoned the Cheifs of that Nation, as also those Indians living near the Head of Ohio to meet me, who in a few days assembled to the amount of two thousand and upwards, before I met them in publick I was visited by two Cheifs in whom I have always had reason to place much confidence, who told me that they had laboured hard for some Months to keep their People in order, & to prevent their receiving Several Belts which had been sent to their Country for very bad purposes, but that nevertheless many came to their hands, w<sup>h</sup> had occasioned a Spirit of discontent amongst them, as I would find on opening the Congress, about the same time Messingers arrived notifying the approach of a Number of Cherokee Cheifs who were coming to attend a general Congress to be held at Onondaga the beginning of next Month, to which the Cheifs of the Canada Confederacy and other Northeren Indians were Summoned to renew and Strengthen Alliances. When we assembled, the Senecas began with a long detail of what they called grievances, they Said that they found the conduct of all People altered for the Worse towards them, that not a season had passed since the late peace without the murther of some of their People by the Inhabitants, that, by withdrawing those who had the Inspection of the Trade &ca Frauds & Abuses would be more common than ever, that no business could be transacted without Interpreters at the Posts, & that they could not

do without Smiths to mend their Arms, & other Implements used in Hunting, that they were well assured that a War was near at Hand, & that they were courted to engage in it, which tho contrary to the sense of the Cheifs might probably be agreed to by too many of the Warriors if those Affairs which gave them so much uneasiness were not adjusted, for they saw there was no provision made for their redress, I then explained to them what I had in general made known before to the Confederacy, touching the present System for Indian Affairs, that they would find the Colonies heartily disposed to make what Establishments were necessary, and to prevent frauds or injustice of every kind, but that they ought to make allowance for the importance of these Matters as they required some time to be put on a proper footing, & that those whose Interests & Trade were so materially connected w<sup>th</sup>. them would certainly pursue the wisest measures for promoting peace & Commerce. They answered that I had told them so before, that they well knew how slow our People here were, and that altho some of the Old People of every Nation were still disposed to beleive all this, they found the Majority of the rest, particularly of the other Confederaceys were not, they gave me a long State of the Politicks of the other Nations on which they observed, that the Fact was, the Indians expected to meet the same Treatment from us, which they had done from the French, that the latter repeatedly told them they would not, that they found it too true, & that they were full of resentment thro' disapointment. It may not be amiss here to remark, that when Indians are disposed to Quarrel, they collect all the Materials they can as grounds for their conduct, and often insist on things as grievances which in reality have given them little concern, the true Cause is often misrepresented, and therefore the proper remedy is wanting, they are Jealous of Us, & envious of one another, and I dont doubt but that the late great Present may prove a means of dividing the Councils of the Six Nations with the rest, for the Sole Right was in that Confederacy (and double the Sum would not have Contented all who desired to partake of it) the rest will probably be Jealous of it, of which I am in hopes a proper use may be made. During my stay at Seneca I saw & spoke with Several Indians from different Nations who brought Belts of Union & Messages, & After having settled Matters for

obtaining a knowledge of what is to be transacted at the Congress before mentioned, I took leave of the Indians and arrived here about ten days ago much indisposed, nor am I as yet recovered from the Hurt I received at Onondaga, so that I hope Your Lordship will excuse any defects in this Short Sketch which is extracted hastily from my Journal.—on my way Home I was overtaken with the News of a Murder of a Young Seneca Man who was fired upon on the River Susquahana by some of the Frontier Inhabit<sup>s</sup>. without the least provocation given (of which I have since received received [*sic*] an Account from Pensilvania) as the Father of this Young Man has generally lived within the Settlements, & with the whole family demonstrated the most Zealous Attachment to the English, and were much respected by the Indians, the Murder is a very unlucky Accident at this time, but it is not alone, Several others having been lately committed by the Infatuated & Lawless Inhabitants on the Frontiers of Virginia &c<sup>a</sup> Who as they have hitherto acted with Impunity are encouraged to go on. And tho the Effects of all this have not been sensibly felt for some time, they at length begin to make their appearance particularly about the Illinois, Ohio &c<sup>a</sup> of which your Lordship will doubtless receive Information from the Commander in Cheif, the Indians having killed Several People, attacked & plundered Several Traders Boats, & in Short blocked up the Communication of the Ohio, so that it is no longer practicable for the Traders Whilst at the same time they are endeavouring to form a more Strict Alliance than ever for purposes that are but too Obvious, Seeming only to wait the Success of their Negotiations for the commencement of Hostilities, and altho upon these occasions they use much Caution & Secrecy, yet some part of their late Conduct does not exactly agree with it, but shews an extraordinary Degree of Confidence from some Quarter, of which the Answer herewith enclosed to the Speech<sup>1</sup> of L<sup>t</sup> Col. Wilkins Commanding at Illinois furnishes some Instances, to Illustrate which I have annexed some Notes, I have received a Copy of the Speech of Mons<sup>r</sup> Verchere (formerly a French Officer) to the Indians of Lake Erie, as now delivered by them, this Speech was made known to me by some Spies I have, who with many others since positively affirm that he gave them a present in the Name of the French King, and

<sup>1</sup> We have been unable to find either of these documents.

desired them to hold themselves in readiness, but on my Communicating it to the General, who wrote concerning it to Canada, the Indians who esteem *VerChere* came to the Commandant at Detroit delivered up VerChere's Belt & also the Speech in the manner sent me Which was evidently altered to prevent his meeting with punishment, nevertheless 'tho they have certainly suppressed much of what he said to them, enough remains, which to a Man conversant in their Idiom would be a convincing proof without anything farther.—In Short as I suspected & frequently represented would be the case, none but Frenchmen can go into their Country to the Westward, & the Indians positively & publickly declare to all People that they will suffer no others into their Country, I was informed that the French were at the bottom of the Representations artfully prepared to get the General liberty for trading at large in the Indian Country which I then observed was calculated for them to engross it all. In the mean time the Colonies have as yet done nothing, except £150 Voted by NYork for defraying the Expence of Officers of Trade &ca, a Sum scarcely worth mentioning, and the Governor now writes me that he mentioned his Apprehensions of the Indians uneasiness for want of Commissaries &ca to the Members of his Assembly but without effect, and adds that the inadequate provision made for Interpreters & Smiths shews how little the matter in agitation was understood; In short none of those conversant in these Matters expect they will do anything Material, I ought the rather to mention this because in Your Lordships Letter of October 12<sup>th</sup> 1768 (N<sup>o</sup> 6)<sup>1</sup> you observe that the reliance on the benifits intended to be the result of the late measures was not upon their propriety but upon the Execution of them & upon the Regulations which the Colonies shall think fit to adopt for the Management of the Commercial Part." I kept People on the Frontiers as long as I possibly Could consistant with his Majestys Instructions, and gave timely Notice to the Colonies concerned that they must be withdrawn, as did the Commander in Cheif, but without effect, and I persuade myself that your Lordships long knowledge of American Affairs will render it unnecessary for me to point out the little expectation of these measures having the effect desired be the consequences what they will; tis my Sense of these

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:101 *et seq.*

consequences alone that induces me to offer a Word in Addition to what I formerly said hereon, for I averr upon my honour I never had the smallest Advantage in the Appointments that formerly existed, but additional trouble in corresponding with the Officers constantly sending them Instructions, paying their Acc<sup>ts</sup>. & Settled Sallaries when I received it from the General, & verry often oblided to advance them money before I rec<sup>d</sup> it myself. Your Lordship will then Judge how little I ought to have coveted this from any other Motive than the better execution of the public service.—

This moment I have advice that the People have abandoned their Settlements from Bedford to Fort Pitt, in consequence of some Robberies committed by some partys of Indians, & also fearing their Resentment for their own late Conduct towards them, that a Party of Indians coming from War had robbed a House wherein there was only one Woman, whom they threw into the Potowmack, on which a Party of the Inhabitants pursued & killed three of the Indians, That they had then resolved to augment their Number and proceed to cut off a Mingoe Village not far from thence, if so, a War is inevitable. In short there is but too much Licentiousness on all sides, for by the same Account, I am Assured that *Callendar* a Trader on his way to Fort Pitt with 25 Horses loaded with Indian goods was attacked near Bedford by thirty White Men disguised & painted like Indians who destroyed & carried away the greatest part of his goods, declaring they would suffer none to pass on to the Indians. that this Circumstance has greatly exasperated the Indians & contributed to alarm the peaceable part of the White Inhabitants,—When we consider the State & Disposition of the Indians, a People without Laws, or Government, verry revengefull & Influenced much by French Councils and verry Jealous of Us, We may conclude that as these People cannot in General be kept in Order without an Expence that may be deemed greater than its Object, All we can do, is, to divide their Councils & retain a part of them in our Interest which I am pritty confident I have Interest & Influence to do at all Events.—It is highly necessary to prevent a too general Union amongst them, & I should rather have declined taking the pains I did to effect a Peace between the Six Nations & Cherokees, because we enjoy the most security when they are divided amongst themselves,

at the breaking out of the late Indian War, I proposed to raise Indians to be employed against the Enemy, it was thought giving them too much Consequence, However I took upon myself to send out a few Parties, which notwithstanding the pains generally taken to allow them as little merit as possible, contributed essentially to bring that War to a Conclusion, for altho it may be said, and is in part true, that Indians are unwilling to fight against one another in our Quarrels, there are many Exceptions to this Opinion, there are some to be had who will Join with ardour against any Enemy & many more whom it is policy to retain in our Service, who, tho at first unwilling to act offensively from Maxims of policy, yet, if by any means Blood is drawn will become principals in the War, & this the Indians are so Sensible of that there is nothing of which they are more apprehensive.—I hope that whatever is the Issue of the present Alarms I shall be able to retain a large Body in his Majestys Interest and even to get them to Act ag<sup>st</sup> the Enemy if it is required of me, and so soon as I receive any farther Information that may be material, I shall communicate it immediately.

I have the honour to be with the Most profound Respect—My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient & Verry Humble Servant

W. JOHNSON

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup>. THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Johnson Hall Aug: 26<sup>th</sup>. 1769. Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson (N<sup>o</sup>. 11) R/ 16<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. B. 27. Ent<sup>d</sup>

M. GRATZ TO B. GRATZ, August 31, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup>. 31 August 1769.

DEAR BROTHER.

The above is copy of my last to you by the Packet the 9<sup>th</sup> ultimo which no doubt has reached your hands safe, with the inclosed second Bill of M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Clifford's, and one first for £20 Sterling which hope is Accepted, and will be paid you when due.—

A few days ago receiv'd a Letter from M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Murray of the Illinois, who refers us to Letters by Colo<sup>nl</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Burk and M<sup>r</sup>. Morgan but none of them arrived as yet here; he relates in regard of the goods he had with him turning out to great advantage and



hopes we have sent the like goods by First Battows on our Joint Acco<sup>t</sup>. with him, as else we will be only the poorer for it, however as there is a little fear of an Indian War, by what Letters I saw from Mr. Milligan the Senecas Indians much discontented on Acco<sup>t</sup>. of the Purchase money that was given at the last treaty to the Nether Indians, and their Share not received of them which makes them very insolent, and Daring tho' is thought they want nothing but presents and Robb if they can mean time, so am no ways sorry that we did not send any more, as much afraid of what we have there already if an Indian War should happen though nothing thought of at present by the generality of People, Mr. Callender has sustained a loss of about £300 by the Black Boys (as they call them) Stopping 24 Horse Loads of Indian goods on the Road to Fort Pitt, a little this side Bradford where they pretended to Burn the goods but the chief carried off by them, for which he will receive but little Satisfaction tho' is after them, Mr. Croghan has wrote a Letter to you wherin he promises to be here in September or October when perhaps he will want some goods, however shall be glad to see him here whether he does or not.—

Business at present is very dull owing to the Scarcity of Money, None yet received from Mr. Callender, Mr. Hart or S<sup>t</sup>. Clair & Limes, all which injures our Trade much and keeps my hands ty'd; have call'd on Mr. Thomas Lawrence but can get no Satisfaction of him as yet, Mr. I: White says he has no Occasion to Pay Mr. Russalls Share as Settled his Acco<sup>t</sup>. and paid him without Deducting your Acco<sup>t</sup>. which he had not till you went away, and that should not advance it, also £5 which he paid and not Credited for, however should look over the Acco<sup>t</sup>. again and see, so would have you to speak to Mr. Russell who went to London also in June (think with Capt<sup>n</sup>. Falkner) when you may hear how it is, to know what to add.—On your return Please God of which should be glad to hear when is to be and what Success you meet with Mr. E. M<sup>o</sup>. Kay wrote us also and wishes you a safe and satisfactory return, have wrote to him a few days ago, receiv'd last week a Letter from Mr. M. Hays who informs me that all the Holland Bill will be paid which wish may be true, and should be glad to inform yourself about Mr. Jacob Polock and one Mr. Manley of New Port Rhode Island, if they Succeeded in bringing out large Cargoes of Dry Goods /21", am informed since



my last to you that there is nothing done yet in regard B: W: & C°. Land affairs of being Confirmed, so that there can be nothing done in what I mention'd you about M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Simons, however hope you will be able to settle a good Correspondent for a small Cargo Indian goods and the other articles of E<sup>t</sup>. India Goods which am in hopes we will be able to make Quick and good Returns of, with the Assistance of the great run and our Friends, especially when the goods are laid in on good Terms think cannot fail, and no doubt the difficult acts will be on the Repeal before or upon your leaving England, so that would not omitt bringing some goods if they even was to be Stored here for a little time, till we have acco<sup>t</sup>. of the repealing of those Acts is better than to expect them, as will be the first for Sale /21", however would do nothing if in case there is no prospect of the Acts being repeald, which you are to Judge as on the spot, should be glad you could get in with the Levy's Family and try if they would Ship those East India Nankeens &c. as there we might do something Profitable for them and ourselves too.—Find there is a Lottery this year so must desire you to Concern me in a Ticket one half or a Quarter in Two Tickets and send me the<sup>1</sup>

M. GRATZ TO MURRAY, September 1, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup>. September 1<sup>st</sup>. 1769.

MR. WM. MURRAY.

DR. SIR.

Since my Brother Barnard's Letter to you mentioning his going to London in Company with your old esteem'd Friend Miss Riche Franks, was favour'd with your much esteem'd few Lines of 22<sup>d</sup> May last which afforded me pleasure to hear your being in good health, with your good Family to whom must beg my best respects Acceptable.—I note the contents of your Letter and refer you to our last, about the goods which we intended to send you on our Joint Acco<sup>t</sup>. but as M<sup>r</sup>. David Franks wanted them on the receipt of your letter which was about the time M<sup>r</sup>. Sproat's Ship was expected in, we let him have them rather than to have discontent as knew he would have thought much to let them go in the Boats, as you know him when he takes a thing into his head is no so easily forgot, though we

<sup>1</sup> This letter and the following end abruptly in the Letter Book.

partly engaged with Mr. Sproat before they come in, but when we found that he must have them gave the Point up, as no other goods came in the same vessell nor since of that sort and to have them made here would come high so was obliged to defer it.—

Am glad to hear you make so good a hand of them goods you took with you whether we are concern'd in them or not, and shall always be glad to hear of the Wellfare of our Friend, who hope will not forget us.—Expect Brother Barnard back here again in Novem<sup>r</sup>. or Decem<sup>r</sup>. Please God without Fail, when he will without fail write you himself.—Your fav<sup>r</sup>: by Col' Cale not yet come to hand nor Mr. Morgan.—

TURNBULL TO JOHNSON, September 9, 1769

[Johnson MSS., 18:20—A.L.S.]

Inclosed is a Copy of a Speech which Colonel Wilkins sent to the Indians on the Ouabache Last spring. He Desired me to Repeat it to such Indians of these Nations which might come here to trade, which I have done

There is a Perfect Tranquility in these upper Countries at Present. The Indians formerly used to kill the Inhabitants cattle at an uncommon Rate. There has been only Two killed Since the Spring—Last year they made Free With Two of my Cows and a horse—Whatever may be the Consequence I still continue to give the Indians Provisions and a Little Rum and Tobacco now and then, nor is it in my Power to do otherwise Whilst I am oblided to Detach small Parties of the Garrison to cutt wood and Burn Lime and Charcoal, we are by no means in Condition to put them on any other Footing

Mr. Verchere is now here He has got a Pass to trade at Sandusky and [MS. torn] mission from Governor Carleton to be Interpreter [MS. torn]wanese—He brought a Huron from Sandusky who says He was sent by the Chiefs of the small Village to Contradict what had been alledged against Mr. Verchere—that He himself was the Person who carryd M[MS. burned] Belt from the one Village to the other, and that [MS. burned] That He only spoke about [MS. burned] His Returning there with goods would be ag[MS. burned]

Michel the Lorrette Indian who was [*MS. burned*] for Mr. Verchere Sticks firm to the first story and [*MS. burned*] Verchere Told them that the French King was still alive [*MS. burned*] wou'd see them soon.—The First Chief who accused [*MS. burned*] Verchere of that affair Died as He was Returning to San[*MS. burned*] the other one Eyengeking who brought in and Deliv[*MS. burned*] up M<sup>r</sup>. Vercheres Belt the beginning of July, Told the very same story with the first chief and the Lorrette Ind[*MS. burned*]

Verchere seems very ill Pleased that I appeared to [*MS. burned*] not altogether convinced of His Innocence, and has Rather Behaved Rudely on the occasion, although I Told him that I was not his judge. But it was my duty to Report what was laid before me concerning the Service I am With Great Respect Sir your most obedient and [*MS. torn*] Humble Servant

GEO: TURNBULL

DETROIT Sept<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. 1769

TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, September 9, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87 p. 327—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup>. 35)

NEW YORK September 9<sup>th</sup>. 1769.

MY LORD,

I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's Letter N<sup>o</sup>. 28.,<sup>1</sup> in which you are pleased to signify His Majesty's Royal Approbation of the Endeavors that have been used to contract the Expences of this Country within reasonable Bounds; and to leave the Management as well as the Expence of the Indian Commerce, to the Care of the Colonies.

The greatest Attention shall be paid to His Majesty's Intention to confine his whole Expence in the Indian Country to the respective Sums allowed for each District; And Care taken to curtail every extraordinary Expence, that the Service will admit of. The Forts in the Indian Country are contiguous to Many Nations, and Subject to continual visits from Indians on various Pretences, at which times Something is always to be given them; and from the constant Murmurs and discontents amongst the Nations real or pretended, the Jealousies and Suspicions to be removed, the Murthers and Quarrells

<sup>1</sup> This letter has not been found.

to be made up and Settled, the Meetings or Congresses with them are frequent and always costly.

Since my last Letter to your Lordship, we have had fresh Alarms of an Indian Rupture from the Side of the Ohio. Lieutenant Governor Penn sent me the Copy of a Letter wrote by a Person who resides near the Frontiers of Pensylvania, concerning the Motions of the Indians as well as of the Frontier Inhabitants; a Copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith. Advices of the same Evil Tendency were also sent from other parts, but not having received any further Informations on these Matters, I am to hope the Indians are become More inclined to peaceable Measures. The Cession made of their Lands by the Six Nations at the Treaty of Fort-Stanwix is generally assigned as the Cause of their Discontent. I understand that the Six Nations took all the Purchase Money to themselves, that their Claim to the Lands of the Ohio Indians is derived from an Antient Right of Conquest; which tho' Acknowledged by the other Nations, they could not see their Lands disposed of to us, without Jealousy and disgust, more particularly as they received little or no Share of the Money paid for them.

Sir William Johnson is returned from his Journey to the Six Nations Country, where he had Meetings with Many large Bodys of Indians who complained much of Grievances; which amount to some Partys having been refused Provisions at Fort-Pitt, and the Removal of the Commissarys, Smiths and Interpreters from the Posts. They desired these Complaints Might be laid before me, to which I have answered, that the Smiths and Interpreters would be continued, and they must transact their Business with the Officers Commanding at the Posts, till other Arrangements Should take Place. The only Discovery made which seems of Consequence, is that a Number of Cherokee Chiefs were on their way to attend a Congress at Onandaga, in order to Strengthen their late Alliance, and promote a general Union. And that a like Confederacy had already been formed between the Indians of Ohio and the Nations on the Miamie and Ouabache Rivers; which last were Spoke of as being ill disposed towards the English, and the Account is in Some Measure corroborated by the last Letters from the Illinois. Whether these Confederacys portend Mischief to us, or are caused by Quarrells amongst themselves

may be a Matter of Some doubt; but there is Reason to believe, that there is a Misunderstanding amongst the Nations, and it may be our Interest at present rather to encourage it. Sir William Johnson will watch the Proceedings at Onandaga, and hopes to have Some Influence over their Councils.

In my Letter to your Lordship N<sup>o</sup>. 33. I had the honour to transmit you an Extract of a Letter concerning the Designs of Some People to obtain Lands in an illegal way from the Indians, at the ensuing Treaty for Settling the Boundaries of Virginia, in the Manner, the Letter says, that was practiced at the Treaty of Fort-Stanwix. Sir William Johnson has given me the Strongest Assurances that no such thing happened at Said Treaty. That there are but two Grants mentioned, viz<sup>t</sup>. to the Traders and to M<sup>r</sup>. Croghan; that he had no right to object to the Indians Stipulating for their dwelling Places, or to the Clause in favour of Lands before purchased under Sanction, and then not patented. The Sooner however these are annulled may be the better, in Order to put an End to all Claims from Indian Deeds, unless obtained according to the Laws of Government.

Depredations have been committed by a Party of Creeks, termed Outlaws by their Nation, on the back Settlements of Georgia, and M<sup>r</sup>. Steuart has made further Discoverys of the Intrigues of the Spaniards with the Creeks. Six of those Indians are returned from the Havanna with valuable Presents, and there is Information as well from Indians as Traders, that the upper and lower Creeks are invited to meet the Spaniards sometime in this Month, at the Mouth of the River Appalachicola. M<sup>r</sup>. Steuart hopes to make a full Discovery of the Designs of the Spaniards, and justly observes, whatever their views may be, an Intercourse between them and the Indians, is an object of Jealousy.

I find the Expectations of the Cherokees are very high respecting the Payment for the Lands required by Virginia, but it will be the Business of the Province to provide Funds to answer their Demands.

Your Lordship has been informed that the 34<sup>th</sup>. Regiment had Sailed for Ireland, and I hoped by this time to have transmitted an Account of the Embarkation of the 9<sup>th</sup>. Regiment. The Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General who was dispatched from this Place

to South Carolina, was near a Month on his Passage, and from the few Ships he found in the Harbour on his Arrival at Charles Town, he could not immediately provide Transports; but he writes word on the 4<sup>th</sup>. of August, that Some Ships coming in, had enabled him, with the Assistance of Lieutenant Governor Bull, to hire the Quantity of Shipping required; which would be ready for Sea in ten Days, when the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment would proceed to S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine, where the Said Regiment would be landed, and the 9<sup>th</sup>. embarked for Ireland: That he had been obliged to Send an Advice Boat to Brigadier General Haldimand, that Launches might be ready to disembark and embark the Said Regiments on the Appearance of the Transports; the Owners refusing to venture nearer than within ten Miles of S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine, on Account of the Danger from the Barr.

The Troops ordered to Nova Scotia were for a Short time at Some Loss to provide Quarters, but by converting the Officers Rooms into Rooms for the Soldiers, the latter have been all quartered in the Barracks at Halifax, and in the detached Posts and Batterys dependent thereon; And the Officers will have the usual Allowance in lieu of Quarters, till some other Disposition of them can take Place.

Although nothing of Consequence will be undertaken at the Illinois till the final Arrangements respecting that Country shall be made, I am obliged to send Cloathing for the Troops, with some few Articles of Stores and Medicines; which it is proposed to send down the Ohio in the Autumn, under the Escort of a Company of the 18th Regiment ordered from Philadelphia. But considering the Reports of the ill Temper of the Savages, it is necessary to trust a good deal to the Discretion of the Officer who commands at Fort-Pitt, to proceed herein, according to the Intelligence he shall receive of the Disposition of the Nations down the Ohio; for if they are determined to stop the Communication, it may be most prudent to detain the Convoy. I should be greatly concerned to hear they had taken such a Determination, as the Confederacy which Sir William Johnson says is formed between the Western Nations must be Powerfull; and if they resolve to interrupt the Navigation of the Ohio, so as to oblige us to force a Communication with Fort-Chartres, it is easy to foresee that it must be attended with a very considerable Expence

as well as trouble. At the same time it may be doubted, whether any of the Provinces would furnish any Number of Troops for such an Enterprize.

I should have Acquainted your Lordship Sooner of Some Circumstances relative to Major Rogers, of whom you will probably hear, as he is gone home. That Officer was appointed Commander of the Fort of Missilimakinac, and being accused of certain Crimes, was tried by a General Court Martial, who acquitted him of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The King approved of the Sentence of the Court, and ordered the Major to be released from his Confinement; At the Same time it appeared to His Majesty that there was great Reason to Suspect the Major entertaining an improper and dangerous Correspondence, which Suspicion the Account afterwards given of his Meditating his Escape tended to confirm. The Proceedings of the General Court Martial are lodged in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, and I am to acquaint your Lordship, that after a Mature Deliberation of every thing that has happened, I can not Answer to reinstate Major Rogers in the Actual Command of Missilimakinac or of any other Fort in the Indian Country.

I have the honour to be with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, and most humble  
Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup>. GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of H: Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s: Secretarys of State

[*Endorsed:*] New York Sept<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. 1769. Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gage. (N<sup>o</sup>. 35) R/ 16<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>: B. 17. Ent<sup>d</sup>.

JOHNSON TO RIVINGTON, September 14, 1769

[Johnson MSS., 18:26—Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL Sept<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>. 1769

SIR,

I thank you for your agreeable Correspondence, and for the Several pieces of News communicated in your late Letters particularly in that the 4th Inst. Indeed I should have answered some of them Sooner but for my Absence in the Six Nation Country and my indisposition since occasioned by a fall I got at Onondaga,—

I must Confess the Aspect of Affairs at home is very Unpleasing, and ought to give Concern to every Wellwisher of his Country, because whatever Reason, or Justice there may be in some of the late Steps you mention, there is a probability of their being carried farther than a Good man can wish for, Tho' I still hope that these Matters will be happily adjusted at or before the next session of Parliament,—Affairs here are very doubtfull The Indians at the Misisipi, behave very Extraordinarily and under the Countenance and Influence of the French are endeavoring to Seduce the Nations to the Northward to Confederate with them, but I expect to prevent them from Succeeding as far as they wish.

Tho' my almost Constant Avocations & hurry will not permit me to be very punctual in Correspondence I hope it will not prevent you from Writing me now and then as your Letters are very Interesting and Agreeable to me.—

I am with regard, Sir, Your hearty Wellwisher & very humble Servant

[*MS. burned*] John & Col Johnson [*MS. burned*] their Complim-<sup>ts</sup> the [*MS. burned*] wishes you'd remember [*MS. burned*]ttletons Hist: & the Ann<sup>l</sup> [*MS. burned*] for 66, 67. & 68. wch [*MS. burned*] for.



## CHAPTER XIII

THE DISPOSITION OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY UNDER CONSIDERATION, SEPTEMBER 19, 1769—DECEMBER 29, 1769

MORGAN EN ROUTE HOME—BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS OF B. & M. GRATZ WITH WILLIAM MURRAY—SPIRITUAL SITUATION AT VINCENNES—GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH—WILKINS' REPORT ON THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR—THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY UNDER CONSIDERATION IN ENGLAND—FEAR OF COMMUNICATIONS TO THE ILLINOIS BEING SEVERED.

MORGAN TO RUMSEY, September 19, 1769

[P.D.P.R.—A.L.S.]

September 19th 1769

DEAR M<sup>R</sup> RUMSEY

I am now in the Gulph Stream due East from Charles Town & but a few Leagues from thence where our Captain had resolved to go to untill this Morning a S. W. Wind changed his Resolution. The first 12 or 14 Days of our Passage we had almost constant Calms & the last Eleven Days we have been in One continued Storm a few Moments Interval excepted.—Our Vessel being well found she has received but little Damage, but I apprehend very great to the Cargo, which our People are now employ'd in Overhauling.

Before you can receive this I imagine my Letter to you P L<sup>t</sup> Pierre w<sup>th</sup> 10 Bbls of Pitch will be got to Hand. I therein gave you every Information I well could, what was short you shall receive herewith in a Letter wrote at N Orleans but which I was fearfull to intrust to those We have but too great Reason to suspect.

Finding L<sup>t</sup> Campbell in Distress at N Orleans & not being able to get from thence I intimated to him that he might now go with Security & upon his being stop'd & ordered from on board the Vessel for the Payment of a protested Bill which either he or M<sup>r</sup> Blouin according to M<sup>r</sup> Marquis Acc<sup>t</sup> has disposed of to two diff<sup>t</sup> Persons. The 2 Bill was paid & the 1<sup>st</sup> returned on the Acc<sup>t</sup> I say L<sup>t</sup> Campbell being stop'd on this Acc<sup>t</sup> I satisfied the holder of the Bill by his Desire & he is now on board with Us. Our old Friend Col. Cole is

also with Us & has this Day for the first Time got out of his Bed to eat his Victuals since the Commencement of the Storm.

Just now in looking over my Papers I laid my Hand on your kind Letter of the 19th of July, which is the Reason of my now & here writing an Answer, taking this further Reason that I shall naturally be taken up on my first Arrival at Philad<sup>a</sup> with the Endearments of my Friends & with rendering an Acc<sup>t</sup> of my Stewardship &c &c.

This moment the S Wester freshens which elates me with the Hopes of seeing Philad<sup>a</sup> before the 1<sup>st</sup> of October—but I fear that the Increase of the Ships Motion & a noisy Dispute between the Col. & Cap<sup>t</sup> will interrupt me before I go on far in Answering your Favour.

I cannot say that that Relation you give of an Assembly of Savages was altogether contrary to my Expectations. But I am still of Opinion that nothing will be executed by them this Year against Us & I would fondly hope that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage will give Col. Wilkins such Aid and Orders as will effectually turn the Situation of Affairs. If not it requires no great Degree of Prophecy to foretell the Consequences. These Things I may not only possibly but probably be mistaken in. I hope that the Arrival of the Spaniards will be of some little Service to Us & certainly will be if they are peaceably disposed. But I assure you M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey that when I retrospect the dangerous Situation We have not only often but constantly been in during our Stay at the Illinois, I feel more pain than I ever experienced during our greatest Troubles & is not a little increased at the Thought of your still greater Hazard during the present Season. However I hope to have more agreeable Intelligence from you before I again embark for the Illinois which I now believe will not be before the 1<sup>st</sup> of Feb<sup>y</sup> next, owing to my long & unexpected Detention at N Orleans—I say hope as it is undoubtedly correspondent with my Desires. Yet I cannot untill then be otherwise than Anxious for you.

I have already inform'd you of M<sup>r</sup> Fagots presenting me with our Bons to the Am<sup>t</sup> of 6000 Livres which had M<sup>r</sup> Baynton been able to have complied with my Request, M<sup>r</sup> Fagot would have been obliged to have returned to our Friend Blouin which would have

rejoiced me not a little to have seen him out Cunning himself. I fear I omitted to furnish you with an Acc<sup>t</sup> of my Demand on him as Bail to Drouard—but as you were acquainted with the Circumstances—I hope he gained no advantage there.

Your Anxiety for the Boats must have soon been over as La Fleur informed me that he met several at the first Island in the Mississippi. I do not perfectly understand you where you say you wish you had known my Sentiments perfectly respecting Noviate & Datchursts. We had several Conversations together respecting them, & as I could not possibly pretend to give Instruction relative to that or any other Affair without being liable to an Error, I chose to submit it as well as every other Matter to Your Discretion & Judgment which I have as full if not a greater Relyance on than my Own were I present without your Aid & Advice. Therefore I all along intended & shall as soon as I arrive at Philad<sup>a</sup>, if an Opportunity Offers before I set out again myself forward you such a Power as I could not possibly before give you. As to M<sup>r</sup> Brown you know he is to enter into no Material Matter without your Advice. Indeed you know he cannot do it & at the same time serve Us.

As to Angellica you may recollect that during the last Visit you favored me with, I concluded from the Motives which were then often repeated, not to dispose of her if conveniently to be avoided. Her Tears, Attachment, & Humanity affected me. But I do assure you M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey I should have thought it no Error had you disposed of her for 200 Livres, Cash with her own Consent—but you know I was offerd that Sum before I cloathed her last, & should have taken it but she was very averse to going—& should I return to the Illinois as I undoubtedly shall, I would not choose to part with her if to be avoided. God only knows whether I shall not yet be obliged to take up my Residence there for Life. But should He on the contrary so prosper our Affairs as to enable me to move in that Sphere my Heart is most inclinable to—It would then be a principal Part of my Happiness to go Hand in Hand & with a Union of Souls with M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey through the different Stages of Life—Enjoying & partaking of each others Bless or Sorrows, Without those anxious Feelings we have hitherto been involved in. And I beg you will not censure me when I tell you that I have sometimes indulged in

flattering myself with several Ideal Schemes to this Effect. Who knows but after so severe a Storm the desirable Calm or moderate Gales may ensue.

By M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup>. Pierre I wrote my Sentiments at full relative to Mess<sup>rs</sup> J. & D.<sup>1</sup>—should anything occur to my Mind before or after my arrival at Philad<sup>a</sup> I will not fail to note it to you. In the Interim I will repeat & further explain part of what I then said if there be still room.

The first Thing I would do would be immediately to procure an Acc<sup>t</sup> Sale from them of such Goods as they may have disposed of & to Whom with the Terms of Sale. This by our first Proposal was to be rendered every 6 M<sup>o</sup> Then should you only imagine it necessary—demand the goods which ought not to be intrusted to them to Send or deliver without being first examin'd. Should any Colour be wanted the Pretence of better Prospect of Sale may be urged &c.&c. M<sup>r</sup>. Brown will furnish you with one or more Copys of the Invoice w<sup>th</sup> the diff<sup>t</sup>. Dates, Agreement &c.

There are several Weighty Matters I long to write to you about, but do not expect to be able to do it even should an Opportunity occur before I myself leave Philad<sup>a</sup> for the Illinois again.<sup>2</sup>

I pray my most respectfull Compliments to Col<sup>l</sup>. Wilkins & to our worthy old Friend M<sup>r</sup>. Huskins. Pray assure him that his little Mem<sup>m</sup>- shall be fully complied with. I am sorry to hear he is so early attacked.

To all others I will beg you to remember me now and on Rec<sup>d</sup>. of other Letters in an Acceptable Manner, As may occur to you without a Repetition of their Names M<sup>r</sup> G M<sup>o</sup>Murrey may be assured of their Orders being obey'd—Likewise M<sup>r</sup> Chapman.

On My Arrival at Philad<sup>a</sup>. I shall be very inquisitive about News, particularly relative to Marriages, Births & Burials—of all which I shall make due Notes & retail out to you on my Return to you in such Manner as not at Once to delay you. I mean if the Seive be not

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to Jennings and Dobson, both of whom were at one time agents of the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in their western activities.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan left the Illinois country the beginning of July, 1769, for a short visit home. He returned the latter part of December, 1769, or the early part of the following year. His first letter upon his return is dated January 28, 1770.

too open or you too inquisitive. Mrs. Morgan will inform Me of such Matters relative to your fair Acquaintance, as they may not perhaps write to you.

Mr. Rigby sees your Letter before me & desires to be remember'd by you. I am my dear Mr Rumsey Most truly & Affectionately Your grateful Friend & humble Servant

G MORGAN

MURRAY TO B. AND M. GRATZ, September 22, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Papers]

KASKASKIAS 22 Sep<sup>r</sup>. '69

GENT.

I came down here to see the Express's Set off &c.—I referr'd writing my private Letters, till I had done the others, and now I can't do it having been for the 6<sup>th</sup> time Attacked with the Accursed Fever and am only just barely able to tell you that I wrote you by 4 or five Men that went from hence in a Canoe, my Letter dated the 6<sup>th</sup>. Instant—I therein wrote you that I rec<sup>d</sup>. the trifling things you sent and my Concern that of every Thing (but the Soap) a much larger qty was not sent as well as the Articles ment<sup>d</sup>. in my sev<sup>l</sup>. former Letters and my last one to L. & T., but there is no help for disappointm<sup>ts</sup>—I could have made you Remittances before the Goods produced them—I hope you have rec<sup>d</sup>. a Dft by Mr. Morgan for £235000<sup>d</sup> before now—In my last I desired you sh<sup>d</sup>. pay Cap<sup>ts</sup>. Thompson & Callender ab<sup>t</sup>. £40 tho' a part of the same due to Cameron as he alleges is not just. I shall, if I [*MS. illegible*] make him blush if shame has not left him, this Request I now repeat, but let Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Ross & Cameron of Lancaster prove their Acco<sup>ts</sup>—pray attend to that—On the 6<sup>th</sup> Inst. I wrote to the foll<sup>g</sup>. Gent viz<sup>t</sup>.

Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Callendar  
Thompson  
Roker—  
Murphy  
Simon—  
&  
Burke

Pray tell them as you see them, that Noth<sup>g</sup>. but my inability to write in Sickness prevents my writing now. Green & Bohea Teas much

wanted [*MS. illegible*] Why did you not send me some Good Spirits, Suggar, Tea, Port Wine (if possible) and some little [*MS. illegible*] for my own use—I'm sure M<sup>r</sup>. Franks w<sup>d</sup>. have advanced the Money; I should be unhappy if I thought that your not sending these Things & the Goods I wrote for was owing to any diffidence of me, in any Shape—I must go to Bed & Sweat; God Bless you! and believe me to be with the most perfect esteem & regard

Dr. Sirs Yours sincerely

W MURRAY

[*Addressed*] To  
Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Bar<sup>d</sup>. & Michael  
Gratz Merch<sup>ts</sup>.  
Philad<sup>a</sup>

M. GRATZ TO B. GRATZ, September 29, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1769

MY DEAR BERNARD

I happily was handed with your agreeable fav<sup>r</sup>. of the 26<sup>th</sup> July which afords us all great Satisfaction in hearing the safe arivall with your good Company I wrote the Contence of yours in regard M<sup>r</sup> M. Hays' Bill on M<sup>r</sup> Milligan which is since Come back Protested but as he is at R Island, have not mentioned any thing to him tell he returns to N. York. when shall go there and try to secure the whole. if possably Can of what Successfull in Collecting our debts. M<sup>r</sup>. Callender P<sup>d</sup> about £ 120 and that is the most that was receiv'd Since your gone Except of Joseph Simons who assisted us much Ells should not know what to do M<sup>r</sup>. Heart is as bad as Ever See no great alteration, or Prospect so that shall Decline of Sending any more on C There hope to receive 30 Hhdd<sup>s</sup> of n. E Rum from Boston of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Hays and Polock who assur'd me of having them or more Soon which wish may Come to hand, as would answer The Present Purpose have as yet not finished of sending the Coffee mills to vendue but shall not fail Finishing. and Sending the sales with the neet Proceeds, as soon as Possable hope you will be able to Settle some buisiness with Mess<sup>rs</sup> Edman Boehm & Son in regard of the German Trade Such as Syths Long Straw Cutting Knives steel Brass, stones Iron Plate 16 and 17 Inches Broad as there may be

good returns made for them Soon and to advantage also, if even to begin with a small Cargo, or adventur at first. of them think Could not miss. of a proffit, am not doubtfull by now that very thing is Fixed in regard your Expectation that side the water. and know what determin'd on which Expect you have menti'd to me in this, will reach your hands am told that the People here will Get there Goods out the store, that was imported after the Agreement, which indeed Some has got them which insisted on have<sup>s</sup>. tho Little particularise'd on the affairs however as the Expect the acts will be repealed, think the resolution of storing Goods will be over Satt Soon now and no Doubt Fresh orders gone by this vessel, so think there will be no more risque of Shipping Goods by any vessel hereafter as one or the other will give up, this Day receivd a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup>. Murray of the Illinois with one Inclosed Bill for £234 on Mess<sup>rs</sup> Levy & Franks, he seems to Expect a Cargo of Goods on our Joint Aco<sup>t</sup>. and will be much Disspleased, of finding the disappointment there in by his writing tho have menti'd to him in my Last the reason. and shall write him again by first Opp<sup>y</sup>. and send a small asortment of Goods if to be had; as Find the Indians &<sup>e</sup> all Satisfy'd again at present receiv'd also a second Letter of Col<sup>l</sup>. Croghan who Expects to be here in Octo<sup>br</sup>. and pay for the Goods he had, which wish may be true, Find the Sales of M<sup>r</sup> Callenden Deer Skins Acc<sup>ts</sup>. from Mildred & Roberts are Come here where Find he makes about £256 this Curr<sup>cy</sup>. neet Proceeds of tho no Doubt you have bin with them, and hope get a Little acquainted with them, which may be of Service some time hereafter if not at Present. Since my last by Cap<sup>n</sup> Friend see that M<sup>r</sup>. Jacob Polock is arrived to n. Port with a Large Cargo of Dry Goods in Boston, unmolasted which will be the same here have deliver'd all your messages in Town & Country to your Friends shall Try of send<sup>s</sup>. you Some more Bills by next Packet, as cannot do it by this opp<sup>y</sup>. as no small bills to be had tho Exch<sup>s</sup> 52½ 3/4 C<sup>t</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter ends thus.

GIBAULT TO BRIAND [October, 1769]

[A.A.,Q., Mission des Illinois, 23]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Je vous écris du poste Vincennes ou je suis depuis trois semaines si occupé que je ne sçai si je pourai me recueillir un peu pour vous marquer, après mes très humbles respects rendu, tout ce que, dans différents tems, j'avois projeté de vous écrire selon que je découvrois de plus pressens besoins. Votre lettre, malgré l'entière soumission ou je suis à tout ce que vous m'ordonnez, m'a tellement surprise et accablée qu'elle m'a mise à deux doigts du tombeau peut-être par mon tempérament qui me rend extraordinairement sensible aux reproches que j'ay faits mon possible d'éviter, peut-être aussi par l'amour de la liberté qui se trouve limitée par l'obéissance. Quoyqu'il en soit, après trois semaines d'une dure et violente maladie heureusement pour moy un habil chirurgien a connu ma maladie que je ne connoissois pas moy même et y a porté remède. Depuis donc le 28 octobre que la fièvre m'a entièrement laissée j'ay tellement employé ma bonne santé au salut de mes frères que je n'ay pas couché quatre nuits dans mon lit.

[*Translation*]

MY LORD,

I am writing to you from Post Vincennes, where I have been for the past three weeks, so occupied that I do not know whether I shall be able to collect myself a little in order to note down for you, after having rendered my very humble respects, all that, at different times, I had planned to write to you according as I discovered the most pressing needs. Your letter, in spite of my entire submission to everything which you command me, so surprised and overwhelmed me that it put me at death's door, perhaps because of my temperament, which makes me unusually sensitive to reproaches which I have done my best to avoid, perhaps also because of love of liberty which finds itself limited by obedience. However that may be, after three weeks of a severe and violent sickness, luckily for me a skillful surgeon recognized my malady, which I did not know myself, and hit upon a remedy for it. Since then, the twenty-eighth of October, when the fever entirely left me, I have so employed my good health for the benefit of my brethren that I have not slept in my bed for four nights. Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis in the Spanish territory, where the governor is



Ste Geneviève, St Louis dans la partie espagnole ou le gouverneur est même charmé que j'aïlle pour y entretenir les esprits dans la paix, les Kaskakias, les Cahos, et présentement le poste Vincennes ou j'ay trouvé la religion presque éteinte, m'ont fourni une ample carrière à exercer le zèle que vous me recommandez d'avoir pour mes chers frères, Je me compte presque seul car le R. père Lemeurin est hors d'état depuis l'automne de sortir de chez luy, tant par la vieillesse dont il est bien cassé, que par plusieurs cheutes dangereuses dans des routes difficiles dont la pesanteur de son corps et la foiblesse de ses jambes ne le peuvent pas préserver. il a même beaucoup d'absence d'esprit, il m'a même dit luy même que presque toutes les fois qu'il dit la Ste messe il est obligé de reconsacrer sous condition jusqu'à plusieurs fois ne se pouvant pas ressouvenir s'il a consacré ou non. Vous voyez par là que je suis presque seul, excepté le bonheur de me confesser quand je passe ou que je vas exprès chez luy. Je souhoiterois monseigneur, que vous fussiez ou plutot que vous connussiez comme je le vois de mes propres yeux le besoin de missionnaires qu'ont ces pauvres

[*Translation*]

greatly pleased that I go to keep souls in peace; Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and at present the Post Vincennes, where I found religion nearly extinct—all these have furnished me an ample field to exercise the zeal which you recommend me to have for my dear brethren. I count myself almost alone, for the Rev. Father Meurin has been unable since fall to leave home, as much because of old age, by which he is weakened, as because of several dangerous falls in the difficult roads, from which the heaviness of his body and the weakness of his legs cannot preserve him. He is also very often absent-minded; he has even told me himself that almost every time he says the holy Mass he is obliged to perform the consecration over conditionally several times, not being able to remember whether he has consecrated or not. You see by this that I am nearly alone, except for the happiness of confessing [to him] when I pass by, or when I go on purpose to his home. I do wish, my lord, that you were, or rather, that you knew as I see it with my own eyes, the need which these poor abandoned lands have of missionaries, especially this post from which I am writing to you. After nearly seven years that it has been deprived of priests, everything is lax, and

pais abandonnez, surtout ce poste cy ou je vous écris. Depuis bientôt sept ans qu'il est dépourvu de prêtres tout s'est relâché, le libertinage et l'indévotion s'y sont introduit; cependant à mon arrivée tout le monde est venu en foule me recevoir au bord de la rivière ouabache, les uns se jettoient à genoux sans pouvoir parler, les autres ne parloient qu'en sanglottant, les uns crioient, mon père sauvez nous, nous sommes presque dans l'enfer, les autres disoient, Dieu ne nous a donc pas encore abandonné, car c'est luy qui vous envoie vers nous pour nous faire faire pénitence de nos péchés, Les uns disoient, ah Mr que n'êtes vous venu il y a un mois ma pauvre femme, mon cher père, ma chère mère, mon pauvre enfant ne seroit pas mort sans sacrement: ah monseigneur que ne ressentez-vous ce que je ressenti dans ce moment à la vue de cette partie de votre troupeau sans pasteur, exposé à toute la fureur du loup infernal, vous troubleriez bientôt la douce sécurité de plusieurs prêtres du Canada qui n'ont qu'une petite paroisse à desservir. Oui, monseigneur, je suis un misérable, indigne du sacerdoce et de la dignité dont vous m'avez honoré, j'en étois bien convaincu même avant les reproches de votre lettre qui ne me fait

[*Translation*]

free thinking and irreverence have come in; nevertheless, upon my arrival all the people came in crowds to receive me at the shore of the Wabash river. Some threw themselves on their knees without being able to speak, others spoke only with sobs; some cried, "My father, save us, we are at the edge of hell;" others said, "God has not forsaken us yet, for it is He who sends you to us to make us repent of our sins." Some said, "Oh sir, why did you not come a month ago? Then my poor wife, my dear father, my dear mother, my poor child would not have died without the Sacrament." Alas, my lord, that you do not feel what I felt at that moment, on seeing this part of your flock without a shepherd, exposed to the whole fury of the infernal wolf; you would soon trouble the sweet security of many priests in Canada who have only a small parish to serve. Yes, my lord, I am a wretch, undeserving of priesthood and of the dignity with which you have honored me—I was well convinced of that even before the reproaches in your letter, which shows me only a part of my faults—but I find in spite of that, that my lot ought to be envied,

voir qu'une partie de mes fautes, mais je trouve malgré cela que mon sort doit être envié, qu'il est heureux et préférable à toutes les douceurs d'une cure du Canada. Que de plaisir pour moy de tacher de réparer un tems si mal employé dans ma jeunesse par les occasions que Dieu m'offre de le mieux employer. tout ce qui me fait peine c'est que je ne puis voyager sur tous vers ces endroits sans être exposé à tout moment à avoir la chévelure levée par les sauvages. Vingt deux hommes ont été tué, ou pris, qui pis est, car ils sont brulé, sur le chemin ou je viens de passer depuis que je suis aux Illinois, mais dans différents tems. aussi ai-je parti malgré tout mon village qui plusieurs fois s'est assemblé pour mettre opposition à mon départ, j'ai cependant par prudence pris dix hommes avec moy et j'en auray vingt pour m'en retourner. Je fais rétablir en neuf l'église de ce poste qui sera de bois, mais bien élevée et fort propre, il y a un presbytère assez grand, un beau verger, un jardin et une belle terre au profit du curé qui vivroit gracieusement. il n'y a que 80 habitants qui sèment, mais il y a beaucoup de gens de tout métier, beaucoup de jeunes gens qui s'établissent tous les jours. il y a en tout 7 à 8 cent personnes, qui désirent tous

[*Translation*]

that it is a happy one and to be preferred to all the comforts of a benefice in Canada. What a pleasure it is for me to try to repair a time so ill employed in my youth by the opportunities which God offers me for employing it better. All that grieves me is that I cannot travel to all these places without being liable at any moment to be scalped by the savages. Twenty-two men have been killed, or captured, which is worse, for they are burned, on the road I passed over, since I have been in Illinois, but at different times. So when I went away, it was in spite of my village, which several times assembled itself to oppose my departure. I took, however, for prudence, ten men with me, and I shall have twenty to go back. I am having the church of this post rebuilt of wood, but it is well put up and very neat; there is a rather large parsonage-house, a beautiful orchard, a garden, and good ground for the benefit of the curé, who could live there comfortably. There are only eighty men who sow, but there are many people of all trades, and many young people who are taking up residence every day. There are in all from seven to eight hundred

d'avoir un curé. ce poste se peupleroit bien vite s'il y avoit un missionnaire. Je ne trouve point décidé dans les synodes du diocèse si un homme possédant un banc dans l'église venant à mourir et sa femme se remariant conservoit la propriété du banc ou s'il doit être vendu après le second mariage de cette veuve. Je l'ay vu faire en Canada, mais icy on m'en a fait difficulté, je vous supplie de m'indiquer ce qui en est. Je vous redemande encore la permission de biner dans le cas de nécessité, dont je sens le besoin fort souvent, je vous promets de n'en jamais abuser. Le père Lemeurin vouloit que nos lettres nous en donnassent le pouvoir, ainsi que de faire des Ste huilles, je prendrois son sentiment pour une absence d'esprit s'il ne me le repettoit pas toutes les fois que nous nous voyons. Je serois fâché qu'on me soupçonnât d'avoir ces idées et je l'en détourne autant que je peux, c'est pour cela qu'il vous avoit demandé un pontifical. Dieu a touché et éclairé une famille angloise dans ce poste qui étoit presbytérienne, ils étoient tous fort bien instruits, sachant lire et écrire, je les ai beaucoup questionné et interrogé je les éprouve encore ils se plaignent et

[*Translation*]

persons who desire to have a priest. This post would become very quickly populated if it had a missionary. I have not found the point decided in the synods of the diocese, whether, if a man owning during his lifetime a pew in the church, should die and his widow remarry, the widow should retain the ownership of the pew or whether it should be sold after the second marriage of this widow. I have seen it done in Canada, but here difficulties have been made for me; I beg you to indicate to me what is proper. I ask you again for permission to say mass twice a day in case of necessity, the need of which I very often feel; I promise you never to abuse this permission. Father Meurin desired that our letters should give us this power, as well as that to make holy oil; I should take his opinion as a proof of his absent-mindedness if he did not repeat it to me every time that we see each other. I should be sorry if any one should suspect me of having these ideas, and I turn him away from it as much as I can; it is on this account that he has asked you for a pontifical. God has touched and enlightened an English family in this post who were Presbyterians; they were all very well educated, knowing how to

pleurent toutes les fois que je les remets, ils se sont confessé, je les ai fait résoudre sans peine à faire l'abjuration publique des erreurs de leur secte, cependant je n'ay pas jugé à propos de la leur faire faire dans la crainte de faire tort à la religion, je ne sçai si j'ay bien ou mal fait, je vous prie de me marquer ce que je feray à l'avenir dans pareille occasion. Vous aurez seurement été surpris de ce que je ne suis pas resté au Cahos sur le bien des Mrs du Séminaire, je vous en ai déjà dis quelques raisons,<sup>1</sup> et jusqu'à nouvel ordre de votre part, je ne vois pas que rien me convie d'y rester. Imment ce n'est plus rien que ce village en comparaison des Kaskakias. D'ailleurs il est éloigné de tout autre et par conséquent je ne serois utile qu'à ce seul village et trop séparé des autres pour les secourir. en outre vous aviez répondu au placet des habitants des Kaskakias porté par Mr Lemoine Despins, vous marquiez au R. p. Lemeurin que vous envoyez un missionnaire en conséquence de la demande qu'on vous en avoit fait et c'étoient les habitants des Kas qui avoient fait cette demande, et le R. P. Lemeurin

[*Translation*]

read and write. I have questioned and examined them very much and I am still testing them. They groan and cry every time that I set them right. They have confessed. I persuaded them without difficulty to make a public renunciation of the errors of their sect; nevertheless I have not found it wise to have them make it, for fear of doing harm to religion; I do not know whether I have done well or not. I ask you to write to me what to do in the future on similar occasions. You must have been surprised that I did not stay at Cahokia on the estate of the members of the Seminary. I have given you already some reasons for my action<sup>1</sup> and until (I receive) new orders on your part, I do not see that there is any inducement for me to stay there. First, it is no more than a village in comparison with Kaskaskia. Furthermore, it is at a great distance from all others and consequently I should be useful to this village alone and too far away from the others to help them. Besides, you answered the petition of the people of Kaskaskias which was carried by M. Lemoine Despins, and you wrote to the Rev. Father Meurin that you would send a missionary in consequence of the request which had been made to you;

<sup>1</sup> These reasons are stated in a letter of February 15, 1769, *ante*, 500.

leur en avoit fait l'annonce. Ce sont eux qui ont fait les frais de mon voyage. Le colonel<sup>1</sup> sans vouloir me contraindre en rien m'a fait voir la nécessité pour le bien public que je demeurasse aux Kas, parce qu'ils ont toujours été la tête du pays, c'est le principal village par les gens d'éducation, de commerce et par les meilleurs habitans, qu'ils ont toujours été remuant et entreprenant et qu'ils avoient besoin d'être contenu, comme me disoit le colonel, par quelqu'un qu'ils aimassent craignissent et respectassent; il me fit voir que le R: P: Lemeurin étoit extraordinairement hai dans ce village et tout à fait non propre à les gouverner, et cela est si vrai qu'ils ne fréquentoient pas les sacremens et ne vouloient pas qu'il vint dans leur village, et il me l'a dit luy même, non qu'ils eussent quelque chose à luy reprocher, mais parce qu'il étoit Jésuite. Au reste que ferois-je aux Kaokias? Je vous l'ai déjà di, le village est petit, et éloigné de tout autre, cette mission si florissante autrefois n'est plus rien, pas un esclave, les moulins sont en ruine les écluses sont emportées par les eaux, les

[*Translation*]

it was the inhabitants of Kaskaskia who made this request and the Rev. Father Meurin announced (your promise) to them. They are the ones who paid the expenses of my journey. The colonel,<sup>1</sup> without wanting to constrain me in anything, made me see that it was necessary for the public welfare that I should stay at Kaskaskia, because it has always been the chief town of the district; [because] it is the principal village by reason of its educated people and its trade and through its having the "best people;" because they have always been stirring and enterprising, and because they needed to be held in check, as the colonel said, by someone whom they loved, feared, and respected. He made me see that the Reverend Father Meurin was especially hated in this village and not at all able to govern them; and this is so true that they did not often go to the Sacraments and did not want him to come into their village—as he has told me himself—not that they had anything to reproach him with, but because he was a Jesuit. Besides, what would I do at Cahokia? I have told you already, the village is small and distant from all others, that mission formerly so flourishing is nothing any more—not a slave; the mills

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Wilkins.

granges sont tombées, le verger faute de cloture a été abimé par les animaux qui ont mangés l'écorce des arbres dans la sève, en un mot il n'y a plus que les quatre murailles de la maison, car la couverture et les planchers n'en valent rien. Bien plus le colonel n'a jamais voulu me permettre de la louer, disant pour raison qu'il la gardoit pour faire des cazerne. il m'a bien lut la lettre de Mr De Carleton<sup>1</sup> à ce sujet, mais il m'a dit qu'il n'avoit aucun ordre à recevoir que de Mr Gage, ainsi il faudroit faire un presbytère ou gagner auprès de Mr Gage cette cause. car aucun des acheteurs n'est en état n'y ne veut s'opposer que les Mrs du Séminaire ne rentrent dans ces biens-fonds mal vendus. ainsi il n'y a d'opposition pour rentrer dans ces biens que de la part des anglois. mais, monseigneur, ce sont vos ordres même qui ont le plus contribué à m'empêcher de rester dans les Kahos, car vous m'ordonnez de tenir la main partout, de veiller aux besoins spirituel des fidels dispersés dans ces cantons, de visiter souvent le champ du père de famille de peur que les mauvaises herbes n'étouffent la bonne

[*Translation*]

are in ruins, the milldams have been carried away by the waters, the barns have fallen, the orchard for lack of a fence has been destroyed by animals, which have eaten the bark off the trees clear to the sap—in a word, only the four walls of the house are left, for the roof and the floors are not worth anything. Furthermore, the colonel never would permit me to rent it, giving as his reason that he was keeping it to make a barracks. He read me the letter of Mr. Carleton<sup>1</sup> on this subject, but he told me that he could take no orders except from Mr. Gage. So it will be necessary to build a parsonage-house or to win over Mr. Gage, for none of the purchasers is in a position, or desires, to oppose (any efforts of) the authorities of the Seminary to recover the improperly sold estate. Thus there is no opposition to the recovery of these estates except on the part of the English. But, my lord, it is your own orders that have contributed most to prevent my staying in Cahokia, for you command me to lend a hand everywhere; to take care of the spiritual needs of the scattered believers in these districts; to visit often the field of the husbandman, for fear that the weeds smother the good seed, or that the enemy sow

<sup>1</sup> Governor Guy Carleton of Canada.

semence, ou que son ennemis n'y mêle de mauvais grain, d'instruire ces pauvres gens qui en ont un extrême besoin, de tacher de faire prendre de bons principes à la jeunesse d'ou dépend le reste de la vie, de déraciner les vices des coeurs et d'y planter la vertu, de n'avoir pour ainsi dire ny feu ny lieu ce que j'ay assez bien observé jusqu'à présent, voila votre intention, et cependant vous me croyez aux Kahos, quant à moy qui suis sur les lieux cela me paroît incompatible en effet un établissement nouveau à faire avec rien, puisque je ne serois seulement pas logé, le soin de rétablir des clotures, des moulins, des granges, des charus, de louer des ouvriers, de veiller sur eux, je suppose que j'eusse le moyen de pouvoir faire tout cela, ce que je ne pourois faire qu'en entrant en négociation avec quelqu'un, ou par quelque commerce, puisqu'à peine pourois-je vivre de la dixme, tout cela me paroît avec raison incompatible avec l'état de missionnaire. S'il y avoit, comme du tems de Mr Forget, 30 esclaves, 2 ou 300 animaux, des boeufs, des charu, des chevaux, des batimens en ordre, des moulins bien réglés, la courre, verger et jardin bien clos, je mettrois quelqu'un

[*Translation*]

tares with it; to instruct these poor people, who need it very much; to try to impress on the youth the good principles on which the rest of life depends; to uproot vices from their hearts and to plant therein virtue; to have, so to speak, neither house nor home—all of which I have well observed hitherto: this is your intention, and yet you believe I should be at Cahokia. As for me who am here on the ground, it seems to me incongruous to make practically a new establishment with nothing—for I should not even be lodged—to take the pains to rebuild the fences, the mills, the barns, and the plows, to hire laborers, and to watch them: I suppose that I should have the means to do all that? I could not do this without entering into negotiations with someone or through some business arrangement, inasmuch as I could hardly live on the tithes; all this seems to me, and rightly so, incompatible with the position of a missionary. If there were, as at the time of M. Forget, thirty slaves, two or three hundred animals, oxen, plows, horses, well-kept buildings, well-regulated mills, the yard, orchard and gardens well enclosed, I should put some person in whom I had confidence at the head of this estate and go about my



de confiance à la tête de ces biens et je ferois mon métier. mais avec rien on ne peut rien. mais, monseigneur, je vous prie surtout d'avoir la bonté de considérer que dans les commencemens de cette mission qu'il y avoit trois prêtres aux Kahos occupés au temporel et au spirituel, il y en avoit un au fort de Chartres, 7 Jésuites aux Kaskakias qui deservoient les villages voisins, 1 au poste Vincennes, 1 à michillimakinac, 1 à St Joseph encore se pleignoient-ils tous qu'ils ne pouvoient subvenir à tout; et présentement que je suis seul, puisque le père meurin ne peut plus voyager, que le monde est considérablement augmenté, que puis-je faire pour le bien des fidels même en me donnant tout entier à eux, et si je suis occupé à la réparation de cette mission je ne le pourai point du tout. en un mot ou je dois être entrepreneur et piqueur pour trouver des ressources pour relever les ruines des biens des messieurs du Séminaire, supposé que les anglois le veulent, ou que je sois missionnaire dégagé de tout autre soins pour ne m'occuper que du bien spirituel des fidels. Au reste, monseigneur, je vous supplie de croire que je vous parle sans prévention, il m'est égal de rester aux

[*Translation*]

profession. But with nothing one can do nothing. But, my lord, I ask you especially to have the goodness to consider that at the founding of this mission, when there were three priests at Cahokia occupied with temporal and spiritual matters, one at Fort de Chartres, seven Jesuits at Kaskaskia, who officiated in the neighboring villages, one at Post Vincennes, one at Michillimakinac, and one at St. Joseph—even then they all complained that they could not care for all; and now that I am alone—since Father Meurin cannot travel any more—now that the people are considerably increased, what can I do for the good of the believers even if I give myself entirely to them? and if I were to be occupied with the repairing of this mission, I could not do it at all. In a word, either I must be contractor and whipper-in to find resources to restore the ruins of the estate of the members of the Seminary, assuming that the English are willing, or I shall be a missionary, freed from all other cares in order to occupy myself only with the spiritual welfare of the faithful. Furthermore, my lord, I entreat you to believe that I speak to you without prejudice; it is a matter of indifference to me whether I stay at Kaskaskia, at Post Vincennes,

Kas, aux Kahos, au poste Vincennes, ou en tout autre endroit que vous jugerez à propos m'indiquer, tout m'est indifférent, excepté de vous obéir, mais j'ay cru nécessaire de vous faire connoître les raisons qui m'ont obligées de me choisir un village ou je fusse tranquille, et à portée de secourir tout le monde, de n'être occupé que du ministère, comme je suis à même de voir sur les lieux ce qui me semble être pour le mieux j'ay cru vous devoir le marquer, c'est à vous à voir si je ne me suis pas abusé et à me marquer ce que vous jugerez à propos, je vous assure et vous jure de vous obéir en tout point sur ce que vous m'ordonnerez sur cette lettre. pour le mariage que vous me marquez avoir fait contre les ordres de la couronne à Michillimakinac, j'ignorois entièrement ces deffenses mais je voudrois qu'on empêchat plutôt les commerces illicites des françois avec les sauvagesses, car les enfants qui naissent de ces commerces ne sont pas moins nuisibles à l'état que ceux qui naissent en légitime mariage. pour ce qui regarde ma mère et ma soeur, je puis vous dire que six jours avant de partir de montréal je ne sçavois pas qu'elles voulussent venir avec moy au

[*Translation*]

at Cahokia, or at some other place you think best to indicate for me—all is immaterial to me, except to obey you; but I believed it necessary to let you know the reasons which prompted me to choose a village where I could be quiet, and near enough to help everybody, and be occupied only with the ministry. As I am in a position to see, here on the spot, what seems to be for the best, I thought it wise to point it out to you. It is for you to decide if I have done ill, and to point out to me what you think best. I assure you and swear to you that I will obey you in everything which you command me on receipt of this letter. As for the marriage which you point out to me as having been made against the orders of the crown at Michillimakinac, I was entirely ignorant of these prohibitions, but I should prefer that the illicit intercourse of the French with the Indian women be stopped, for the children who are born of such intercourse are no less injurious to the state than those who are born in legal wedlock. As regards my mother and sister, I can tell you that six days before I left Montreal I did not know that they wanted to come with me; on the contrary, my mother said to me when I went to see her that her age, and even

contraire ma mère m'avoit dit en passant chez elle que son âge et encore plus sa volonté n'étoit pas de laisser son pays, mais je n'ay pu me résoudre à renvoyer ma chère mère qui vint me trouver à montréal me disant qu'elle iroit à l'autre bout du monde avec moy plutot que de rester dans son viel age à la mercy des uns et des autres, et si je suis coupable en ce point bien des curés de votre diocèse qui ont chez eux de jeunes personnes extrangères le sont bien plus que moy; il est vray qu'ils ne sont pas exposés comme moy à tant de voyages et de dégagement d'ambaras de ménage, aussi n'ai-je ma mère et ma soeur avec moy que pour ne m'en pas mêler, autrement je serois obligé de me mettre en pension ou je serois obliger d'être exposé à voir et entendre bien des choses que je ne vois n'y n'entends chez moy, D'ailleurs ma mère et ma soeur ont un appartement attenant au presbytère ou elles sont séparées, et d'ou je ne suis pas à portée d'être interrompu ou distrait de celles qui peuvent venir les visiter, seul inconvénient qui peut, selon St augustin, empêcher un prêtre d'avoir ses proches parentes chez luy. le R. p. Lemeurin qui les connoit et

[*Translation*]

more her will, were against her leaving her country. But I was not able to make up my mind to send back my dear mother, who came to find me at Montreal, saying that she would go to the other end of the world with me rather than stay in her old age at the mercy of this one and the other; and if I am culpable in this point, many priests of your diocese who have with them strange young girls are much more culpable than I. It is true that they are not liable like myself to so many journeys and to the necessity of ridding themselves of household encumbrances; but on the contrary do I not have my sister and my mother with me only so that I need not bother myself about household matters? Otherwise I should be obliged to go boarding where I should have to be exposed to seeing and hearing many things which I neither see nor hear in my home. Besides, my mother and my sister have lodging adjacent to the parsonage-house, where they are off by themselves, and to which I am not near enough to be interrupted or distracted by those who may come to see them, the only inconvenience which can, according to St. Augustine, prevent a priest from having his near relatives with him. The Rev. Father

les dirige me trouve fort heureux de les avoir. au reste je ne suis pas d'humeur à me laisser gouverner par elles en ce qui regarde mon devoir, et j'ay dis cecy si peu pour me justifier que vous n'avez qu'à parler je suis prêt de les renvoyer en Canada ou quelque'autre endroit qu'il vous plaira, vous êtes mon évêque je suis tout à vous, je ne reconnois que vous, et je mettrai toujours toute ma gloire, mon honneur et mon devoir à vous obéir ponctuellement en tout ce qu'il vous plaira de m'ordonner. J'ay eu trop de déplaisir de votre dernière lettre pour m'en attirer une seconde semblable. pour ce qui regarde les commandants de ces lieux je n'ay qu'à m'en louer, ils m'ont offert tout ce qu'ils étoient en état de faire tant pour ce qui regardoit ma personne en particulier, que pour ce qui regardoit l'Eglise et la religion; avec toute cette bonne intelligence je ne les fréquente que quand la civilité le requiert, tant il est vray que je n'ay mangé que deux fois chez le gouverneur depuis que je suis dans les Illinois. Vous voyez, monseigneur, qu'un missionnaire au Cahos, ou en quelque'autre village des Illinois sera bientôt nécessaire puisque le R. p. Lemeurin n'est plus en état de rien faire et va manquer au 1er jour ou par la

[*Translation*]

Meurin, who knows them and is their spiritual advisor, thinks me very fortunate to have them. However, I am not disposed to be governed by them in what concerns my duty, and I have said this little merely to justify myself. You have only to say so, and I am ready to send them back to Canada or any other place you like; you are my bishop and I am entirely at your disposal: I recognize only you, and I shall always find all my glory, honor, and duty in obeying you precisely in everything it shall please you to command me. I had too much sorrow from your last letter to bring on myself a second like it. In regard to the commandants here, I have only praise for them; they have done everything in their power for me, as much for me personally as for the church and religion. But with all these pleasant relations, I visit them only when civility requires it; so true is this, that I have eaten only twice at the governor's since I came to Illinois. You see, my lord, that a missionary at Cahokia or in some other village of Illinois will soon be necessary, since the Reverend Father Meurin is no longer able to do anything and will fail ere long,

mort ou par la perte de l'esprit, car pour rester seul c'est à quoy je ne sçaurois me résoudre, je ne suis point inpeccable, et jamais je ne croirois, si je péchois mortellement, pouvoir assez compter sur ma contrition, hors le cas d'une extrême nécessité, pour faire aucune fonction sacrée, c'est à quoy toute la théologie ne sçauroit m'engager. il est vray que je n'aurois que 300 lieues pour aller au Détroit, et c'est ce qui ne me couteroit pas beaucoup si les chemins étoient libres, mais ils sont remplis de sauvages ennemis, dont ce seroit un miracle de se préserver sans une forte escorte que je serois hors d'état d'avoir. Je veux vous prévenir que quand je sors pour quelque voyage je suis toujours armé de mon fusil et de 2 pistolets, dans l'intention d'empêcher qu'on ne m'attaque, étant vu si bien armé, les sauvages ne craignant rien tant que de perdre un des leurs, et même dans l'intention de me deffendre si j'étois attaqué. Je conviens que si c'étoit pour la religion, par ce que je suis prêtre, ou pour tout autre raison qui discernat mon ministère, mon caractère, mes fonctions, ma religion ou ma personne je conviens, dis-je, qu'alors je ne devrois pas me deffendre,

[*Translation*]

either through death or through loss of his mind; for I could not persuade myself to stay alone. I am not sinless, and I would never believe that, if I sinned mortally, I could rely sufficiently on my contrition, except in the case of an extreme necessity, to perform any sacred function; the whole theology could not induce me to do this. It is true that I should have only seven hundred and fifty miles to go to Detroit, and it would not cost me a great deal if the roads were free, but they are filled with hostile savages, to protect oneself from whom would be a miracle without a strong escort which I am unable to obtain. I want to inform you that when I go on a journey I am always armed with my gun and two pistols, with the intention of preventing my being attacked, being seen to be so well armed—the savages fearing nothing so much as to lose one of their number—and also with the intention of defending myself should I be attacked. I admit that if it were for religion, because I am a priest, or for any other reason which distinguishes my office, my character, my functions, my religion, or my person—I admit, I say, that I should not defend myself then; but a miserable barbarian who seeks only to

mais un misérable barbare qui ne cherche qu'à assouvir sa barbarie, qui n'en veut qu'à ma chevelure, qui également fera la crinière à mon cheval et à moy, ou qui me fera bruler à petit feu s'il me prend en vie, par le seul plaisir de me voir souffrir, qui me fera manger ma propre chair après avoir fait rotir quelque partie de mon corps, un tel barbare voudra me faire de telles cruautés pour de tels motifs et il faudra tout souffrir sans me deffendre? il faudra donc aussi me laisser dévorer par un tigre ou par tout autre animal qui souvent attaque les hommes dans ces pays car il ne paroît pas plus dans ce sauvage qu'il y ait de la raison que dans cette brute. Votre décision seule peut me faire changer de sentiment; car par moy même je ne suis seulement pas dans le doute. Je vous dirai, monseigneur, sans prévention mais pour vous dire la vérité, que le père Lemeurin a beaucoup de difficultés et de contradictions avec presque tous les villages par la seule raison qu'il est jésuite. on luy reproche beaucoup qu'il est avarre, mais je crois que ce n'est qu'un prétexte pour en dire du mal de luy; les Jésuites autrefois tous puissans dans ces pays ont faits faire par la justice séculière bien des punitions, beaucoup payer

[*Translation*]

gratify his barbarism, who only wants my scalp, who would as soon take my hair as that of my horse, or who would slowly burn me alive just for the pleasure of seeing me suffer, who would make me eat my own flesh after having roasted some part of my body—if such a barbarian should want to inflict such cruelties on me for such motives, ought I to have to suffer everything without defending myself? Then I ought also to allow myself to be devoured by a tiger or by any other animal which often attacks men in this country, for it does not seem as if the savage has any more reason than that brute. Your decision alone can make me change my opinion; as for myself, I am not in any doubt about it. I want to tell you, my lord, without prejudice, but in order to tell you the truth, that Father Meurin has many difficulties and contradictions with pretty nearly all the villages, for the sole reason that he is a Jesuit. They reproach him for being miserly, but I believe it is only a pretext to speak ill of him; the Jesuits, formerly all-powerful in this country, have caused the secular justice to inflict many punishments, and to exact many

d'amende, élevé beaucoup de procès; il y a beaucoup de libelles répandus contre les jésuites, tout cela aliène les esprits et les indispose contre ce bon père bien mal à propos. il luy est expressément deffendu d'aller sur la partie espagnole, et le commendant en chef m'a même dit que ses ordres étoient si positifs que s'il étoit obligé de le rencontrer sur les terres espagnoles il l'enviroit pieds et mains liés la nouvelle orléans, il a été contraint de se retirer dans un des plus petits villages et même plusieurs de son village viennent à confesse à moy. il a fait beaucoup de trein pour ce que vous luy marquez que point de dixmes point de sacrements. quand à moy pas un seul n'a manqué à me payer la dixme dans quelqu'endroit que ce soit et cependant je n'ay pas dit un mot pour cela. pauvres et riches, bons et mauvais personne n'a asez retardé pour m'obliger à la leur demander. selon les raisons que m'ont données ceux que j'ay repris de ne pas donner la dixme au dt père, j'ai compris qu'il s'engage après avoir assemblé les habitans à passer trois mois, quatre, cinq mois chez eux moyennant qu'ils luy payeront la dixme, il se trouve après hors d'état de tenir sa parole par ses infirmités les habitans de leur côté se croient ainsi dégagé de payer

[*Translation*]

finer, and have started many lawsuits; there are many libels spread against the Jesuits—all this alienates souls and estranges them from this good Father. He has been expressly forbidden to go to Spanish side, and the commandant-in-chief has even told me that his orders were so positive that should he meet him on Spanish ground he would send him bound hand and foot to New Orleans. He has been forced to withdraw into one of the smallest villages, and several even of his village come to confession to me. He has tried very hard to have you write him, "No tithes, no Sacraments." As for me, no one has failed to pay me the tithes anywhere, and yet I never said a word about it. Poor and rich, good and bad, nobody has been so much in arrears that I had to ask for them. According to the reasons which those gave me whom I reprimanded for not giving the tithes to the said Father, I understand that he promises, after he has assembled the inhabitants, that he will pass three, four, or five months with them, provided that they will pay him the tithes; he then finds himself unable to keep his word on account of his infirmities, and the

la dixme, pour moy excepté le village ou je demeure qui de droit me paye exactement la dixme, je ne demande pas un sol, je fais tout mon possible pour instruire leurs enfants, je leurs recommande de venir me chercher d'abord qu'ils auront quelque malade je marche de jour et de nuit également et je leur donne trois semaines ou un mois pour les pâques; je fais paroître tant de déintéressement qu'ils en ont honte, et ils se sont assemblés pour me prier de recevoir leurs dismes. alors je les ai fait ressouvenir qu'ils diroient de moy ce qu'ils disoient du père meurin je leurs ai faits voir leur fautes, après bien des instances j'ay accepté la bonne volonté des habitans de Ste Geneviève sur la partie espagnole, mais j'ay refusé les dismes des Kahos quoyque le père meurin n'est pas pu leur tenir parole Je leur ai faits voir que ce n'étoit pas sa mauvaise volonté, mais Dieu qui luy envoyoit des maladies. ma raison est que je ne veux que vivre et m'entretenir et j'en ay de reste, et deux prêtres de surplus l'un aux Cahos et l'autre au poste Vincennes, le père Lemeurin et moy nous vivrons encore mieux que les 3 quarts des curés du Canada; il est vray qu'on n'a aucune

[*Translation*]

people in their turn think themselves released from paying the tithes. As for me, except the village where I live, which pays me the tithes punctually, according to the law (of the church), I do not ask any money; I do my utmost to teach their children, I ask them to come and get me first if there is a sick person, I go by day and also by night, and I give them three weeks or a month for Easter. I show so much indifference that they are ashamed, and they assembled to beg me to receive their tithes. Then I reminded them that they might say of me what they said of Father Meurin. I made them see their mistakes; after many entreaties I accepted the good-will offering of the people of Ste. Genevieve on the Spanish side, but I refused to accept the tithes from Cahokia, although Father Meurin had not been able to keep his word to them. I showed them that it was not ill-will on his part, but God who had sent him these diseases. My reason is that I wish only to live and sustain myself; and I have enough left over for two more priests, one at Cahokia and one at Post Vincennes. Father Meurin and I live even better than three fourths of the curés in Canada. It is true that one has none of the luxuries of life, but one



douceur pour la vie, mais on y a le solide qui est ce qu'il faut pour des missionnaires qui ne douilletent point et qui fatiguent beaucoup. Je vous dis encore que je n'ay pas d'attache dans un endroit plus que dans un autre et que si vous envoyez quelqu'un il pourra bien choisir le village qu'il voudra ou que vous voudrez luy indiquer, pourvû qu'il y en ait un aux Kas pour les raisons que je vous ai déjà dites. il y a bien huit jours que j'ay commencé cette lettre, elle est longue et sans suite, cependant je ne crois pas vous avoir dit ce que j'avois projeté de vous marquer. Je le feray dans un tems ou j'auray plus de repos je ne sçay quand je le trouveray. pour celle cy l'occasion me force à la conclure et je ne puis mieux le faire qu'en assurant Votre Grandeur que je suis et seray toute ma vie avec un très profond respect obéissance et soumission

son très humble très soumis et très obéissant serviteur

GIBAULT, Ptre.

[*Translation*]

has the substantials, which is all that is necessary for missionaries, who are not at all effeminate and who labor much. I tell you again that I am no more attached to one place than to another, and that if you send someone he can just as well choose the village he wants or which you wish to indicate for him, provided that there is someone at Kaskaskia, for the reasons I have already told you. It is surely a week since I started this letter, and it is long and without connection; and yet I do not believe that I have said what I intended to tell you. I shall do it some day when I have more rest—I do not know when I shall find it. As for this present letter, I am forced to bring it to a close, and I cannot do it better than to assure Your Grace that I am and will be all my life, with very profound respect, obedience, and submission,

Your very humble, very submissive, and very obedient servant,

GIBAULT, priest.

GIBAULT TO BRIAND [no date]

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, 13]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Je vous ai consulté ainsi que Mr votre grand vicaire sur plusieurs cas tant publics qu'occultes, tant par écrit que de vive voix. Je vous ai demandé si un jeune homme marié par devant un commandant anglois d'un poste sauvage, avec une infidèle sauvagesse non baptisée, étoit bien marié. Vous m'avez répondu que non et que la loix angloise admettoit comme la notre l'empêchement de *cultus disparitas*. Cet homme n'avoit prit cette pauvre infidèle que parce qu'elle avoit 5 ou 6 mil livres qu'il a employé à racommoder ses affaires, ensuite il l'a chassé. plusieurs autres circonstances qu'on sçai sur les lieux, plusieurs autres cas que je ne puis dire m'ont persuadé qu'étant assez riche, ce n'étoit pas trop de luy dire de donner 2 cens piastres tant comme restitution que comme aumône et que s'étoit votre intention. Comme j'étois monté sur ses canots de Montréal je luy ai rabattu 600ll, c'étoit donc encore 600ll qu'il devoit me donner. il me parut fort content de tout cela. Je luy avois dit que sans tant de raisons

[Translation]

MY LORD,

I have consulted you as well as your Grand Vicar about many cases, public and secret, in writing and in conversation. I asked you whether a young man married by an English commandant of an Indian post to an unbelieving and unbaptized Indian woman, is legally wedded. You answered me that such is not the case, and that the English law authorized like ours the objection of *cultus disparitas*. This man only took this poor unbeliever to wife because she had five or six thousand livres, which he used to mend his fortunes; afterwards he turned her out. Several attendant circumstances which are known to one on the ground, and several other circumstances which I cannot tell, have persuaded me that, since he is rich enough, it was not too much to tell him to give two hundred piasters, as much for restitution as for alms, and that this was your intention. Because I came on his canoes from Montreal I gave him a rebate of 600 livres; therefore he still must give me 600 livres. He seemed to me very well satisfied with all this. I had told him that without having so many reasons for getting married, he would not have been allowed to marry

qu'il avoit de se marier, jamais il ne luy auroit accordé de se remarier car les règles de la discipline de l'Eglise s'y opposoient. me fiant sur ces promesses je l'ai marié sans me faire donner les cent piastres. quand je luy ai demandé, il a voulu avoir un reçu comme vous demandiez telle somme, d'un tel pour telles fautes et crimes. J'eue beau luy représenter que ny vous ny moy ne pouvions luy donner un pareil reçu et qu'on ne rendoit pas ainsi des crimes publics, il n'a jamais voulu les donner autrement. après vos réponses en Canada j'avois moy même donné des aumônes assez considérable comme je luy ai que je n'aurois surement pas faites sans croire en être remboursé. Je vous écrit cela par ce qu'il vous écrit. comme il est interprete pour le roy, je ne doute point qu'il n'employe quelque puissance. Je vous supplie de renvoyer toute cette affaire à moy comme votre grand vicaire, et comme ayant connoissance des choses publiques et des ocultes, ou de vous faire payer les cent piastres sans tant de raisonnemens. autrement je n'aurois guères d'autorité dans ces malheureux pays. Je vous promets en même tems que jamais je ne terminerai une affaire sans m'être fait payer ce que j'exigeray. Je

[*Translation*]

again, because the rules of discipline of the church were against it. Relying on his promises, I married him without making him first give me the 100 piasters. When I asked him for them, he wanted a receipt such as you would ask—such a sum from so-and-so for so many sins and crimes. In vain I told him that neither you nor I could give him such a receipt, and that one could not pay so for public sins; but he didn't want to give the piasters otherwise. After your reply from Canada I myself gave as much in alms as is due, as I assuredly should not have done without believing that I should be reimbursed. I am writing you this because he is writing to you. As he is interpreter for the king, I do not at all doubt that he will make use of some influence. I beg you to send this entire matter back to me as your Grand Vicar, and as having knowledge of things both public and secret, or to make him pay you the 100 piasters without any argument. Otherwise I should have scarcely any authority in this wretched land. I promise you at the same time that I shall never again conclude an affair with-

suis et serai toute ma vie, Monseigneur, de votre grandeur le très humble et le très obéissant serviteur

P. GIBAULT, Ptre, missre.

[*Translation*]

out having been paid what I have demanded. I am and shall be all my life, my lord, Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant,

P. GIBAULT, missionary, priest.

GAGE TO HILLSBOROUGH, Octo<sup>r</sup> 7, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5. 87. p. 347—A.L.S.]

(N<sup>o</sup>. 36)

NEW YORK Octo<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup>. 1769

MY LORD,

I have had the honour to receive Your Lordship's Letter N<sup>o</sup>. 22, and shall as Soon as possible put His Majesty's Commands in Execution, concerning the Barracks proposed to be built at Quebec and S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine; and pay due Regard to reducing the immediate Expence of the Buildings, as far as the Consideration of their Durability will permit. The Additional Fortifications at Quebec, being an Object of future Consideration, I apprehend nothing can be proposed in the Interim with regard to the old Works, than to prevent their falling into entire Decay.

Your Lordship has been pleased to transmit me a Copy of Your Letter to Lieutenant Governor Fitzmaurice, together with Copys of Several Letters from the ceded Islands, on the Subject of an Opposition made by the Charibbees, to the Settlement of the Island of S<sup>t</sup>. Vincent. And to Signify His Majesty's Pleasure, that a Body of Troops should be sent from North America, if found Necessary, to protect the Settlers in Said Island from the Insults of those Savages. The King's Intentions on this head are so fully explained in your Lordship's Letters to Lieutenant Governor Fitzmaurice and to me, that I hope to fullfill them to His Majesty's Satisfaction, if M<sup>r</sup>. Fitzmaurice shall find it Necessary to require the Assisstance of any Number of Troops from this Continent.

I am also to acknowledge the Receipt of an Extract of a Letter to your Lordship from Colonel Shirley, Governor of the Bahama Islands, concerning two ruinous Forts in the Island of Providence, and the Necessity of having some Troops sent there to garrison them. Your

Lordship having transmitted me His Majesty's Commands on those two Points, an Engineer shall be ordered to the Island, with Instructions to repair the Forts, and provide them with Stores, as far as the Sum calculated by Governor Shirley for those Ends will admit of; but not to exceed it. And I shall endeavour to Settle with the Governor the Method of Conveying two Companys to Providence, and to regulate the Relief of them at Stated times; as well as the Supplying of them with Bedding, Fuel, and other Barrack Necessarys; that the Legislature of the Island may provide Funds adequate to those Services.

Accounts have been received lately from Pensacola and New-Orleans, of the Arrival of a considerable Body of Spanish Troops in Louisiana under Count O'Reily; to take a Second time Possession of that Province in the Name of the King of Spain. I have the honour to transmit Your Lordship a Copy of a Letter to me from Captain Campbell, Barrack Master of Fort Chartres, which is the most particular, and being wrote from New-Orleans, I also apprehend the most Authentick Account of this Event, of any that has been received here. My Letters from Pensacola from Lieutenant Governor Browne and other People, contain the Reports current at that Place, wherein the Spanish Force appears to be Magnified; and a Declaration of their Apprehensions from the Vicinity of So respectable a foreign Force.

The present Design of the Spaniards in this Armament is visibly to Subdue the Mutinous Spirit of their New Subjects, and to enforce a Submission to their Government; and I trust the People in West-Florida have no Cause to apprehend any immediate Danger to themselves. It is Said they do not mean to keep in the Country all the Forces they have brought, longer than Shall be Necessary to fix their Dominion in it upon a firm Foundation; tho' their Forces must be greatly divided, from the Numerous Detachments they will be obliged to Station, in the Several Posts and Settlements, between the Missouri and the Sea. And it will require time as well as trouble and Expence, before they will reconcile the Indians to their Interests, or conciliate the Affections of the French, who are certainly at present very averse to their Government. We expect great Emigrations from Louisiana into the King's Territorys upon this Return of the Spaniards; which may happen in Some Degree upon various Accounts; but I conceive

Nothing but a very bad Policy in the Spanish Government, can cause the Emigration to be very considerable.

Since my last to your Lordship no Accounts have been received of Indian Commotions, tho' Letters are arrived from Forts Pitt, Chartres and the Detroit. Some Indians have been killed by white People and one of the murtherers is confined in Fort-Pitt; who will be sent down the Country to take his Tryal.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, who commands at the Illinois, writes chiefly on the Subject of the Expences of that Country, and of the Reduction he has made in them; with Assurances of reducing them much lower, now Affairs are put into Some Order. The Expences incurred in that Country for nine Months in Indian Affairs, fitting out an armed Galley to prevent illicit Trade, securing Fort-Chartres from the Floods, Repairs and Works of Defence upon the Expectation of an Indian Rupture, exceed two Thousand Pounds Stirling. A Sum, tho' much Inferior to what was expended in Indian Affairs alone before the Colonel's Arrival at Fort Chartres, is yet too great to be continued, and must be immediately reduced, and Means fallen upon to supply the Fort with many Articles, which cost a most enormous Price when purchased in the Country. Two Persons are confined in Fort-Chartres for Murther, and the Colonel proposes to send them to Philadelphia, above Fifteen Hundred Miles, to take their Tryal. In a Post-script to his Letter, dated 30<sup>th</sup> June,<sup>2</sup> he acquaints me of Intelligence just received from Kahokia, a small Settlement some Leagues above Fort Chartres, that from undoubted Information there was great Danger to be expected from a number of Missouri Indians and nineteen Canoes of Sakis and Reynards. Intelligence of this kind is frequently sent, and tho' very often without Foundation is not to be neglected; for we never can be certain of the Designs of Indians who are dextrous in striking a Severe and Sudden Blow when they are least expected.

It mortifies me to find by Letters from South Carolina and S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine, that the Embarkation of the 9<sup>th</sup>. Regiment has been retarded by Many Wants and Difficultys, tho' chiefly by the want

<sup>1</sup> This action was taken in accordance with the Mutiny Act, March 24, 1765, (printed in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, I.H.C., 10:484.) This and the one mentioned later in the same paragraph, are the only references to the execution of this act which have come under our notice.

<sup>2</sup> This letter has not been found.

of Biscuit. None was to be had in East-Florida, which has caused the Transports to be detained at Charles Town, till the Provision Contractors there could get a Sufficient Quantity of Biscuit baked, to Serve the Troops during their Voyage to Ireland. The Transports were to leave Charles Town before the 10<sup>th</sup>. of September, and if no other Circumstance has happened to detain them longer, the 9<sup>th</sup>. Regiment will be now far on their way home.

I am much concerned to acquaint Your Lordship, that the Assembly of South Carolina has in Some Degree followed the Example of the Assembly of the Massachusett's Bay, by refusing to quarter His Majesty's Forces, in the Manner directed by Act of Parliament; tho' I find the Troops have been Supplied with Bedding utensils and Fuel, at the Expence of the Province. I enclose your Lordship a Copy of a Letter to me from Lieutenant Governor Bull upon this head, and wish this Disobedience to the Mutiny Act may not be followed by other Provinces. They talk publickly of refusing to provide for the Troops in this Province, unless the Lieutenant Governor consents to pass a Bill for emitting Paper Money.

I have the honour to be with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, And most humble Servant,

THO<sup>s</sup>. GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

One of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s principal Secretary's of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York Oct<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>. 1769. Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gage. (N<sup>o</sup>. 36) R/ 12<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. B. 18. Ent<sup>d</sup>.

WILKINS TO BARRINGTON, December 5, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.88, p. 175—E.]

FORT CHARTRES 5<sup>th</sup> December 1769.

As you have enclosed with the Returns (by which your Lordship will find our Loss) a medical Account<sup>1</sup> of the Disorders prevalent, I shall only beg Leave to observe that the Cause thereof proceeds merely (at least principally) from the local Situation of the Garrison, which is surrounded with innumerable extensive & stagnant Lakes or Ponds of Water, and all the adjacent Country low and

<sup>1</sup> This account has not been found.

marshy; the Proximity of which is so great, as to render the Summer Exhalations almost inevitable Death. These unhappy Circumstances you may naturally conceive led me to investigate the Cause which could possibly induce the French to build on a Spot, so cursed with surrounding Evils, which I discovered at Length to be what I am afraid my Lord, has been too much the Case with many others, I mean to put Money in the Hands of the Directors; who were authorized to build the same, *in the most advantageous Place* it is true, but prematurely left too much Power to consult their own Interest in the Situation; for which Reason, this Place was pitched upon as being distant from all the Settlements, that those who had the Building thereof might exaggerate their Accounts, as well as employ Slaves and Servants of their own, at most exorbitant Rates, the Truth of which is evident from the Fortunes made by those who were employed in that Work, and the Sum I am credibly informed it cost the French Government, amounting to upwards of a hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. Monstrous, when we consider its Slightness, Simplicity and general Construction.<sup>1</sup> It has not the least Command of the River, owing to an Island which lies exactly opposite to it, and the Channel is entirely on the other Side for a great Part of the Year. This is impassable from a Sand Bar which runs across even for small Boats, and the French and Spaniards on the other Side pass and repass with Pleasure with contraband Goods, forcing an illicit Trade, to our great Disadvantage and a certain and very considerable Loss to His Majesty's Revenue.

Notwithstanding the immense Sums spent in taking Post at Fort Chartres, and the Length of Time which we are said to be in Possession of the Illinois, the French still carry away all the Trade, which is a very considerable Object, and if properly attended to, would more than repay by its Duties to the Revenue, all Expences attending its Establishment. They go up our Rivers, introduce French Manufactures into our Country, and influence the Savages against us at present, in Spite of all we can do, by which Means, unless those Posts are established as represented, we shall soon be embroiled in another general Indian War.

By a Calculation made by some Gentleman two Years ago, the Expences of Government in maintaining Fort Chartres alone, without

<sup>1</sup> Compare Setember 13, 1768, *ante*, 388.



any single Advantage to the Mother Country, amounted to £18500  $\text{per}$  Annum and the immediate Benefits which would be the Cause of establishing the Posts proposed, £19200. But since that, we have been able to make some more accurate Observations, which I shall submit to your Lordship's Judgment.—The Rivers depending on the Illinois are the Missouri, the Mississippi, Wabash, Kaskaskias and the Illinois.

The upper Parts of the Mississippi are inhabited by immense Numbers of Indians; They have hunting in Abundance; the Peltries are very good, of which the greatest Part is the Otter Beaver, Wolves, Peccans, Loups Cervins and Martins. This River can furnish about a thousand or 1100 Packs  $\text{per}$  Annum.—Many Voyagers agree that this River abounds with Mines of Lead, Copper, and Iron. The Missouri is better peopled than the Mississippi; there are many Nations of them yet unknown to the French, and its Source has never been discovered.—Peltries here are abundant, but inferior to those of the Mississippi, the Major Part being Deer Skins. Nevertheless the upper Parts of the River afford excellent Species of Peltries. If the Voyagers could penetrate this River, it might afford 900 or 1000 Packs annually.

The Illinois River is less considerable from the few Nations which inhabit it, but the Lands are superb, and proper to place a Number of Inhabitants thereon. Hunting is abundant and the Skins are good. A Fort here is indispensably necessary with a strong Garrison to maintain the Police and check the different Traders who go thither, & cause much Disorder among the Savages. By this Means, the Nations of the Missouri would be drawn to this Place, as also all the Traders, who would find it more advantageous to equip themselves here than to descend lower. This River could produce 4 or 500 Packs  $\text{per}$  Annum.

The Peorias, Kaskaskias & Cahokias if they would hunt, might furnish 3 or 400 Packs  $\text{per}$  Annum.

The Wabash is considerable for the Number of Nations; there are also many Settlers and the Lands good. A Garrison of one hundred Men at least is necessary at this Post to keep the Strangers in Awe and protect the Inhabitants. It furnishes in Peltries, and they are of a good Quality. The Deer Skins are superior to those of the

other Rivers.—This Quarter could furnish from 800 to 900 Packs P[er] Annum. The Entrance of the Ohio absolutely requires a Post, to stop the French Traders from going up this River, as also the Hunters from New Orleans and the other Settlements, who repair here in large Numbers for Tallow and Bears Oil. These people destroy immense Number of Buffaloes.

At present, not above 800 or 1000 Packs of Peltry can be collected, of which the French obtained two thirds, for the Want of Troops to protect the Trade, & keep the Savages in Order.

The French have free Access to the Illinois and Wabash Rivers, and being the only Traders who yet go amongst the Indians, collect the most Peltries.

At the latter Places also there are many Inhabitants, yet the Want of Troops and some Government among them prevents many Advantages which might be derived from that Quarter, particularly in the Sale of British Manufacturies, as they are now principally supplied with every Article from the French, it not being safe for the English to venture among them.

From proper Establishments, the following Quantity of Peltries might be obtained, vizt.

	Packs
From the upper Parts of the Mississippi,.....	500
From the Missouri, say 1000, but as this does not belong to us, we cannot enjoy the whole of the Trade; but by a Post at the Illinois.....	1000
Illinois River,.....	500
Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Wabash.....	400
Wabash,.....	900
	<hr/>
	3300

Which at 70 Dollars P[er] pack amounts to 231,000 Dollars; at 4/8 a Dollar equal to £53900 Sterling. This is certainly an Object worthy some Attention; and from the Opinion of the best Judges and a few Experiments but indolently made, no Country appears so admirably calculated for the Productions of Tobacco, Hemp, Hops &c<sup>a</sup>. The spontaneous Produce of the two latter Commodities is almost incredible, and their Qualities remarkably extraordinary.

The soil from its gradual Alteration is suited to the Vegetation of every Commodity of our other Colonies; and by its Fertility and Length of warm Weather much more capable of raising large Crops of all Kinds of Spring and Summer Grain. Cotton, so useful to the Inhabitants and so fit for Exportation, flourishes here with surprizing Encrease, and is extremely fine. The Lands upon the Wabash are loaded with Timber of all Sorts, indicating the Richness of the Soil, among which the Mulberry Tree is most numerous; so that we may reasonably suppose that in Time, Silk Manufactories may be carried on to Advantage, and very considerable Extent.

Salt, which from the Expence of its Importation here, would bear an extravagant Price, may be procured with much Ease from the several Salines upon the aforesaid Rivers, and with a considerable Profit to those, who may hereafter become Proprietors. In a Word, notwithstanding the Inattention of Great Britain to her own Interest in thus neglecting so extensive and delightful a Country, Nature seems to have taken Pride in its Formation.

A great Body of Spanish Troops are expected early in the Spring, and as they say, intend to build several strong Fortifications upon the Mississippi. If so My Lord and nothing is done here, what may we expect but a total Annihilation of our Trade, if not an entire Loss of the Country? They have already expelled our Traders from New Orleans, and the English Merchants here are fearful of sending their Peltries down the River, having no Passage or Communication whereby to transport them to an English Port but by the Way of New Orleans, where perhaps they may be confiscated under a Pretence that they were procured on the other Side of the Mississippi, or some other Reason equally frivolous.

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from L<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. Wilkins to the Secretary at War, date Fort Chartres, 5<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1769 In Lord Visc<sup>t</sup> Barrington's of 23<sup>d</sup>. June 1770.

HILLSBOROUGH TO GAGE, December 9, 1769

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, p. 367—Draft]

(N<sup>o</sup>. 24)

WHITEHALL, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>, 1769.

HON. MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> GAGE.

SIR,

Since my letter to you of the 4<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>. in which I acknowledge the having received those from you numbered 32, 33, 34,<sup>1</sup> & 35,<sup>2</sup> your dispatch numbered 36 has been also received and laid before the King; and tho' I am not yet enabled to send you His Majesty's final Resolutions in respect to the Establishments in the Illinois Country and upon the Ohio, which are principal objects in the consideration of those dispatches, I must not, for that reason, omit the opportunity of this Month's Packet to answer such other parts of them as appear to require it, and more especially to express to you the King's approbation of the arrangements made in respect to the disposition of the Troops, and your attention to the difficulties which embarrassed and delayed the Removal of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Regiments.

His Majesty sees with concern the perplexity which attends the execution of the Mutiny Act in the case of the Provision thereby required to be made by the Colonies for quartering the Troops; and tho' some of the reasons assigned by the Assembly of South Carolina, with respect to the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment, have a face of plausibility, yet their refusal in other parts of their Message stands on such general grounds, and other Colonies have declared themselves on this point so openly, as to leave little room to hope that this Act can ever be carried into execution in it's present shape, and therefore it does require, and I trust will have, a further consideration in the approaching Session of Parliament.

Although I would wish to avoid entering into a very particular consideration of the state of the interior Country, untill His Majesty has, upon the report of His Servants, taken some final Resolutions in respect to the Illinois and Ohio, with which this consideration is so materially connected; yet the frequent mention you make in your dispatches of Murders and Commotions in the Indian Country, and the Apprehensions very strongly expressed in Sir William Johnson's Letters, that they are the effect of French influence and intrigue

<sup>1</sup> See letter of August 12, *ante*, 576.

<sup>2</sup> See letter of September 9, *ante*, 595.

amongst the Savages, make this in some respect an object of immediate attention, and, joined with other facts and intelligences, renders it highly necessary to be at least upon our guard against any event that might take place in case of a sudden Rupture.

The King observes how attentive you are to these circumstances, and relies entirely upon your discretion and ability for the pursuit of such measures as may put the Posts upon the Lakes into such a state of security as to resist any sudden Attempt of the Savages to surprize them, and thereby pave the way, in case of a War, for a recovery of the Dominion of that Country to it's ancient Possessors.

It is not however the Security of the interior Country alone that, in the present situation, is become an object of consideration, the advices received through various channels of the Arrival at New Orleans of a Force so greatly exceeding what the object seemed to require; the negotiation & correspondence carried on with the Creek Indians from the Havanna; the naval preparations at that Port, and the Augmentation of their Troops there, greatly beyond the usual Peace-Establishment, are circumstances which, when combined with other intelligence, make it necessary to give a particular attention to the security of those parts of His Majesty's Possessions which are most exposed to insult or attack.

The situation of West Florida at present seems particularly to answer this description. The Merchants concerned in Trade thither, and other Persons interested in improvements in that Colony, have expressed great Apprehensions, which, tho' founded in conjecture only, do yet deserve consideration; and I am commanded to signify to you that, notwithstanding the wish so repeatedly expressed to you, that you should adhere as closely as possible to the Plan for the disposition of the Troops prescribed in my letter to you of the 15<sup>th</sup> April 1768,<sup>1</sup> yet His Majesty cannot but consider His Colony of West Florida, under the circumstances before-mentioned, as requiring a greater Force for it's protection than is at present stationed there, and therefore it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you should lose no time in sending thither from East Florida, or elsewhere, such a number of Troops, and putting the Forts into such a state of defence, as you shall think sufficient to discourage or disappoint any sudden attempt to distress and break up our infant Settlements.

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 247.

With regard to the Posts in the interior Country, considered in another view in which several of your Letters have placed them, I mean as to the Settlements formed under their protection, which not being included within the jurisdiction of any other Colony are exposed to many Difficulties and Disadvantages from the want of some form of Government necessary in Civil Society, it is very evident that, if the case of these Settlements had been well known or understood at the time of forming the conquered Lands into Colonies, some provision would have been made for them, and they would have been erected into distinct Governments, or made dependent upon those other Colonies, of which they were either the Offspring, or with which they did, by circumstances and situation, stand connected. I shall not fail therefore to give this matter the fullest consideration, when the Business of the Illinois Country is taken up. In the meantime the King approves of the method you have recommended for the decision by Arbitration of the Dispute about the Isle aux Cochons, to which if Mr. M<sup>o</sup>. Dougal does not submit, it will be then necessary that the matter should undergo a reconsideration at the Council Board.

With regard to the two Pouteatimis Indians delivered up to the commanding Officer at Detroit, so singular an instance of the Justice and good Faith of those Indians certainly merits Attention, and I doubt not that Sir William Johnson's Prudence will lead him to make such a moderate and discreet use of the Power of Punishment, which they have on this occasion delegated to us, as cannot fail of having very usefull consequences.

I am &c<sup>a</sup>.

HILLSBOROUGH

[*Endorsed:*] Dra<sup>t</sup> to Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage, Whitehall Dec<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. 1769. (N<sup>o</sup>. 24.) Ent<sup>d</sup>

M. GRATZ TO MURRAY, December 28, 1769

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz Letter Book]

PHILADELPHIA Deceb<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup>. 1769

MY DEAR SIR

Since my Last to you was favr<sup>d</sup>. with Some of yours with Inclosed Bill of Two Hundred & Thirty Four pounds 19/ which is hon<sup>rd</sup>. I was heartly Glad to heare you both [?] were so well then which wish

may be for Long Continuency (Please God) as will always aforesaid us Pleasure to heare from so a Respected Friend as Mr. Murry, tho Can not help take's notice of what you say in One of yours about any Diffidance in your hon<sup>r</sup>. which think you Aught to be better Convienced of in man and Can Asure you Sincerely was or is not the reason, but meerly for want of the articlles aGoods when the Last battows went on Acco<sup>t</sup> of non importation, Concluded on by the Different Citys this way, which as yet Continues, tho Am in hopes will Soon be over, however Let it be or not Am ageathering a Cargo for you on Our joint Acco<sup>t</sup>. which think will Am<sup>t</sup>. to about 5 or 600 £ to Goe, by the First Spring Battows without Fail Please God, which wish may arrive Safe and find you & y<sup>rs</sup> in perfect health, are the Sincere wishes of Dear Sir

Your Assured & Sincer F<sup>d</sup>

M. G.

P. S Please to Make my Due respects to M<sup>rs</sup> Murray & family in which M<sup>rs</sup> Gratz Joins in to you & y<sup>rs</sup>, have as yet not heard the return of my Good Brother, but hope to inform you in my next Shall not Fail take's all the Care in my Power in regard those 2 Down the river. So God Bless you Let me heare by every opp<sup>ty</sup> from you

BUTRICKE TO BARNESLEY, December 29, 1769

[*Historical Magazine*, 8: 265]

FORT CHARTRES 29th Decem<sup>r</sup> 1769.

DEAR SIR

I cannot let slip this opportunity tho' am at a loss what to write, 'Tis almost two years since I had the pleasure to see you, and in all that time not one Line, tho' when I consider former times, I am not so much surprised for I Remember when I was at Niagara a letter in two years was look'd upon as a great favour.

This is the fifth I have wrote you since I came to this place and I took particular care to send them by good hands, so that I hope they are all come to hand. We are now in a melancholy situation we have not had the Least Accounts from any Quarter since the first of June, 'Tis thought the Indians have Cut of the Expresses from fort Pitt on the River Ohio, and we have Acc<sup>s</sup> by frenchmen from New Orleans that since the Spaniards have returned to that place they

have forbid all English or french from Landing there, If this be true all our Communications are shutt up, the Indians are all out hunting now, But its said we shall certainly have an Indian Warr in the Spring, In my last I inform'd you of my intention to return to Europe, But I have fear I shall not be able to Accomplish it, not only for the Reason above given, But my having so many employments on my hands, which will Render it very difficult.

I now do the duty of Q<sup>r</sup> Mas<sup>r</sup>., adjutant, Barrack Master and since the death of poor Captain Lieut Lane have been Obliged to act as paymaster tho' was given to Understand it was intended for another person, there are two candidates for this place, vizt: Lieut Chapman and one Rumsey who you may remember in the 42<sup>d</sup> Regm<sup>t</sup>, he is Recommended for an Ensigncy in this Reg<sup>t</sup>; and if he succeeds the present Commanding Officer will give him the paymasters place,—I could not help observing to L<sup>t</sup>, Colonel Wilkins that I thought it something strange being desired to do a duty for a Regim<sup>t</sup>, and the emoluments given to another Person, but he gave me to understand that he was a Better Judge for me, than I was for myself, it then struck me of the Repeated Advice you have given me, and I immediately tould him there was no kind of duty he would desire me to do; but I should be happy in executing it, by this you will see I still am on a good footing with him, But you will pittty me when I tell you that the whole Corp and he are on very Bad terms, this makes me have a very difficult Card to play, however I hope to Rubb it out for a few years in order to save a little more money and I hope to be able to send you a Bill in the Spring for one hundred Penn: Curr, I have not time to say more at present, therefore Conclude with my sincere respects to all your family wishing you and them a Merry Christmas and many a happy New Year.

GEO. BUTRICKE.



## APPENDIX

# APPENDIX

## SALES OF SUNDRY GOODS SENT BY BARNARD & MICHAEL GRATZ,

	Mittins & Gloves 12 pr.	Ginova	Wine	Green & Bobas Tea	Shrub	Loaf Sugar	Musca Sugar	Coffee
Ensign Richardson . . . . .						15 .. 8		
William Murray . . . . .							1 .. 3 .. 0	
Patrick Kennedy . . . . .						1		
Dr. Thomason . . . . .						30		
Capt. Slains for the Comp y . . . . .							.. 0 .. 20	
Sundries . . . . .							.. 3	
Profit & Loss . . . . .		12						
Lievt. Trapman . . . . .						31		
Col. Wilkins . . . . .								
Capt. Shee . . . . .							.. 3 .. 16	
Mr. Piety . . . . .							.. 2	
Cash . . . . .							1 .. 26	
Patrick Kennedy . . . . .				1 1/2 2qts. 1pt.			.. 4	
William Murray . . . . .				1 1/2		205 .. 10	.. 20 1/2	
Vacant Company . . . . .							.. 1	
Lievt. Chapman . . . . .				1/2 .. 2			.. 1	
George Eddy . . . . .				2 1/2 .. 1			.. 13	
The Contractors . . . . .				1				
Robert Ritchy . . . . .							.. 2	
A. Williamson . . . . .	1			.. 1				
Advtr. to Cabo . . . . .							1 .. 3 .. 4	
Sundries . . . . .				3/4		18 .. 2	.. 1	
Austin Piety . . . . .				2 3/4			.. 6	
Sundries . . . . .				1 3/4			.. 6	
Sundries . . . . .				1			.. 5	
Sundries . . . . .	1						3 .. 6	
Corporal Whitehouse . . . . .				3/4			.. 2	
Col. Wilkins . . . . .							.. 1	
Sundries . . . . .				1			.. 1	
Sundries . . . . .				1			1 .. 0 .. 7 1/2	
Sundries . . . . .					1qt. 1pt.			
Bradley & Williams . . . . .	1							
Advtr. to Kaskaskias . . . . .							3 .. 2	
Madam Ducell . . . . .								
Sundries . . . . .								
Sundries . . . . .				3				
Monseur L. Esperence . . . . .				1qt. 1pt.				
Samuel Lee . . . . .				2 1/2				
Cash . . . . .				9 1/2 6q. 3qt. 0			1 .. 3 1/2	
Cash . . . . .				3/4				
Patrick Kennedy . . . . .								
George Eddy . . . . .								3
Sundries . . . . .								
Richd. Bacon . . . . .				2 1/2				
James Elhot . . . . .				2				
William Murray . . . . .							.. 2	2
Sundries . . . . .				6				
Louis Miles . . . . .								
Ensign Hutchins . . . . .								
Sundries . . . . .								
Sundries . . . . .								
Patrick Kennedy . . . . .								
Sundries . . . . .								
Cash . . . . .								
The Generals Company . . . . .								
Sundries . . . . .					1 Bottl.			
Sundries . . . . .		1qt.						
Carried Over . . . . .	3							

# SALES BY BARNARD AND MICHAEL GRATZ

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& CONSIGN'D TO WILLIAM MURRAY OF THE ILLINOIS VIZT.

Mustard	Spirits	Rum	Knives	Buckles	Cheeks 18 1/4 Ells	Caps 24	Shoes 353 pr.	Strip'd Holland 169 1/2 Ells	17 lb. Thread	Thread Hoes 564 pr.	Handkerchiefs 84 Hands	Calico & Chintz 280 Ells	Livers	Solla.	Demr.
1													65		
													588		
													3		
													120		
													50		
													7	10	
													240		
													124		
													12		
													250		
													6		
					4 1/2	4	14						282	5	
							2 1/2						49	10	
		20			7 1/2	3	6 1/2	1/2 oz				6 1/2	1154	13	
						4	11						178		
		1 qt.					7 1/2						55		
		1 pt.											69		
		30											397	10	
							2 1/2						16		
												1 1/2	17	10	
		30		10	37 1/2	122	17	6 lb.	15				2358		
					6	4	2 1/2						189		
						2	2 1/2						70		
													26		
											3 1/2 Ells		73		
					3 1/2	2							298		
						1							24	17	6
						1							12	10	
						1							23		
					6	1	37 1/2	1 lb.					472	5	
							2 1/2						48	10	
													8		
		36			128 1/2	54	17	9 lb	36	24	36 yds		2284		
							4 1/2	3/4 lb		1			31	10	
													336	7	6
					9 1/2						5 1/2 Ells		122	8	
													7	10	
		10			9 1/2	19	36 1/2						27	10	
						1							751	3	
					4								15		
													18	10	
													17	10	
						2							20		
					9	2							71		
													50		
													11		
	62				2						4 yds		964		
						1							10		
	2				2 1/2	2					4 Ells		6		
						2							54		
						3							20		
					33						18 1/2 yds		30		
													153		
						2							357	10	
						1							20		
						1							15		
						1							17	10	
			36	10	264	234	163	11 1/2	54	26	80		£12591	2	

SALES OF SUNDRY GOODS SENT BY BARNARD & MICHAEL GRATZ.

	Pepper	half Ticks	Mittins & Gloves	Gloves	Wine	Green & Bobs	Strub	Loaf Sugar	Musca Sugar	Coffee	Mustard
Sundries Bro't forward.....			3								
Sundries .. .. .						$\frac{1}{2}$				1	1
Sundries .. .. .						$\frac{1}{2}$				1	
Sundries .. .. .											
Sundries .. .. .				2qts. 3qrs.							
Sundries .. .. .				1 qt.							
Henry White.....				2 .. 0							
Sundries .. .. .											
William Lavis.....											
Madam L. Olivier ..				1 .. 0							
Sundries .. .. .											
Cash.....											
Sundries .. .. .							2qt 1pt.				
Sundries .. .. .						$\frac{1}{2}$	1 .. 1				
Sundries .. .. .											
Sundries .. .. .				1 pt.							
Robert Ritchie.....											
Sundries .. .. .				2 .. 0						2	
Sundries .. .. .											
Cash.....											
Sundries .. .. .						$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$				1	
Sundries .. .. .										1	
Sundries .. .. .											
Monnier Gararden ..											
Richard Bacon.....		2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds									
Sundries .. .. .											
Dr. Thomason .. ..										1	
Plantation.....		2 $\frac{1}{2}$									
William Murray.....	1										
Sundries .. .. .						$\frac{1}{2}$					
Austin Pietry .. ..						$\frac{1}{2}$					
Sundries .. .. .											
Sundries .. .. .											
Monnier Richards ..											
Monnier La Joice.....											
Cash.....											
Wants.....	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3								
£1073 .. 4 .. 3 Sales											
700 .. 8 .. 6 Jnce											
£ 372 .. 15 .. 11 Pft											
186 .. 7 .. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ %											
14309 9c											
7154 9d											
21463											
£1073 .. 3 9											
8											
1073 .. 4 .. 5											
16480 .. 17 .. 0											

SALES BY BARNARD AND MICHAEL GRATZ

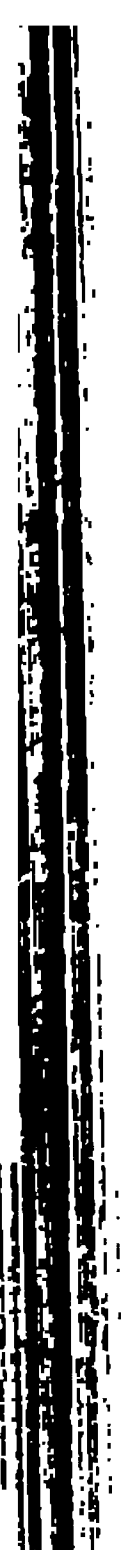
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CONSIGN'D TO WILLIAM MURRAY OF THE ILLINOIS VIZ<sup>T</sup>

Run	Moire	Buckles	Checks 3&3 Ells	Caps 24—	Shoes 355 pr.	Scap'd Holland 169 1/2	17 lb. Thread	Thread Hose 564 pr.	Handkerchiefs 84	Calico & Chintz 280 Ells	Livres		
...	36	10	264	...	234	163	11 1/2	54	26	80	12591	2	...
...					2			1			9	3	...
...					1						37	10	...
...					1						15	15	...
...			7		1	1 1/2				1 1/2 yds	42	5	...
...					1					4 1/2 yds	71	12	6
...					1						50	10	...
...					1						10		...
...					1						35		...
...					2						20		...
...			37		1						129	10	...
...					1						17	10	...
...					2						179		...
...					1					1 1/2 yds	46	10	...
...											24	5	...
...							1				55	10	...
...					1						11	17	6
...					1			2		17	10		...
...					4						197	10	...
...											40		...
...											87	5	...
...										3	31		...
...								1		2 1/2	40		...
...											26	10	...
...											20		...
...											10		...
...											154	12	6
...											2	10	...
...											9		...
...											17	10	...
...					2					1 1/2	49	15	...
...											6	5	...
...										3 1/2	48	10	...
...										1	14		...
...											10		...
...											10		...
...											19	7	6
...	36	10	308	...	254	164 1/2	121 1/2	58	26	115 1/2	14,480 ..	17 ..	...
...			75	24	101	5	4 1/2	506	58	164	171 ..		...
										Balico.	14,309 ..	17 ..	...



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